米軍統治下の沖縄における沖縄人メイドに関する研究

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate how Okinawan maids working for American-military-related personnel during the period of American control were not simply victims of their circumstances. Through primary source materials and oral histories this paper will demonstrate how beyond the struggles they faced, maids in Okinawa empowered themselves through educational and cross-cultural opportunities to improve their lives. After the introduction in the first chapter, the second chapter provides background information explaining how and why Okinawan maids came to exist in such large numbers in post-war Okinawa. The third chapter focuses the struggles and hardships faced by Okinawa maids. Unprotected by legislative regulations, they were paid low salaries, worked long hours, and could be fired at the whim of their employer. They also faced sexualization and cases of physical harm at their workplaces.

Yet, these experiences do not encapsulate the entirety of their experiences. Chapter four focuses on how through access to a wide variety of vocational training programs, maids and the women wanting to become maids in Okinawa, empowered themselves through training programs. Through enrollment in these programs not only did these women become more proficient employees, but they were also able to learn a variety of skills that were new to women in post-war Okinawa. Maids were able to utilize these skills to not only improve the overall image of a maid in post-war Okinawa but to also create improved job opportunities for Okinawan women. Chapter five focuses on how maids were leaders in the cross-cultural exchange process with their American employers. Using the lens of a "contact zone," this chapter demonstrates how through a process of transculturation, Okinawan maids actively accepted and rejected American culture. Through this process they became comparatively knowledgeable in American culture. The chapter also illustrates how Okinawan maids, who were viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, played a significant role in humanizing the Okinawan population to Americans and enriching Americans understanding of the history and

culture of Okinawa, demonstrating the knowledge and power maids held. Chapter six concludes the dissertation. This study of Okinawa's maids demonstrates how these women found ways to empower themselves in a seemingly powerless situation in post-war Okinawa. Instead of simply being a footnote in Okinawa's history, maids can be seen as a symbol of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Okinawan women in American controlled Okinawa.

この博士論文の目的は、沖縄の米軍統治時代に軍関係者のもとで働いていた沖縄のメイドの歴史とその職業が沖縄の女性に与えた影響を明らかにすることである。一次資料やオーラルヒストリーを通じて、沖縄のメイドが苦難を克服し、訓練や異文化交流の機会を通じて、いかに自分たちの生活を向上させることができたかを説明する。第 1 章の序論に続き、第 2 章では、戦後の沖縄でメイドが存在するようになった経緯や背景を説明する。第 3 章では、沖縄のメイドが直面した苦難を明らかにする。沖縄のメイドは、法律的な保護がなく、低賃金、長時間労働、不当解雇などの不利益を受けることがあった。また、職場で雇用主の性的対象になったり、身体的な危害に直面することもあった。しかし、これらは、メイドの経験の全てではない。第 4 章では、沖縄のメイドやメイドになろうとする女性たちが、さまざまな職業訓練を利用することで、自分たちの力を高めていた側面に焦点を当てる。メイドたちは、職業訓練で得たスキルを活用することで、戦後の沖縄におけるメイドという職業のイメージを向上させるだけでなく、沖縄の女性たちの新しい雇用の機会となった。第 5 章では、「コンタクト・ゾーン」の概念を援用し、メイドが仕事を通して琉米の文化交流のリーダーになったことに焦点を当てる。沖縄のメイドは、アメリカにとって被支配者であった沖縄の人々が、支配者と同等であるということをアメリカ人に理解させると同時に、アメリカ人が沖縄の文化や歴史に関心を抱くきっかけを与える役割を果たした。本博士論文では、戦後の沖縄において、一見無力に見える彼女たちがいかにして自らの能力を高め、女性として生きる力を獲得していったかについて記述した。沖縄の歴史の中で、メイドは米軍統治時代にあった沖縄の女性たちの創意工夫と機知を示すシンボルとして見ることができるだろう。

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Defining Maids

This dissertation will focus on the Okinawan women who worked as maids for American military-related-personnel in Okinawa between 1945 and 1972. Before elaborating upon the research itself, it is important to define and explain why the term maid has been used throughout the work, when describing the women who worked as domestic employees for Americans. Linguistically, the term private household worker is the most encompassing and best describes a wide variety of occupational titles that are involved in household cleaning and childcare. This expression includes and replaces words and phrases such as maids, maidservants, housekeepers, domestics, domestic servants, servants, cooks, launderers, cleaning workers, and childcare workers. However, in Okinawa, the word private household worker was rarely used.

Among the women who worked as domestic employees in American military-related-personnel's homes, they referred to their job using the term maid. During interviews with seven women who had previously worked in Americans' homes, every woman referred to her former position as a maid or housemaid. Additionally, looking at the newspapers of post-war Okinawa, the terms *jyochū* (女中, meaning maidservant or a woman servant), maid (メイド or メード) and housemaid (ハウスメイド) were frequently used to discuss private household workers. The term jyochū was commonly used to describe those who provided domestic services for Japanese or Okinawan families, while maid or housemaid was used to describe women who worked for U.S. military-related-personnel. As years passed, newspapers stopped using the term jyochū and the term maid became the most common word for women working in domestic service whether it was in an American home, Okinawan home, or cleaning hotel rooms.[1]

Among the American military-related-personnel stationed in Okinawa, there were also a variety of terminologies used to describe the private household workers they employed. For example, in a 1946-1947 informational pamphlet for Army dependents traveling to Okinawa the terms "servants," "house girls," "laundresses," and "domestics" were used interchangeably within a five-sentence paragraph.[2] The word maid was also commonly applied to the profession by Americans in Okinawa. The 1948 *Sweatin' Okinawa* booklet, which was distributed to dependents who were about to join their active-duty military family member in Okinawa, referred to female domestic employees as maids.[3] The 1966 edition of *Isle Tell*, a pamphlet designed by the Fort Bucker Women's Club for women who had recently moved to Okinawa, exclusively used the term maid to describe their female private household workers. As "maid" was a commonly used expression by American military-related personnel in Okinawa, and, more importantly, the term that most Okinawan women who worked as private household workers used to describe their former employment, this is the word that will primarily be utilized in this dissertation.

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate how Okinawan maids working for American-military-related personnel during the period of American control were not simply victims of their circumstances. Through primary source materials and oral histories this paper will demonstrate how beyond the struggles they faced, maids in Okinawa empowered themselves through educational and cross-cultural opportunities to improve their lives. After initially explaining how and why Okinawan maids came to exist in such large numbers in post-war Okinawa, the paper first focuses on the struggles and hardships faced by Okinawa maids. Unprotected by legislative regulations, maids were paid low salaries, worked long hours, and could be fired at the whim of their employer. They also faced sexualization and cases of physical harm at their workplaces. Yet, these experiences do not encapsulate the entirety of Okinawan maids' experiences.

The second half of the dissertation focuses on how maids empowered themselves and practiced personal agency in their workplaces. Through access to a wide variety of both public and private vocational training programs, maids and the women wanting to become maids in Okinawa, empowered themselves through this training. Through enrollment in these programs not only did these women become more proficient employees, but they were also able to learn a variety of skills that were new to women in post-war Okinawa. Maids were then able to utilize these skills to not only improve the overall image of a maid in post-war Okinawa but to also create improved job opportunities for Okinawan women. Additionally, maids were leaders in the cross-cultural exchange process with their American employers. Using the lens of a "contact zone,"[4] this section demonstrates how through a process of transculturation,[5] Okinawan maids practiced agency to actively accept and reject American culture. Through this process they became comparatively knowledgeable in American culture. Furthermore, this section also illustrates how Okinawan maids, who were viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, played a significant role in humanizing the Okinawan population to Americans and enriching Americans' understanding of the history and culture of Okinawa, further demonstrating the knowledge and power maids held.

This study of Okinawa's maids demonstrates how these women found ways to empower themselves in a seemingly powerless situation in post-war Okinawa. Instead of simply languishing as maids, these women took advantage of their circumstances to learn new skills, create new opportunities and become leaders in Okinawan-American cross-cultural exchange. Maids are not simply a footnote in Okinawa's history, and through the practice of personal agency can instead be seen as a symbol of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Okinawan women in American controlled Okinawa.

A Chance Encounter

My first personal experience with Okinawan maids came in the summer of 2019. I had recently started my PhD program and was still unsure of my research topic. Based upon previous study I knew I wanted to explore cultural exchange between Okinawans and Americans during the period of American control of Okinawa (1945-1972) and use oral history but was at a loss as to how to go about doing this. One of my classmates heard about my interests and agreed to organize a group of women, including her mother, who had previously worked as maids and laundresses to talk to me. This gracious offer led me to my dissertation topic.

As the four women at the community center shared their life experiences with me, I was immediately impressed with their bravery and strength. These women had grown up in pre-war Japan and had been taught that Americans were their mortal enemies. They then survived the fiercest battle of the Pacific War, the Battle of Okinawa and became refugees, moved from area to area until they could finally return to their hometown years later. Needing employment, all of these women became maids for American military-related-personnel.

Personally, I was amazed by their courage. For the sake of their families, they went to work for Americans. After all their traumatizing and heartbreaking experiences in the war and early post-war years, these women were still able to work in the homes of Americans as their maids. I don't know if I would have the inner strength to labor as a servant for my former enemy or the bravery to work and, at times, live with someone that was a member of the country that invaded and conquered my land and that didn't even share the same language with me. There must have been moments of terror and absolute confusion for these women, yet to support their families they found a way to put this all behind them and work as maids for American military-related-personnel. Beyond this, many of the women had positive things to say about their experiences as maids. Every woman acknowledged that their work was hard, and the pay was

quite low, but they could also all point to positive aspects of their employment and see their American employers as more than just a member of the conquering military. The women explained that some employers were good people and others were bad, but they did not hold a grudge against all Americans. I was in awe of their wisdom, courage and strength and based upon this discussion knew that I wanted to learn more about the Okinawan women who worked as maids for American military-related-personnel.

Literature Review

While there has been significant research regarding the profession of a maid around the world, very little formal research had been conducted about the maids in Okinawa. When starting the research process for this dissertation, the only previous research specifically about maids in Okinawa available was the March 1996 edition of the *Ayamiya*, a journal published by the Okinawa Shi Kyōdo Hakubutsukan (Okinawa City Folk Museum), which contained five articles about maids in Okinawa. The first article by Minoru Hiroyama, "Sengo no Hanagata Shokugyō ni tsuite," provided an in-depth description of the profession of maids including information about job requirements, how many women worked in this position yearly and salary levels. It also traced the history of maid employment throughout the 27 years of U.S. military control of Okinawa. Articles two, "Kaaten ni Yureru Musumegokoro" by Akimi Miyagi, three, "Meido no Kikitori Chōsa no Matome" by Chōken Fukuhara and five, "Jidai wo Hanei Suru Meido San Goroku" by Tokushi Akamine and Chiyomi Sumida shared information from interviews with 24 former maids. Not only did these articles provide demographic data about some of the women who worked as maids, but they also included the maids' voices as they shared stories of some of their most trying, meaningful and entertaining experiences working for Americans. Finally, article four, "Shosetsu ni Ekareta Meido *Mitsuko to Makkori Fūfu*"

discussed how through the short story *Mitsuko to Makkori Fūfu* (*Mitsuko and the Makkoris*) one can better understand the realities of maids working for American families. This piece of literature can also be seen as reflective of the working conditions of maids in the 1950s. The information found in these articles was also used for a museum exhibit about maids in Okinawa, called Meido ga Mita Amerika (The America Maids Saw).

Later, during the research process for this dissertation, Tomohisa Saso published a paper called "A Study of Maid in Okinawa under the U.S. Rule: Mainly Focused on Understanding the actual situation and social role as an occupation" in the December 2020 edition of the *Japan Oral History Review*. This article, based upon oral history interviews, analyzed the changing role of maids in Okinawan society. Saso described how when maids first started working for Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, due to their close contact with Americans, they played a significant role in popularizing American culture to Okinawan society. Although their salaries were low, their position was seen as special because of this cultural role. However, as Okinawa became more economically stable and American culture became more common during the 1960s and 1970s, Saso argued that maids lost this role in society. Instead, their jobs became normalized, and the focus of their jobs instead became to make money.

While these two sources were important in the research process regarding the history of maids in Okinawa, it is apparent that there is room for further examination into the topic. Looking at the existing resources, both were rather short. In total, the five articles in the *Ayamiya* journal were composed of 38 pages, while Saso's article was 21 pages, leaving room for a more in-depth study of Okinawan maids' experiences and roles in post-war Okinawan society. Additionally, both sources focused on Japanese resources regarding maids. Apart from various editions of the *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book*, a document of various statistics regarding the Ryukyu Islands compiled by the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) published alternatingly annually and biannually between at least 1959 and 1971, no English

resources were used in either research projects. As maids' employers were Americans and USCAR, along with the U.S. military, were highly involved in regulations involving maids working for American military related personnel, the use of English language primary resources, in addition to Japanese language resources, is necessary to fully understand the working conditions of maids. Through this literature review of the existing research on maids, the need for a more in-depth text, which utilizes both English and Japanese primary sources along with oral history interviews with maids can be clearly understood.

Methodology

The research for this dissertation is based upon both English and Japanese primary source materials and oral history interviews. English primary source information primarily came from USCAR documents. During the mid-1950s through the early 1960s, USCAR's Labor Department recorded a variety of information about maids, including their overall numbers, information about salary regulations and files on potential problems regarding maids' working conditions. Other key English information sources included a book, *Is Like Typhoon: Okinawa and the Far East*, written by Marian Chapple Merritt, an Air Force spouse who lived in Okinawa, both in the late 1940s and again in the early 1950s, and newspaper articles from various English language papers at the time. Japanese language primary sources include hundreds of newspaper articles about maids in Okinawa in both the *Okinawa Times* and the *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, and official documents regarding maid working conditions and vocational training programs from the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI). Additionally, interviews of former maids recorded in books such as *Kichi de Hataraku: Gunsagyōin no Sengo* (*Working on the Bases: Base Employee's Post War*) and *Shiroma Aza Shi* (*The History of Shiroma*) were valuable tools in better understanding the maid experience.

Oral history interviews also played a significant role in understanding the maid experience and filling in the informational gaps that were sometimes left by official documents. Although Covid-19 slowed down the interview process, between 2019 and 2023, seven women who formerly worked as maids were interviewed regarding their work experiences. The interviews were recorded and lasted between an hour and two and a half hours. Three of the women took part in secondary interviews and two of them took part in tertiary interviews to further understand their experiences. The women shared a plethora of information regarding working as a maid to include salary, hiring practices, daily routines, training programs, memories of their employers, the positive and negative aspects of their jobs and memorable events during their work. The table below introduces the former maids who participated in oral history interviews.

Table 1. Oral History Participants' Data

Name	**Year of Birth**	**Hometown**	**Years Worked**	**Locations Worked**	**Type of Maid**
M1	1928	Nakagusuku Village	Mid-1950s	At least three different homes	Commuting Maid
M2	1929	Okinawa City	1948-1950	Awase Housing Area	Commuting Maid
M3	1929	Okinawa City	1947-1960	Marine BOQ near Chibana, Rycom, Kadena	First as a BOQ maid. Later as both a live-in maid and commuting maid
M4	1931	Nakagusuku Village	1955-1959	Awase Housing Area, Makiminato Housing Area (five to six different homes)	Live-in maid

M5	1933	Nakagusuku Village		Sukiran, Awase Housing Area, Makiminato Housing Area	First as a live-in maid, and later as a commuting maid
M6	1938	Okinawa City	1958-1965	Awase Housing Area, Kadena Air Base, Sukiran (four different homes)	Commuting Maid
M7	1940	Ishikawa (Uruma City)	1959-1969	Rycom (four different homes)	Live-in maid

Oral histories from Americans were also used for this dissertation. The daughter of Marian Chapple Merritt, Natalie Sundberg, who lived in Okinawa both in the late 1940s and again in the early 1950s, participated in two oral history interviews in 2020 through Zoom. She provided information on the maid training school created by her mother and her experiences in Okinawa. In order to better understand the American employer perspective, I also posted an open question requesting memories about Okinawan maids during the period of American control to a private Facebook page entitled, *Yeah…I Lived in Okinawa* on September 18, 2020. This Facebook group has over 40,000 members and its goal is to be a place where people share their memories of living in Okinawa in English. In total, I received 242 comments and nine direct messages from my post from Americans who had maids during their time in Okinawa, which included a wide variety of information ranging from salary data and hiring reasons to stories of shared experiences and favorite memories of their maids.

The combination of primary source written materials along with oral histories helped to create a more complete understanding of the maid experience in American controlled Okinawa. Memories shared by maids and employers acted to supplement the facts and data found in the

written materials. This, in turn, created a richer history of both the struggles faced by Okinawan maids and the ways that they found to empower themselves.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter two of this dissertation delves into the history of maids in Okinawa. The chapter starts by tracing how and why Okinawan maids started working for American military-related-personnel. It then provides information on the maids who worked in Okinawa, including job descriptions and how maids found employment. Then the number of maids working for American military-related-personnel in Okinawa is elucidated upon, including a discussion of why the number of maids shifted throughout the years. The final section of the chapter discusses the changes in maid demographics between the early years of American control (1945-1960) and the later years (1961-1972). This chapter will provide the reader with the necessary background information to understand the complexities of maids' employment in Okinawa.

Chapter three demonstrates maids' poor working conditions. The chapter first focuses on the low salaries and poor working conditions that maids in American military-related-personnel's homes faced. Maids' salaries were consistently lower than similar professions and at times maximum salaries were legislated by military regulations forcing them to remain artificially low. Maids also were not protected by any of the legislation that many other military base employees had, so employment conditions were completely decided by their American employer. This resulted in some maids working in substandard labor environments with extremely long hours with little rest. The chapter then focuses on the social marginality associated with being a maid. Maids had no job security and could be dismissed for no reason. At times employers accused maids of crimes without any proof and as justification for firing them. Other maids faced physical dangers due to their jobs. Maids were sexualized by their

employers and at other times even attacked but could not find justice. Maids in Okinawa faced countless hardships due to their jobs.

However, despite these hardships, maids utilized available opportunities to empower themselves. Chapter four discusses how maids chose to take advantage of the various types of maid training schools available in Okinawa during the period of American control to improve their lives. After discussing why training coursework was necessary for maids in Okinawa and a review and analysis of the formal and informal training coursework available, this chapter will highlight how Okinawan maids utilized these opportunities to become more proficient employees and learn skills that were new to women in post-war Okinawa. These educational opportunities in turn helped to professionalize the maid field, changing the general view of maids in Okinawa from that of a servant to a working woman who helped to support their family. Finally, this chapter will show how vocational training helped maids to create better opportunities for their futures. Many maids were able to transfer the skills they mastered in their job to other professions creating even greater opportunities for their futures. This section will highlight how these women effectively utilized vocational training to improve their lives.

Chapter five also focuses on another way Okinawan maids empowered themselves as leaders in the cross-cultural exchange process with their employers. Using the framework of a contact zone, chapter five highlights the unique role of maids regarding cultural exchange in the contact zone of Okinawa. The first part of this chapter will explore how through the process of transculturation, Okinawan maids practiced personal agency by selecting and blending aspects of American culture into their own lives while actively rejecting other aspects of American culture. This not only created a unique maid culture but also allowed maids to become comparatively knowledgeable about American and their culture. The second part of the chapter will explore how maids, who were viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, played a leading role in both humanizing the Okinawan population and introducing aspects of Okinawan history and culture

into the American home. Most Americans came to Okinawa with little interest in the people or the culture, so maids played an extraordinarily large role in introducing the islands to them. Much of the knowledge maids imparted on their former employers still shapes the way that many American former residents of Okinawa view the islands to this day. Although typically viewed as powerless, maids demonstrated the knowledge and power they held through their role as cultural ambassadors for Okinawa.

Chapter six concludes the dissertation. This study of Okinawa's maids demonstrates how these women found ways to empower themselves in a seemingly powerless situation in post-war Okinawa. Despite the various hardships they faced, including poor working conditions, low wages and dangerous situations at their workplaces, these women were strong and brave and worked hard as maids. However, beyond simply working hard, these women found ways to empower themselves and improve their lives, through learning new skills, and becoming leaders in Okinawan-American cross-cultural exchange. Maids are not simply a footnote in Okinawa's history and instead should be seen as a symbol of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Okinawan women in American controlled Okinawa. They found ways to turn the adversity and hardships they faced as maids into empowerment and opportunity.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND RELATING TO OKINAWA'S MAIDS

Understanding the historical background of Okinawa's maids is necessary to fully comprehend their experiences. Previous research regarding the historical background of maids can be found in Tomohisa Saso's paper, "A Study of Maid in Okinawa under the U.S. Rule: Mainly Focused on Understanding the actual situation and social role as an occupation." In this piece, Saso does an excellent job at showing how maids working for families and maids working in bachelor's quarters differed in their work. Through oral history interviews Saso demonstrates how maids' different workplaces (family homes versus bachelor's quarters) created disparate work experiences and how the experiences of these two types of maids should be understood separately.[6] Saso also introduces some of the first demographic descriptions of Okinawa's maids, which is important for understanding the experience of maids.[7] However, while incredibly valuable information, there are still gaps in the recorded data regarding the historical background of maids in Okinawa.

This chapter will fill these gaps in providing a more complete historical understanding of the background of maids in Okinawa. After reviewing the historical circumstances that brought the American military into control of Okinawa between 1945 and 1972, the chapter will explore military employment of Okinawans, particularly focusing on the hiring of thousands of Okinawan women to work as maids for American military-related-personnel. Additionally, this section will elucidate background information regarding maids working in Okinawa including their job responsibilities, hiring methods, the number of women who worked in the profession and a more complete discussion of their changing demographics during the period of American control. This chapter will provide the reader with the necessary background information to fully

understand both the difficulties and the unique opportunities maids encountered through their employment.

How did the U.S. Military Come to be in Control of Okinawa?

World War II drastically altered the future trajectory of Okinawa. During the war, Okinawa became a U.S. military target because of its location in relation to mainland Japan. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, which coordinated military actions for the United States during World War II, came to the conclusion that the only way to end the war with Japan was to extensively bomb mainland Japan and then invade it.[8] As Okinawa was less than 1,000 miles (1,609 kilometers) from many of the major cities of Japan, such as Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya, the military planned to use Okinawa as a forward base for bombing raids throughout mainland Japan and then as a staging area for the future invasion of mainland Japan.[9] This is why invading and coming into control of Okinawa was essential for the U.S. military's plans. They felt that having control of Okinawa would lead to a quicker end of World War II.

While the U.S. military first invaded the Kerama Islands, a group of islands approximately 15 miles (24 kilometers) west of the island of Okinawa on March 26, 1945, it was on April 1, 1945, that the Battle of Okinawa began on Okinawa Island. The battle between U.S. and Japanese military forces lasted a staggering 82 days until the evening of June 22, when Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima, Commander of the 32nd Army and Lieutenant General Isamu Cho, Chief of Staff of the 32nd Army committed suicide.[10] Additional military operations continued throughout the islands of Okinawa well after June 22 until the eventual signing of the surrender documents by the Japanese military in Okinawa on September 7, 1945.

Prior to the end of the Battle of Okinawa, the American military had already claimed control over Okinawa and the other Nansei Shoto (Islands), the islands that spread between

Kyushu and Taiwan. Per the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Navy was given responsibility for providing a government to any Japanese islands that were captured during World War II.[11] As Admiral Chester W. Nimitz was the Commander and Chief of the Navy in the Pacific region, Nimitz, by default, became the military governor of the Ryukyu Islands. In April of 1945, well before the conclusion of the Battle of Okinawa, Nimitz established a military government on the islands of the Nansei Shoto and its adjacent waters led by Nimitz himself. This Proclamation No. 1, frequently known as the Nimitz Proclamation, suspended any powers of the Japanese government and instead placed all the powers of the government under Nimitz as the leader of the military government on Okinawa. The Proclamation provided no specific timeline for U.S. military control of Okinawa. While Article VII of the Proclamation did state that if the people of Okinawa followed the orders of the U.S. forces they would "be subject to no greater interference than is made necessary by war conditions," suggesting that control would be limited to the period of the war, rule by the U.S. military led government would continue in Okinawa for an additional 27 years, until May 15, 1972.

After the conclusion of the Battle and the signing of surrender documents by the Japanese military, America's rights to use the land of Okinawa and govern its people became strengthened by international treaties. The Instrument of Surrender, signed on September 2, 1945, in Tokyo Bay, established Japan's surrender in World War II to the Allied Powers, consisting of the governments of the United States, China, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This document additionally established control of Japan by the Allied Powers, led by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, commanding that all Japanese forces and Japanese people "comply with all the requirements which may be imposed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by agencies of the Japanese government at his direction."[12] Although Okinawa did not fall under the direct control of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and his office centered in Tokyo, it did fall under the U.S. military's Far Eastern

Command. The U.S. military was responsible for the government of Okinawa and its surrounding islands (all islands of the Nansei Shoto south of 30-degree north latitude). The Navy first held administrative control of post-war Okinawa and continued its control until July 1, 1946. Upon this date, administrative control was then shifted to the Army.[13]

Both the Navy and Army continued to solidify the control through the military led government on Okinawa. For example, Directive Number 11, published on September 9, 1945, established the organizational and operating procedures for the military government in Okinawa. Per this directive, the mission of the military government was to "a. Administer the civilian population in accordance with directives from higher authority; b. Supervise the restoration of the civilian economy and the civilian social and political organizations with limits of military demands; [and] c. Enforce the rules and regulations imposed upon the civilian population by Military Government."[14] Through this directive, the organization of the U.S. military administrative control was also formalized, providing concrete details regarding how the military government was to control Okinawa. These regulations, and the many that followed, gave the U.S. led military government the right to change and shape Okinawa, which combined with the utter destruction of the war, brought about innumerable transformations in Okinawan society.

The Destruction of the Battle of Okinawa on Okinawa and Its People

The Battle of Okinawa caused incalculable suffering and long-lasting changes to the people of Okinawa. In terms of physical tolls, according to the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, along with the 65,908 Japanese and 12,520 American service members who died during the Battle, 122,228 Okinawans also perished. While 28,228 of the Okinawans who died during the Battle of Okinawa were serving or affiliated with the Japanese military, the majority, 99,400, were Okinawan civilians who were simply trapped on the island with no way

to escape the fighting.[15] Based upon a population estimate of 590,480 people living in Okinawa in 1944, it can be conservatively estimated that at least 1/5 of Okinawa's population lost their lives in the Battle of Okinawa.[16] For those who did survive, many suffered from severe medical issues. During June of 1945, approximately 30% of all civilians who were brought to the civilian prisoner of war camps needed medical support. It was also estimated that 35% of the population had tuberculosis, and that dengue fever and filariasis, a parasitic disease, were also quite common. Additionally, approximately 75% of the population suffered from infestations of fleas and lice.[17]

Securing proper food supplies for the Okinawan civilian population was also a constant struggle during and shortly after the Battle of Okinawa. As the Battle stretched on, the local population became dependent upon the U.S. military to receive food. By July of 1945, the U.S. military was feeding 295,000 people daily, with 59 percent of the food being from imported sources.[18] A woman originally from Aza Minatogawa in Gushichan (currently Yaese Town), who was 15 at the time, recalled the food struggles faced during her time in a POW Camp in Kayo (currently Nago City). In early July of 1945, each person at the camp received only one cup of rice per day. As she was living with two other family members, each day her family were given three cups of rice, which they made into *okayu*, a type of rice porridge that they ate twice a day. Since they were receiving no other food at that time, they supplemented their diet by collecting seaweed from the ocean and edible grasses from around the camp, but this was not enough food to maintain a healthy diet.[19]

Housing, too, suffered from great damages during the Battle of Okinawa. After civilians surrendered or were captured, they were placed in civilian POW camps and were allowed to use the remaining housing for shelter. However, availability of livable homes was a distinct issue. The U.S. military estimated that in total only approximately 11,000-12,000 houses withstood the war on the island of Okinawa, and that at least half of these houses needed extensive repairs to

become functional homes again.[20] Therefore, moving into a home at a POW camp meant sharing housing with many different families. A man from Aza Ginowan (currently Ginowan City), who was 11 years old at the time of the war, recalled sharing a home with about seven different families at the Ageda POW Camp (located in Okinawa City). The residents of the home divided the house into plots for each family and slept on straw at night. He compared the experience to livestock living in a barn.[21] The housing shortage was particularly acute in the Naha area. The U.S. military estimated that prior to the start of the Battle of Okinawa, only 20% of all homes in Naha remained after the October 10, 1944, air raid. The Battle, which then ripped through Naha, destroyed most of these remaining homes. In the Sobe area of Naha City only 12 homes remained after the Battle. While these 12 remaining homes did suffer varying degrees of damage to them, as they were the only remaining structures, they were used to hold approximately 1,000 civilians.[22]

There were also shortages of clothing and other household supplies. This was due to both the battle itself, which destroyed much of the island, and the pillaging of Okinawan homes by American service members, who were looking for souvenirs.[23] While the military government was able to provide the people of Okinawa with some basic supplies to produce clothing and other goods needed for daily life, such as blankets, pans, bowls, matches and buckets, these supplies were limited in number and could not be distributed among all who resided in Okinawa.[24] The Battle of Okinawa itself caused absolute destruction not only to the island itself and to the people that lived on it, but also to all of the basic material structures that had been part of an organized society prior to the war.

However, beyond the death and destruction brought about by the war, it was the extended presence of the United States' military to Okinawa that caused many of the most drastic changes in the social, political, and economic norms of post-war Okinawa. The change in governmental control, from Japan to the U.S. military, brought new rules for the Okinawan population, with

one of the most significant shifts involving land ownership in Okinawa. Prior to the Battle of Okinawa, most Okinawans worked in agriculture, farming small plots. It is estimated that pre-WWII approximately 75 percent of households in Okinawa were involved in agriculture.[25] As most Okinawans worked in agriculture, there were very few people who worked as wage laborers. 1940 estimates show that only about 25,000 Okinawans[26] of a total population of 574,579 people,[27] approximately 4.35% of the population, worked as wage laborers. Therefore, access to farmable land was a necessity for most Okinawans, who were able to sustain their families through agriculture.

Yet, as a part of the expansion of U.S. military power on the islands, large areas of land that were owned by Okinawans and traditionally used for farming were confiscated by the U.S. for use as military bases. This left a large sector of the population landless and unable to successfully farm and support their families. Approximately 75 percent of the population of Okinawa was dislocated from their original areas of residence due to the Battle and upon its conclusion could not immediately return to their farms to support their families. While resettlement activities did take place (for example between October 31, 1945 and May 31, 1946, the U.S. military reported that they resettled 138,000 civilians to their pre-war hometowns), this resettlement process was slow and did not ensure that all could be returned to their hometowns.[28] Additionally, as 50 percent of the land south of Route 6, a road in central Okinawa that cut across the thinnest part of Okinawa Island in modern day Onna Village and Ishikawa, Uruma City, remained reserved for military usage as of July 1, 1946, many Okinawans who prior to the war had lived in central or southern Okinawa could not return to their hometowns or work their plots of land.[29] Military centric policies favored base construction over agriculture and as the bases expanded, the land available for farming shrank forcing those who previously farmed to leave their profession to try other jobs.[30] Many, by necessity, began to turn to occupations, such as civilian positions on the U.S. military bases for employment.

U.S. Military Employment of Okinawan Civilians

The Okinawans who surrendered or were captured in the Battle of Okinawa and placed in civilian refugee camps were some of the first to work for the U.S. military. The initial Okinawan employees of the U.S. military often worked in support of building U.S. military bases or refugee camps, cleaning existing U.S. facilities, or did other odd jobs, and were paid in goods such as clothing or food as the use of paper currency had been banned in Okinawa by the American military.[31] At the Nodake POW Camp, in modern day Ginowan City, Okinawan civilian POWs were put to work doing laundry for the military. The residents of the camp would take in the laundry of injured U.S. military members who were recovering at nearby military field hospitals. On a busy day the residents working in the laundry would clean up to 600 items, including shirts, towels, and blankets, at the Kushinu Spring, a natural spring that was within the boundaries of the Nodake POW Camp. Women were primarily responsible for the washing on the laundry, while men tended to work disinfecting the laundry.[32]

With the end of the war, and the continuation of the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa, there was an extended and expanded need for Okinawan employment on U.S. military bases. As it was impossible to efficiently and cost effectively import American workers to work on the military bases in Okinawa, a part of the military's labor plan was to use Okinawans to fulfill these worker shortages. The military dually viewed the employment of Okinawans as a part of their economic rehabilitation efforts for the islands. As the Deputy Commander of the U.S. Naval Military Government in Okinawa wrote to his superior in 1946, the post-war situation in Okinawa was dire:

> When they [the Okinawans] became charges of the Military Government they had lost practically everything they had ever possessed, and the problem of restoring them even to an approximation of their former way of life has been one of the first magnitude not only because their standard was relatively high–certainly higher than that of the average farmer in Japan – but also because there is no undestroyed hinterland or reserve upon which the people can draw for their own reconstruction.[33]

The military believed that providing Okinawans with employment opportunities would help to restore the local economy. As most of the island had been destroyed and much of the farming land had been confiscated by the U.S. military, labor was one of the few ways in which Okinawans could make money. The military believed that hiring Okinawans would result in more money for the Okinawan economy.[34]

At first there were some problems with these plans. The war itself had exacted a great toll on the number of able-bodied Okinawans available to work for the U.S. military. Young men were often conscripted into the Japanese military, resulting in a high death rate of this population. According to the Report of Military Government Activities for Period from 1 April 1945 to 1 July 1946, the U.S. military estimated that after the war only nine percent of the Okinawan population consisted of healthy men who were able to work, and only a few of this group were skilled or semi-skilled workers, as most had worked in agriculture prior to the war.

Additional employment issues existed due to where Okinawans were permitted to reside. Most of the men who were deemed eligible to work did not live within walking distance of the military bases. Their long commutes prevented these men from working on the bases, further worsening the labor shortage problem.[35] At the time of the report, most American military bases stretched primarily on the western side of the island, from the southern to central areas of Okinawa Island, between the towns of Naha and Yomitan. As the military had determined that these clusters of land were of military importance, Okinawans were not allowed to return to their homes in these regions. The Okinawans who traditionally lived in these areas, instead, were forced to live in temporary housing throughout Okinawa in districts deemed to be militarily

unimportant. The distances of these temporary living areas from the military bases made daily commuting to work impossible. Instead, as an immediate stopgap to the severe labor shortage, the U.S. military employed the approximately 12,000 Japanese prisoners of war remaining in Okinawa.[36]

Shortly after the war, Okinawan leaders also supported Okinawans working on the military bases as it was seen to end the high unemployment levels of post-war Okinawa. In an undated letter written in 1946, Koushin Shikiya, the governor of the Okinawa Gunto (Islands) wrote to the Deputy Commander for Military Government requesting assistance with placing unemployed Okinawans in positions on the U.S. military bases. Shikiya wrote, "In order to relieve the unemployed all over this island, about 30,000 in number, I deem it advisable to have the able-bodied unemployed used by the military units."[37] In this same letter, Shikiya also made a special request for help for the people of Naha. Most Naha residents could not return to the Naha area due to military occupation and were instead scattered throughout Okinawa. As most of the pre-war residents of Naha were not farmers, but instead involved in commercial or industrial industries, even if they were given plots of land by the military, they did not have the skill set to successfully farm these plots. They were instead forced to live off their savings, which were quickly running out. Shikiya explained that the 384 former residents of Naha who had been relocated to the Ginoza District were in a particularly dire straits as there was little food in the area and few nearby military units to support employment. Due to this situation, Shikiya petitioned that these 384 Ginoza residing former Naha residents be moved to a location that was situated near U.S. military units to ensure employment for them.[38] Military employment was viewed as a method to provide Okinawans with jobs and allow them to return to self-sufficiency.

In 1946 a more permanent resolution to the U.S. military's labor shortages was found with the start of the repatriation of Okinawans from mainland Japan and abroad. By the end of 1946, over 104,000 Okinawans had been repatriated to Okinawa.[39] The U.S. military saw these

newly repatriated Okinawans as a source of labor, which provided an alternative to the continued use of Japanese prisoners of war as workers. Additionally, more Okinawans were slowly allowed to live in areas previously deemed off-limits due to military security measures. With the influx of Okinawans returning home to Okinawa, along with the increase of Okinawans who were allowed to live within walking distance of the military bases, such as in Minato Mura in Naha City,[40] the numbers of Okinawans working for the military quickly increased.

The types of U.S. military related jobs available increased and grew in popularity as the military's presence evolved on the island and the most devastating, immediate impacts of the war were resolved. On October 26, 1945, Directive 34 of the Military Government further opened the job market for Okinawans allowing them to become drivers for the military.[41] By December of 1945 employment by the U.S. military had expanded to a wide variety of jobs including barbers, cooks, carpenters, mechanics, office workers and maids.[42] When jobs on the U.S. military bases transferred from wages in kind to cash salaries in May of 1946, these positions became even more popular. Many Okinawans who had previously worked as teachers or in other types of civil servant positions transferred to working on base because they could receive a cash salary plus the potential for receiving goods from the military bases.[43] While in July of 1946 there were only 6,519 Okinawans working for the military, by December of 1946 this number had almost tripled to 17,231 Okinawans. One year later, in December of 1947, this number had again more than doubled to 37,771 and by December of 1948 it had reached its peak for the 1940s at 41,653 Okinawans employed by the U.S. military.[44] However, one can assume that some Okinawans who worked on the military bases were not properly registered in their jobs or directly hired by individual members of the military forces and not counted in the official number of base employees. The actual number of Okinawans working on the bases was likely even higher.[45]

Another major reason for the popularity of military employment shortly after the Battle of Okinawa (1945-1950) was because of what was known at the time as *senka* (戦果).[46] While a

direct translation of the term senka into English describes military results or achievements, in post war Okinawa, the word senka was used to describe the stealing of goods from the military. Working for the military put Okinawan employees in proximity to military goods, making it easier for them to purloin these items. Especially since there were severe shortages of goods in Okinawa after the war, the prospect of senka made working for the military much more desirable. Recalling their experience with senka, Kikō Tomoyose, a Naha resident at the time, remembered how many Okinawans would blatantly take from the military while working, describing the situation as follows,

> The place they took us to was an open-air goods stockyard that had been built on stretch of partitioned off, fire-devastated land between Kumoji and Izumizaki [currently Naha City]. In the stockyard, there were boxes of packed canned goods piled up. Our job was to help with the placing and taking of the boxes from the pile. It was extremely easy work … A group of older ladies who couldn't read English would indiscriminately rip the packaging and open the canned goods looking for this or that. However, the soldier supervising us turned a blind eye to these women's activities and did not give them any scolding for their actions.[47]

Although it was not as easy to acquire senka at all workplaces, the likelihood of its availability made military employment more desirable than the private sector for many Okinawans.

In addition to cash salaries and senka, the changing nature of Okinawa's economy forced many to leave farming and work on the U.S. military bases. Under military governor, Major General Josef R. Sheetz, the military pursued a policy of avoiding inflation in Okinawa. They did this by increasing the availability of consumer goods and lowering their prices for the Okinawan public starting in 1949.[48] However, in increasing the availability of imported rice and other foods, many Okinawans stopped eating locally grown sweet potatoes and rice, significantly lowering the price at which farmers could sell these goods. For example, the price of sweet potatoes dropped by 44% between April and November of 1949.[49] Many of the Okinawans who were able to resume farming after the war could no longer support their families with the revenue they made from selling their goods. They were forced to leave their farms in the control

of another family member and find other work, frequently on the U.S. military bases, to get the cash needed for their families to survive. This led to many ex-farmers working in construction on the military bases, especially during the building boom of the early 1950s.

Therefore, one can understand that the U.S. military bases offered an employment option for many Okinawans after the Battle of Okinawa. Jobs were readily available for those who lost their agricultural lands due to military base enlargements, those wanting access to cash salaries or military goods and the unemployed. Additionally, those who could not secure their livelihoods in the traditional manner of working farms were frequently forced to look for other job options on the military bases. These changes greatly shaped the employment structure of Okinawa making many dependent upon the military bases for their survival.

Women Working in Okinawa

Pre-Battle of Okinawa

It has long been said that Okinawan women are hard workers[50] and this is true of Okinawan women in pre-war Okinawa. As there were fewer industries in Okinawa, particularly outside of the Naha area, women living in rural areas frequently supported their families through various endeavors centered around the home. Beyond housework and childcare, this also regularly included farming, animal husbandry, and weaving. A description of the activities of an unnamed Okinawan woman living in the Yanbaru (northern area) of Okinawa in 1912 provides an example of the hard work completed by women in rural areas. Naturally, this woman did all the cooking and cleaning of her home. These chores were made more difficult by the fact that she did not have indoor plumbing, electricity, or gas in her home. She had to go to the river to get any water needed in the home and cooked on a hearth heated with firewood. In addition, after her husband and children left the home for school and to work in the mountains and fields, she

oversaw feeding and caring for the family's pigs. She then would help with any necessary farming for that day on their family plot when not preparing the family's meals. In the summer months she would also create fabric from the fibers of the Japanese banana plant. The woman also had seasonal responsibilities to her community. There was helping the village with the preparation for and planting of rice every year around February. Occasionally, she would have to go into the forest and cut bamboo and other wood to bring it down to the village. Okinawan women living in rural areas worked incredibly hard in and around their homes to support their families.[51]

Outside of the more rural regions, particularly in the Naha area, Okinawan women frequently worked a variety of jobs outside of the home. Even during the Ryukyu Kingdom (1429-1879) women were in control of the markets. Not only did they carry their goods to the markets, but they also did the buying and selling, which was seen as a rarity to visitors from outside of Okinawa at the time. Women also dominated the textile industry centered in Naha during the Ryukyu Kingdom.[52]

In later years, after Okinawa became a part of Japan, which brought more industries to the islands. While many women outside of Naha continued working with their families farming, by the 1910s industries had expanded, creating more factories in the Naha area. Many young women started working in the hat making industry and these hats became the second largest export of Okinawa after sugar cane.[53] These women would work in the factory during the day and then bring pieces home to work at during the night. During the 1910s, women in the Naha area also started venturing into other positions such as working as clerks at banks, post offices and the electric company, as telephone operators, bill collectors, and ticket sellers for trains and as well as at department stores.[54] Women were also frequently employed in what were considered "women's fields" such as teaching, particularly at the elementary school level, or as nurses.[55]

As the years went by, world events brought further changes to the ways that women worked in Okinawa. Financial difficulties due to the fluctuating price of sugarcane and the great depression caused many Okinawans to start looking for jobs in mainland Japan and abroad in the 1920s and 1930s. The most common professions for Okinawan women to pursue in mainland Japan were working in the spinning industry or as a maid.[56] Japan's entrance into the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937 also brought changes to women's employment in Okinawa. Due to men leaving Okinawa to fight in the war, women started working in previously male dominated fields such as banking, lacquerware, pottery, and as shop clerks and laborers.[57]

Post- Battle of Okinawa

With the conclusion of World War II came another large change in the working patterns of women in Okinawa. Instead of only women from Naha and other urban areas working outside of the home, many women from the entirety of Okinawa began to take outside employment. Naturally this change did not happen immediately. Over two years after the war's end, women still did not have equal representation in the working force. Military Government Directive Number 48, which was published on November 17, 1947, required all Okinawan men between the ages of 15 and 60 along with Okinawan women between the ages of 15 and 40 to register at their nearest Civilian Administration Field Labor Office.[58] Based upon the data collected from these Field Labor Offices, between September 1947 and December 1947 it was determined that almost 70% of unemployed people in Okinawa were women.[59] However, over time women continued to enter the job market and by 1958 out of the 364,000 Okinawans who were working, 169,000, 46.4%, were women. This rate of women in the workforce remained steady as in 1963, out of the 391,000 employed Okinawans, 46.0%, 180,000, were women.[60]

Along with the increase in women working outside of the home, the types of jobs that women worked diversified. Women started working in new fields such as finance and

manufacturing. Additionally, with the growth of military bases came new job opportunities for women. Women frequently started working on the military bases as secretaries, typists, or telephone switchboard operators.[61] As these jobs received comparably higher salaries to jobs off base, and there was no difference between the salaries of male and female employees, these were often popular places for employment. One of the most attractive jobs for women at the time was working at the PX, a retail store for military-related-personnel because it was seen as a glamorous job. Additionally, particularly in the early years after the war when there was a shortage of food, working in restaurants on base was also a very popular position because it provided employees with greater access to meals.[62]

One of the most common jobs for an Okinawan woman to hold on the American military bases was a maid. By 1955 at least 9,995 women were working as maids for American military-related-personnel. These 9,995 maids represented 19.4% of all base employees.[63] More women began to join this career field and by 1960 the number of maids had grown to 13,931.[64] While 1964 there was a drop with only 7,112 women working as maids, by 1970 that number had again swelled to 14,770 women.[65] Even at its lowest point in popularity, at least 7,000 women a year were working as maids for American military-related-personnel, which represented a large proportion of female military-related employees.

Maids in Okinawa

A Brief History of Maids in Okinawa

Okinawan women worked as maids prior to the Battle of Okinawa. After Okinawa became a prefecture of Japan in 1879, the money economy spread. This meant that taxes needed to be paid in cash instead of goods and brought about many changes for Okinawans. When families living in rural areas did not have enough money, these families would, at times, sell

their daughters to employers in Naha. Although the image of a girl being sold as a *juri*, a prostitute and performer in the pleasure quarters of Naha, is most common, women were also frequently sold to work as maids in the Naha area.[66] These women often worked for mainland Japanese who had moved to Okinawa to work as government officials or as merchants.[67]

Some Okinawan women also left Okinawa to work as maids. When many Okinawans started moving to mainland Japan to work in the 1920s and 1930s, one of the most common professions for Okinawan women to pursue was a maid.[68] Additionally, between the 1920s and early 1940s there was a demand for maids in Taiwan and many women, primarily from the Yaeyama region, moved there to pursue this position. Instead of working for Taiwanese employers, this demand was primarily driven by the mainland Japanese families who had moved to Taiwan during the period of Japanese control.[69] According to oral histories collected by Kenji Mizuta, a scholar of human geography, most of the Okinawan women who worked as maids in Taiwan moved to Taiwan shortly after graduating from school and were usually in their late teens to early twenties. They worked for several years as maids and then returned to their hometowns.[70] In fact, D, who was born on Yonaguni Island in 1916 and later worked as a maid in Taiwan, recalled that almost all her classmates moved to Taiwan after graduating from school.[71] As a maid was one of the few positions available for single Okinawan women in Taiwan at that time, it is very likely that many of her female classmates also worked as maids.

Okinawan women working as maids for mainland Japanese encountered a variety of problems. Naturally, the position came with many hardships such as long hours, frequent demands, and low pay.[72] However, there were other issues that arose due to the cultural differences between Okinawans and Japanese. An article from the *Shakai Jigyō no Tomo* magazine entitled "Okinawa Shusshin no Jyochū ni tsuite" (About Maids from Okinawa) noted some of the complaints that Japanese employers frequently had regarding their Okinawan maids. The first issue was that employers often felt that their maids' Japanese was subpar. While the

Okinawan women could speak Japanese, their employers frequently believed their Japanese was inadequate when it came to using polite terminology for guests visiting the home. Cultural differences also caused problems with employers. Employers were frequently irritated at how Okinawan maids could not prepare a bath in the Japanese way or how they showed up at homes without any invitation. Japanese employers also commonly believed stereotypes about Okinawans, which tainted their views on their Okinawan employees. The article highlighted how differing ideology regarding "virtue" caused problems between Okinawan maids and their Japanese employers.[73] There were many hardships associated with Okinawan women working as maids in Japanese homes.

However large the historical, cultural, and language differences between Okinawans and Japanese, these paled in comparison to the differences between Okinawans and Americans. While the basic goals of the job of a maid were similar in both an American and Japanese household, to keep the house clean, the ways these tasks were done were quite different. Okinawan women working in an American home had significantly larger cultural and language differences to overcome than a woman working in a Japanese home, making learning the job and communicating with the employer exponentially harder. Although there is a history of Okinawan women, particularly young, unmarried women, working in the homes of Japanese as maids, these experiences would do little to prepare them to work in the home of an American post World War II.

A Brief History of Maids in the United States

To better understand the mindset of the American military-related-personnel in Okinawa who hired Okinawan women to work as maids, it is important to have a general understanding of the history of maids in the U.S. The 13th Amendment, which was ratified on December 6, 1865, brought about a great change in domestic services practices in the U.S by banning slavery or

involuntary servitude in the United States.[74] Prior to this constitutional amendment many women who worked in private households, particularly African and African American women, were slaves and forced into their employment. They did not choose to work as enslaved maids and were instead owned by their employers and subject to horrendous working conditions. Although the ratification of the 13th Amendment did not immediately end the practice of slavery, this legislation greatly shaped the trajectory of maid demographics in the U.S., ensuring that all women who worked in the field were free and received pay for their work.

Table 2. Private Household Workers in the U.S., 1870-1970[75]

Year	Total Number of Workers	Percent of All Employed Women Working as a Private Household Worker
1870	960,000	52.3%
1880	1,078,000	40.7%
1890	1,433,000	36.6%
1900	1,526,000	28.7%
1910	1,784,000	22.1%
1920	1,360,000	15.9%
1930	1,909,000	17.8%
1940	2,277,000	20.4%
1950	1,459,000	8.4%
1960	1,943,000	8.9%
1970	1,518,000	5.1%

Private household work (to include maids, cooks, launderers, and childcare workers) was a large employment sector for women in the U.S. during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In fact, in the 1870s, the job of private household worker was the most common profession for women aged 10 and older working outside of the home, with 52.3% of women employed as domestic workers.[76] (See table above). Immigrants and African Americans primarily fulfilled these roles as American born white women tended to avoid this profession. During the 19th century, a large majority of the immigrant women working as maids were from Ireland. Many Irish women who immigrated to the U.S. came as single women and by obtaining a position as a

live-in maid, these recent immigrants could find a place to live and receive a salary. As late as 1900, 60.5% of all women who had been born in Ireland and lived in the U.S. had worked in some type of domestic service position.[77]

Although the overall percentage of working women employed as a private household worker declined after 1870, the actual number of women who entered this profession nearly doubled between 1870 and 1910. (See table above). This is because of the growth of both the demand for private household workers and the number of laborers available. During those 40 years, the U.S. went through a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization, which created much larger groups of middle- and upper-class families desiring domestic help. At the same time, as the number of immigrants entering the U.S. grew, particularly from Germany, Ireland, and Scandinavia, many of these women were forced to work as private household workers due to a lack of other employment opportunities. These recent immigrants frequently took the place of American born white women who left their positions to pursue other job opportunities, marriage, or childbirth. During this period maids and other private household workers tended to live with their employers.[78]

As time passed, societal changes altered the demographics of domestic work employment and as a result fewer people had maids in their homes. Changing immigration patterns brought fewer women to the private household worker field. Proportionally more Russian, Polish, and Italian immigrants started to arrive in the U.S. after 1910, and these women were less likely to work as a domestic servant. Additionally, as there was a push for stricter child labor laws, many of the girls, aged 10 to 15, who had traditionally worked as domestic servants, were no longer eligible for employment. Furthermore, women began to have more opportunities for jobs in other fields, such as the professional, clerical, manufacturing, and sales industries, so they did not become domestic workers. While in 1900, 9.43% of American families had a maid, by 1940, only 6.02% of families in the U.S. had a maid in their home.[79]

However, for many African American women, private household employment was the only type of work available. Prior to the Great Migration, the movement of six million African Americans between the years of 1916 to 1970 from the South to the North and West regions of the U.S., the majority of African Americans lived in the southern states of the U.S. While many African American women did work as maids prior to the Great Migration, their labor was primarily based in the South, so most families living outside of the South hired Irish or other immigrant women to work as maids. However, with the Great Migration, African Americans began to live in all regions of the U.S. and in turn work as private household workers throughout the United States. As white women began to leave the field with an increased frequency, African American women took their place. Domestic service jobs once held by Irish women and other immigrants were slowly taken over by African American women.[80] By 1940 it was estimated that almost 50% of all domestic workers were African American.[81] Since African American women tended to work outside their household regardless of their marital status at higher rates than white women, the nature of the job also changed such that many domestic servants no longer lived with their employers. Instead, they lived in their own homes and commuted daily so that they could still raise their own families.[82]

When Americans started moving to Okinawa in 1945, the peak of private household workers in the U.S. had passed. For those who had the experience of a maid in the U.S. prior to their move to Okinawa, their maid was most likely an African American woman who commuted daily to her job. She was likely older and had own family to take care of in the evenings. Naturally, she would have spoken English and was an American citizen familiar with the cultural and technological aspects of the society.

Therefore, for most Americans employing maids in Okinawa, this would have been their first experience with a maid. Marian Chapple Merritt, the wife of an Air Force Officer, who lived on Kadena Air Base in the twice, once in the late 1940s and a second time in the early to mid-

1950s, described her experience with maids as such, "I'm an ordinary American housewife and, if I were back home in the States, I could neither afford a full-time maid nor find one, if I had the money. Imagine how then it felt to me to arrive on Okinawa to find that I could not only afford one but was expected to have one to help the Okinawa economy and to give these little girls something to do!"[83] Not only did the maids in Okinawa look very different from the stereotypical image of maids in the U.S. in the 1940s-1970s, but for most Americans in Okinawa, employing a maid was a completely new experience. Americans were unfamiliar with the role of being an employer to a maid, particularly one who did not speak the same language as them or have similar cultural ideas and identities. These gaps in knowledge and experience regarding the hiring and employment of maids, along the very different cultures of the employee and employer, played a large role in shaping the difficulties and opportunities of working as a maid for American military-related-personnel in Okinawa.

Maids in American Homes in Okinawa

There were two different types of maids working for American military-related-personnel in Okinawa: maids who worked in the bachelor quarters, particularly the Bachelor Officer Quarters (BOQ), and maids who worked for families. Maids who worked in the bachelor quarters were responsible for cleaning the rooms, laundry,[84] and other routine chores for typically between two to eight men. These maids commuted to work from their home daily and did not live with their employers. Their salaries could change month to month depending upon the number of military members residing in the bachelor quarters they cleaned and the demand for cleaning. Pay could also be dependent upon the rank of the military member's room cleaned. For example, on Futenma Air Base in 1969, bachelor quarter maids received $11/month for each enlisted service member's room, $12/month for each Non-Commissioned Officer's (NCO) room, and $14/month for every Officer's room cleaned. However, those cleaning Officer's rooms were

limited to four Officers per month, while there were no limits on how many enlisted or NCO rooms could be cleaned.[85] Bachelor's quarter's maids were the first types of maids to be hired on the military bases as at first only military service members were sent to Okinawa.

However, beginning on May 1, 1946, the families of officers and the top three grades of non-commissioned officers were authorized to travel to various Pacific commands, including the Ryukyu Islands, to live abroad with their service member.[86] This regulation reform changed the nature of domestic service in Okinawa, as after this date, many Okinawan women also began to work for American families as maids. This subsection of maids was frequently called housemaids to differentiate them from those working in the bachelor's quarters. They had many of the responsibilities of the maids working in the BOQ, including cleaning, laundry, and other routine chores, but by working for a family, their duties were often expanded to also include childcare. Some households, particularly those of high-ranking officers, were able to hire more than one maid to work in the home, so these maids had more specialized duties such as focusing only on cleaning or childcare. M2 noted that when she started working as a maid in 1948, she was one of three maids working for her employer. One of the maids worked solely in childcare, while she and the other maid did the cleaning, laundry, and other chores around the house.[87] While some maids did assist with cooking preparation, most housemaids were not expected to cook food for their employers. As American and Okinawan cooking styles were completely different, many American women felt it was difficult and not worth the time to train a maid to cook to their tastes.[88] Compared to bachelor quarter maids, the pay rate was more stable for housemaids and did not change monthly.

Men also occasionally worked in the housekeeping field and were called houseboys. While some men worked in family homes, most houseboys worked in the bachelor's quarters. Their job requirements were like the women working as maids in bachelor's quarters. Motoki Maehara, who starting in 1952 worked as a houseboy in the bachelor's quarters on Kadena Air

Base, recalled picking up the service member's dirty clothes from the ground and putting them into bags to be taken to the laundromat, doing a general cleaning of rooms and when the men had to go to training, shining their boots. Maehara had no restrictions on the number of rooms that he could clean and worked for approximately 20 different military service members at one time.[89]

In the early years after the war there were strict regulations regarding where a maid could live. While houseboys were allowed to live at their place of employment in March of 1946, in general, female maids could not live with their employers at this time. Maids had to leave their place of employment every evening with enough time to return to their home before sunset. However, in the cases of maids working for families, they were allowed to live with their employers if there was enough space for the maid and the Commanding Officer had approved the situation.[90] Natalie Sundberg, the daughter of Marian Chapple Merritt, recalls that when she and her family moved to Okinawa in 1946 the family's two maids did not live with them because there was not enough space in their Quonset hut home on Kadena Air Base. Instead, they lived in the maid's area, a dormitory style housing for maids on Kadena Air Base. The women lived in the maid's area five days a week and returned to their own homes on the weekends.

However, in later years, there were fewer regulations regarding where housemaids lived giving both maids and their employers more freedom to choose. This created two different categories of housemaids, live-in maids, who lived in the homes of their employers, and commuting maids, who traveled to their workplace daily. In homes that hired more than one maid, there was frequently a combination of live-in and commuting maids. M7 recalled that in 1959 when she started her first job at a Colonel's home in Rycom Plaza housing area she was one of two maids. She lived with the family while the other maid commuted to work daily.[91]

Among the commuting housemaids, were a subset of girls who worked in American homes while continuing their education. These types of housemaids were called "School Girl" (スクールガール).[92] This term does not appear to be limited to Okinawa and was also used both

pre-and post-World War II in Japan for any young woman who worked as a maid in the mornings and evenings while attending school.[93] Fujiko Nakanishi was one such of these schoolgirl maids, as she started working as a maid shortly after the war ended while she was a junior high school student. At first Nakanishi worked as a laundress for a nearby military unit in Urasoe, but this alone did not bring in enough money.[94] Nakanishi took the initiative to find another job and worked as a maid for a Filipino man associated with the U.S. military and his Okinawan "honey" (common-law wife). She worked in this job for three years, during the entirety of her junior high school education. Since her family did not have much money, she gave about two thirds of her income to her mother.[95]

Maids were generally hired in one of three manners. Word of mouth was a powerful tool for finding and retaining a job as a maid. In fact, according to data from 1970, approximately 59% of all maids found their jobs through introductions from friends or acquaintances.[96] This was a particularly common method for locating an initial job opportunity. Additionally, once a maid had secured her initial job, if she and her employer had a good relationship, the employer would frequently recommend her to her next employer upon his or her departure from Okinawa. During the period of American control, most military-related families stayed in Okinawa for a maximum of three years (although civilian employees could stay on the island for longer), so there was a high turnover rate for maids. Therefore, finding the next desirable employment opportunity was often dependent upon a recommendation from a former employer to a future employer. M7 found her first job as a maid through a friend from her village. At the time M7 was 19 years old and working at an Okinawan soba shop. One day when M7 was visiting her cousin, a friend stopped by to ask M7's cousin if she would like to work as a maid on base, as the friend's employer was looking to employ a second maid. M7's cousin did not want the job, but M7 jumped at the opportunity. She immediately quit her job at the restaurant and started working as a housemaid at the home of a Colonel and his family in the Rycom Plaza housing

area. When the Colonel and his family returned to the U.S., they introduced her to another family, and she worked for them until they returned to the U.S. In total M7 worked for 10 years as a maid for four different families, all her maid positions found through introductions.[97]

Another common method for finding employment was visiting a job placement office (職業安定所). In 1970, approximately 28% of maids found their jobs through job placement offices.[98] Americans who were searching for a maid were provided the phone numbers for the Koza City Labor Office, the Ginowan City (Futenma) Labor Office or the Naha City Labor Office to put in a maid wanted request. The job placement office would then put these job offers on lists of available workplaces, so a visit to one of these offices could point a potential employee in the direction of a job as a maid.[99] With the constant influx of military-related members and their families there was always a demand for maids. According to M5, who worked as both a live-in and commuting housemaid for a number of years, jobs were so plentiful in the 1950s and early 1960s that if a maid did not like her employer, she could easily quit, go to a job placement office and find a new employer.[100] During this time, maids had a high degree of flexibility to both quit and find new employment, with potentially better working conditions or salary, due to the high demand for maids by American military-related-personnel.

Kadena Air Base also had its own Personnel Department that specifically dealt with the hiring, firing, and paying of salaries for maids that was separate from the job placement offices discussed above. The Kadena Air Base Employment Office was in a 20 tsubo (711.6 square feet, 66.1 square meter) building just outside of Kadena Air Base's Gate Two. Like the job placement offices, potential employers and employees could visit the site to secure an employee or job. The Personnel Department was unique from the job placement centers in that it funded its building and activities through a payment system. Employers whose maid worked for them for more than two weeks had to pay the Personnel Department $1 as a recruitment fee. Employers whose maids remained in their job for less than two weeks were responsible for paying the Personnel

Department a $0.30 recruitment fee. Additionally, the Personnel Department took a monthly $0.30 maintenance fee from all employers who used the service on top of the salaries for maids which were paid through the Personnel Department.[101]

Fig. 1. Koza City's Gate 2 Street in 1963. The Kadena Air Base Employment Office is the first building on the left side of the picture, in front of the Shanghai Tailor Shop. Photograph from Donn Cuson.

There also were occasional advertisements in the newspapers for maids. While some of the earliest advertisements for maid positions in both the *Okinawa Times* and the *Ryūkyū Shimpō* appeared in 1955, newspaper advertisements became more prevalent after June of 1958. One of the earliest advertisements, which appeared in the March 3, 1955, morning edition of the *Okinawa Times*, requested an experienced housemaid who could speak conversational English. The potential employer was not noted by name but was stated to be a small family. Those that were interested in the position could go to Rodgers Company (ロヂャース商会) in Shimabuku, Koza area (currently Kitanakagusuku Village) on March 3rd or 4th from 10:00 am for an interview. Asking for an experienced maid was a rarity in these early help wanted advertisements. Advertisements instead tended to focus on English capabilities, age requirements, and the ability to be a live-in maid.

Once a maid had secured a job, she needed to be able to access the military base where her employer lived through the base pass system. During the period of American control, all the bachelor quarters were located on military bases and many of the family housing areas were also

located on military bases, making base passes necessary for the majority of maids.[102] The pass process was dependent upon the base that you worked on. To receive a base pass to work at Kadena Air Base (KAB) in 1969, maids needed to submit a completed "Local National Employee Locator Card/Request for Pass" signed by their employer, a photograph, and a completed Medical Clearance form (based upon an examination by the Ryukyuan Health Clinic on KAB) to the KAB Pass Office. These health check requirements were not specifically for maids as all Ryukyuan employees working on Kadena Air Base received a yearly medical checkup with x-rays and any additional immunization shots as necessary.[103] The physical examination in 1948 consisted of a chest x-ray, a stool exam to check for intestinal parasites, a blood test for syphilis and immunization shots for smallpox, typhoid, cholera, and typhus.[104] By 1957 the physical examination had been somewhat simplified requiring only a chest x-ray, and various immunizations including a shot for typhoid and smallpox. Additionally for those working on KAB for the first time, they needed to submit a family register (戸籍謄本) and a residential history statement, which included information about all countries of residence since January of 1954.[105]

The base pass process was simpler for those maids working on Army or Marine bases. In 1966 these maids had to first go to the Health Examination Office on Camp Boone (currently Ginowan City) to receive a check up, chest x-ray and any necessary immunizations. They could then receive a pass at the Pass Office on Camp Boone. While a pass was not necessary for those maids who worked off base, the Fort Buckner Women's Club strongly recommended that all maids have a health check before working in any American home and encouraged that all Okinawans working as live-in maids receive a medical checkup every six months. The medical check was free of cost and all that was needed to be done to receive the checkup was to send the maid to the Ryukyuan Chest X-Ray and Immunization Branch of the Preventative Medicine Service at Camp Boone with a letter stating that the person was employed by an American

family.[106] During the period of American control it was deemed the American employer's responsibility to determine if their maid was healthy enough to work successfully, so medical examinations were an important aspect of the hiring process.[107]

Maids in Numbers

The U.S. military kept records of the number of maids employed by American military-related-personnel. Based upon materials preserved from 1959-1961, it appears that for several years USCAR's Labor Department annually checked with every branch of the military through Labor Force Surveys on Okinawa to determine how many maids were working for each service. They then added the number of maids employed by members of each service to come to an idea of how many Okinawan women worked as maids for American military-related-personnel. Unfortunately, it is unclear if this process was used in the years before 1959 or after 1961.

Table 3. 1959 Maid Labor Statistics[108]

Employer (Location)	Number of Maids
Domestic Labor Fund (Naha Air Base)	974
Category II and III Labor Office (Kadena Air Base)	2,811
USARYIS (US Army Ryukyu Islands) (Machiminato Depot Area)	8,526
Composite Service Unit (Army, Chinen)	187
Marine (Machiminato Depot Area)	1, 275
Navy Barracks (EM & CPO) (Naha)	80
Foreign Broadcast Information Service (Bolo Point)	76
U.S. Coast Guard (Ike[i] Shima Island)	3
Total:	13,932

However, this system was likely not inclusive of every maid working for American military-related-personnel. It is unclear how each employer came to their total number of maids. It is highly likely that the count was based on maids who had received a base pass or were

formally registered with the military. Maids who did not work on a U.S. military base and therefore did not receive a base pass or were not registered with the military as an employee would not be included in this count, so the number of maids working for Americans was most likely higher.

The graph below shows USCAR's Labor Department estimates for the number of Okinawan maids working for U.S. military-related-personnel between 1955 and 1972. There does not appear to be any remaining records regarding the number of Okinawan maids for the years between 1945-1945, 1962-1963 and 1965-1966. The data from the years of 1959-1961 was based upon USCAR Labor Force Surveys discussed above.[109] Data from the years of 1955-1958, 1964 and 1967-1971 was based upon numerous editions of the USCAR created *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book*.[110] These books, which were published yearly between 1959 and 1971, provide a wide variety of information and statistics about Okinawa at the time, including data on geography and population, labor, prices and household expenditures, public services, and education. However, it is unclear how the data for these books, including the number of maids, was collected. The data regarding maid numbers presented in the *Facts Book* for the years of 1959 to 1961 differs from the data found in the Labor Force Surveys,[111] which can be considered more reliable data; therefore, it calls in question the reliability of the data found in the *Facts Book*. However, as there is no other source of data regarding the number of maids, it is used in the dissertation to provide a general idea of how many Okinawan women worked as a maid for American military-related-personnel.

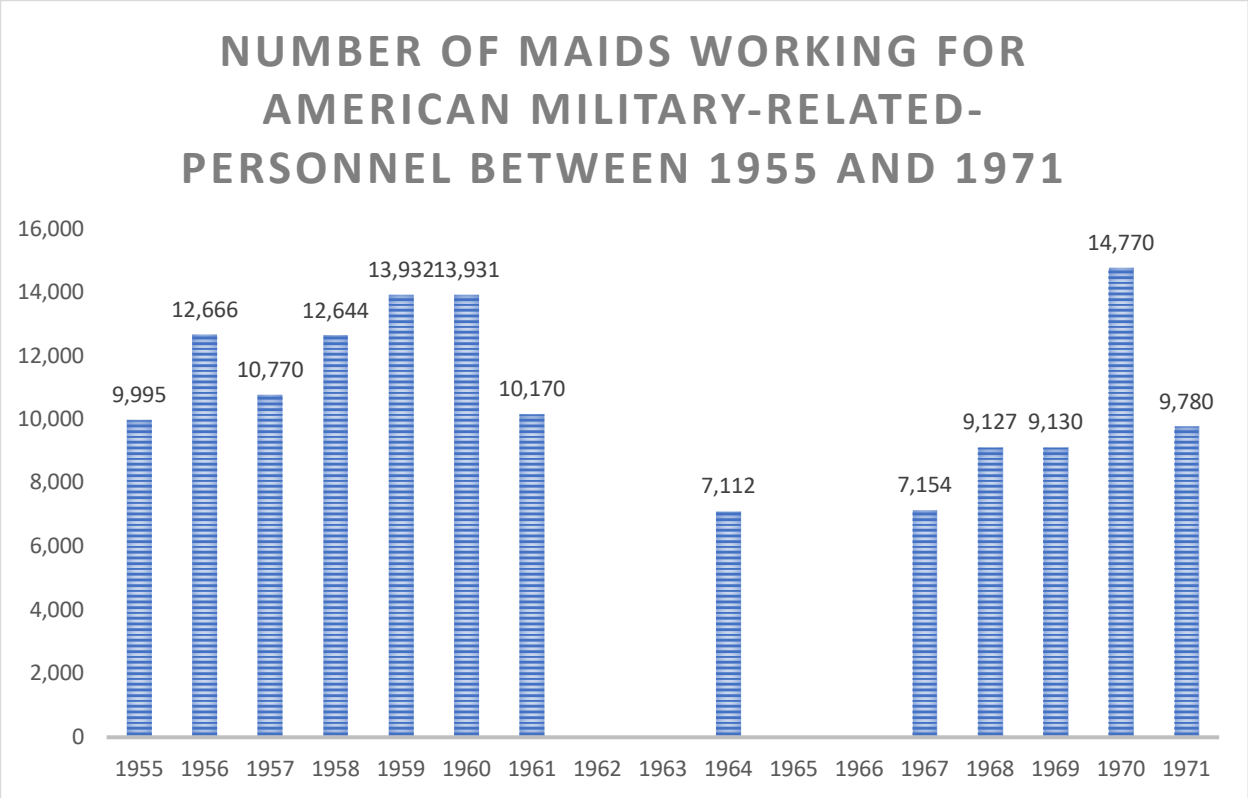

Fig. 2. The Number of Maids Working for American Military-Related-Personnel between 1955 and 1971

The years with the highest recorded maid employment numbers were 1970 with 14,770 maids, 1959 with 13,032 maids and 1960 with 13,931 maids. 1964 and 1967 had the lowest numbers of recorded maids with 7,112 and 7,154 respectively.

Maids in Numbers: 1945-1960

Shifts in economic and social factors caused some of the variance in the numbers of Okinawan women who worked as maids for American military-related-personnel. During the 1940s and 1950s, many Okinawan women worked as maids for Americans for economic reasons. Looking at the above graph, between 1955 and 1960, the number of women working as maids showed an upward trend. During the early years of American control, there were not many job options for women, so many took the position of a maid because it was readily available. Additionally, as the number of base housing areas and American military dependents living in Okinawa grew during the late 1940 and 1950s there became more and more open positions for

maids. This was in fact part of the U.S. military government's plan to stimulate the economy. Americans were encouraged to hire maids as a way to provide employment for Okinawan women. Natalie Sundberg, who lived in Okinawa twice, first in 1946-47 as a high school student and a second time in the early to mid-1950s as an adult dependent of her parents, recalled that especially in the 1940s, every American family that was living in Okinawa was directed to hire as many maids as they could. Even though the Merritt family felt it was excessive, their family of three had two maids during their first stay on Okinawa between 1946 and 1947.[112]

Maid services in the 1940's was provided to Americans for free. A 1948 booklet entitled *Sweatin' Okinawa*, which was distributed to dependents who were about to join their active-duty military family member in Okinawa, readers were informed that, "You will have Okinawan maids to assist you with your housework, laundry, etc. … All Okinawan workers are paid through Military Government funds, and their services to you are free."[113] Sundberg explained that she was told this was done "because there was no employment on the island" at that time.[114] The U.S. military government created a market for maids as a tool to push employment numbers of Okinawans higher and improve the economy.

Additionally, many Okinawan women chose to work as a maid because there were not any specific vocational training or skills that needed to be completed prior to their employment. Unlike a typist, who was required to complete a vocational training course before being hired, or someone working at the PX, who needed to pass an exam to receive their job, there were very few barriers to entering the position of a maid for American military-related-personnel. This meant that there was the potential to be hired for a job immediately making it a popular profession.[115] Upon finding an opening there one could be promptly hired and start receiving a salary.

Furthermore, many women who were open to working as a maid in the 1940s and 1950s felt it was preferable to work for an American family rather than an Okinawa or Japanese family.

The first volume of the *Okinawa Prefecture Labor History* states that Okinawan women preferred to work as maids on base and refused to work as maids for non-American families. To support this idea, the book includes a quote from a May 1954 *Okinawa Times* article stating, "Women aspire to work as base maids and many won't go to private [Okinawan or Japanese] households as a maid [jyochū]."[116] The decision to work for Americans likely due to some of the perks that came with working as a maid for American families, such access to a wide variety of foods and the possibility of presents in a time when Okinawans were still recovering from the Battle of Okinawa.[117] Moreover, many Okinawan women thought there were few benefits to working as a maid in an Okinawan or Japanese home. In 1957, the Koza Public Employment Security Office noticed that they received between approximately 100 to 200 requests every month for maids in local homes, but not even one person applied for these positions. To better understand why women were not applying for these jobs, the Employment Office asked all women who came to the office between November 22 and December 5, 1957, to explain why they did not want to work as a maid for a local family. Based upon the survey, they determined that the major factor preventing women from working for local families was low pay (54% of respondents). On average maids working for Okinawan and Japanese families received 1,000 B yen ($8.33), but most job seekers wanted a job that paid at least 2,000 B yen ($16.67) a month.[118] Another 35% of respondents indicated that the hours were too long, and that they were not treated well as the reasons for avoiding working for local families. To be interested in the job, these women wanted treatment more like what they imagined the maids working for American military-related-personnel received.[119] For many women, working as a maid for Americans was seen as the preferable maid position.

Junko Isa, who started working as a maid for an American family in 1949 at the age of 18 had experiences as both a maid for Okinawan and American families. While she did not particularly enjoy either job, she found the job working as a maid for an Okinawan family to be

more detestable. When discussing her position in the American home, she noted how the work was difficult, “It was really hard being a live-in maid at their house. I did everything there: started the coffee at six in the morning, sorted the laundry, washed the dishes.”[120] Isa also felt a great deal of stress regarding communicating with her employers as she did not understand English well. She felt as if her employer’s wife was always watching her, and it made her rather nervous. However, she did remember there were some positives to the position, particularly regarding material goods. She noted that she always had enough food to eat because her employer could buy food at the military run commissary. Additionally, she recalled that her employer gave her some clothing because they saw her sewing her own clothes from used military clothing.

After about four months of working for the American family Isa was forced to quit her job to work as a maid at a distant relative’s house because he couldn’t find anyone else to do the job. She hated this job, not because of the hard work it involved, but instead because her relative had two daughters that were right around the same age as Isa. When she saw these two daughters and their carefree lives, she could only feel bitterness at the way in which her own life had turned out. Isa had lost both of her parents during the Battle of Okinawa and was unable to complete her high school education because she could not pay her tuition fees. She remembered, “When the younger of the two daughters got accepted to a trade school in Tokyo to study fashion, I cried. I remember going out back to the field behind the house and staring up at the moon and screaming at it. ‘Why did I live? Why did I have to grow up under these conditions?’ All I wanted in my life was to go to school, and if my parents had lived, I would’ve been able to do that, just like these two.”[121] Isa saw too much of herself in the daughters of her employer and this naturally caused her great sorrow and anger regarding the way her life had turned out. For this reason, working for an Okinawan family was harder than working for an American family. While working for an American family brought about its own challenges, such as problems regarding

language or differences in job expectations, working for an Okinawan family was far more stressful for Isa because of the ways their lives differed despite the many similarities in the upbringing of herself and her employer's daughters. These feelings were most likely true for many of the Okinawan women who worked as maids. The environment of an American household was so different from an Okinawan household at the time that it may have been difficult to imagine themselves in these homes and see all the things that they had lost. Instead, these women were more likely to feel a sense of longing for the bountiful world that they saw in American homes rather than a sadness and envy that they might feel when working for other Okinawans. This could also lead many Okinawan women to prefer to work for Americans rather than Okinawans even with all the challenges that working in a foreigner's home brought.

Fig. 3. Maids Employed by Members of the 623d in 1946a. Photograph from Donn Cuson.

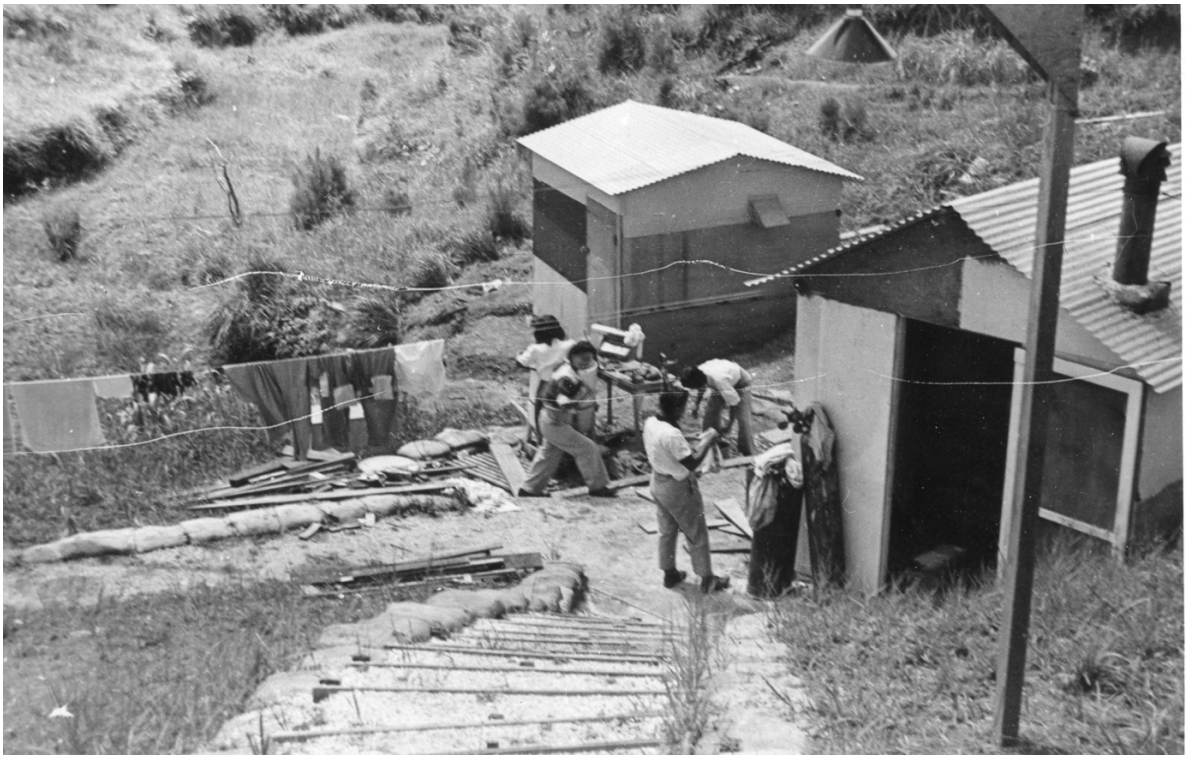

Fig. 4. Maids Employed by Members of the 623d in 1946b. Photograph from Donn Cuson.

Fig. 5. Maids Employed by Members of the 623d in 1946c. Photograph from Donn Cuson.

Fig. 6. Maids Posing at the Women's Army Corp (WAC) Housing Area on Camp Mercy in 1951. Photograph from Donn Cuson.

Maids in Numbers: 1961-1967

Starting around 1961, the position of a maid for American military-related-personnel became less desirable for Okinawan women. In fact, between August and October of 1961 four different articles were published in the local newspapers highlighting the shortage of maids, particularly live-in maids. An article in the *Okinawa Times* on October 26, 1961, noted that everyday there were approximately 24-25 requests from Americans for maids at the Koza Public Employment Security Office, but only 14-15 Okinawan women looking to work as a maid. Additionally, while most of the requests from American families were for a live-in maid, many of the Okinawan women wanted to work as a commuting maid.[122] Even when the Koza Employment Office did set up a meeting between potential employers and employees, there was not frequently a resulting job offer due to a mismatch in desired working conditions. Looking at the table above, one can see that between 1961 and 1967, the number of maids as a percent of all

base employees fell to between 17.7% in 1961 and as low as 11.1% in 1967. Fewer maids were working for American military-related-personnel.

Some of the reasons for this change in working patterns were related to the improving economy of Okinawa. As new job opportunities came to Okinawa, along with an expansion of the employment options on the military bases, women had more choices regarding their professions. They no longer needed to work as a maid simply because there were no other employment options. Additionally, many women saw the salaries of maids as too low, particularly for those who lived with their employers, so they chose to look for other positions. Okinawa had recovered significantly from the Battle of Okinawa so the allure of consistent meals and the opportunity for material goods, that were often found with maid positions, were not as strong. Women wanted better paying jobs.

Also, as Okinawans were overall better off economically than they were 10 to 15 years prior, many women could start focusing on other aspects of their lives beyond survival. They were able to have the leeway to find jobs that better suited their goals in life. Many women valued their time and efforts and wanted competitive salaries along with time off. Working as a live-in maid provided very little free time as maids were always on call, so many women shunned these jobs looking instead for commuting maid positions, where they would have set hours and be able to return to their own homes every evening. The younger women who were frequently hired as maids in the past were not satisfied by the working conditions in most maid jobs. They did not want to work as live-in maids, which was traditionally a job for young, single maids, because they had no time to themselves.[123] Many younger women started looking towards other fields for employment.

Moreover, as many of the women who started working as maids as young women became older, they married and started their own families. For those that did not quit the position, they could no longer work as live-in maids because they had to take care of their own

households in the evening. Thus, working as a commuting or BOQ maid became the only option if they wanted to continue in this profession.[124] All of these factors caused fewer Okinawan women to work as maids for American military-related-personnel between 1961 and 1967.

Fig. 7. A Maid Pausing in her Work in the Sukiran Housing Area, 1965-1967. Photograph from Donn Cuson.

Maids in Numbers: 1968-1970

Looking at the graph (Figure 2), one can see that starting in 1968, there was a growth in the number of Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel until 1970. However, this is likely due to the change in the nature of maids' employment in the late 1960s. During this period more maids started working as part-time employees rather than full-time employees. Therefore, the increase in employment numbers is likely related to the fact that more women were working as part-time maids. A larger number of part-time employees were necessary to do the same amount of work that was completed by fewer full-time employees.

According to The Actual Conditions of Maids Working with the Military survey, which was published in 1970, between 1969 and 1970, 51.4% of all maids were employed full-time[125] and 41.9% of maids were employed part-time.[126] The remaining maids surveyed were employed as either day laborers (5.7%) or temporarily (a contract of less than two months) working as a maid (1.0%).[127]

Compared to years before, the number of maids working part-time was larger. This was due in part to the US military's Dollar Defense Measures (ドル防衛対策), which saw many full-time positions transformed into part-time and day laborer positions. This measure meant that while the number of maids that were hired increased in number, the working hours of the individual maids became shorter, because many maids moved to an every other day schedule. Over half of maids surveyed, 67.1%, still worked between 8 to 9 hours a day,[128] but the number of days worked in a month were significantly lower for those not under full-time employment contracts. For those working full-time as a maid, the average days of employment per month were 24.[129] Alternatively, those working part-time, worked on average 15.7 days a month. Most part-timers surveyed, 78.4%, worked between one to three days a week, with 6.8% working four days a week and the remaining 14.8% working five days a week.[130] More part-time maids resulted in higher overall maid numbers.

A Demographic Analysis of the Women who Worked as Maids

Although one can trace the numbers of women who worked as maids for American military-related-personnel, unfortunately, there is very little information preserved regarding the demographics of these women. Due to the dearth of statistics and official data regarding these women, alternative materials must be used to better understand the Okinawans who worked as maids. One method is through the base employee labor cards (軍雇用員カード) currently

preserved at the Okinawa Prefectural Archives.[131] Starting in 1946, the U.S. military led government created a labor card system to manage Okinawan employees on U.S. military installations in Okinawa. Although the form of the card changed slightly throughout the years, each card generally contained a labor number, name, gender, date of birth, legal domicile, current address, photograph, file number, job title and affiliation, date of hire, date of separation and a reason for separation from employment. The Okinawa Prefectural Archives has cataloged these cards by last name and then further classified them by the legal domicile of each former employee. These cards record employees who worked on U.S. military installations between 1946 and 1966. The Archives have hidden any personally identifiable information including former employees' first names, addresses, month and day of birth and photograph. Although it is difficult to use the cards in this state to identify specific workers and their work history, the cards can be used to provide one with general information regarding maid demographics.

I completed a random sample of 384 maids labor cards.[132] After identifying 384 women who formerly worked as maids, I recorded their birth, the year they started working as a maid, the year they finished working as a maid, the city or town of their legal domicile and the city or town of their current address. At times all the information was not present on the cards. In particular, the year women finished working as a maid and their current city or town were frequently not included on the card.

Another such method is through maid-training class records. The Government of the Ryukyu Islands' (GRI) Labor Department started maid training classes in 1956 at the Naha Vocational Guidance Center. Parts of the applications from the first, second, fifth and sixth classes (1956-1958) have been preserved, providing us with a glimpse of who the women that wanted to work as maids were.

Additionally, between October of 1969 and January of 1970, the Women and Children's Division (婦人少年課) of the GRI Labor Bureau conducted a survey regarding the working

conditions of maids. 210 maids, working both in private American homes and military barracks, filled out a questionnaire regarding their employment and labor conditions. This data was then published into a report entitled The Actual Conditions of Maids Working with the Military (軍関係メイドの実態) in April of 1970. Along with information about their working conditions, the report also provides important demographic information concerning Okinawan maids in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Finally, oral histories play a powerful role in filling in the information gaps that traditional historical resources have failed to record. Although oral histories are not a scientific study of this group, they can be used to help to better understand the women who worked as maids in American controlled Okinawa. When possible, recollections from both maids and their employers are used to supplement maid school and survey records.

It is important to understand the demographics of the maids working for American military-related-personnel for a variety of reasons. Recognizing the age, family structure, education levels and work experience trends for maids during the period of American control allows one to better understand why so many women worked as maids. From these trends one can see what types of outside factors helped to create such a market for maids in Okinawa. Additionally, to truly understand the experiences and problems faced by maids, one needs to know who was working in this job. The experience of a 16-year-old maid working for the first time as a live-in maid certainly was different than a 40-year-old maid with a family and 10 years' experience working as a commuting maid at the bachelor's quarters. Awareness of the typical demographics of during the period of American control help one to better contextualize these experiences and understand how they were shaped by the women who worked in these jobs. Finally comprehending the demographics of maids and their changes throughout the years helps to give more of a face to the women who worked as maids. No longer are they simply faceless

numbers, but instead one can start to understand them as individuals who chose as maids for a variety of reasons between the years of 1945 and 1972.

Maids in the Early Years of American Control (1945-1960)

From the labor cards, maid training course applications and oral histories one can start to picture a typical maid in the early years of American control. She is a young woman around 20 years old and this is her first job outside the home. She is unmarried and lives with her natal family. She has entered the workforce to provide an additional income to help support her parents and siblings. She has a typical education level for her generation. The tables and explanations below will provide data and information to better understand the demographics of maids during the early years of American control.

Age

Using the data available on the labor cards, I determined the age that each women started working as a maid by subtracting the woman's birth year from the year she started working as a maid.

Table 4. Age of Women When Starting the Job of Maid Between 1947 and 1959

Age:	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Number of Women:	2	19	18	37	41	43	20	23	18	12	9	2	9	4
Age:	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	51	**Ave. Age**
Number of Women:	3	10	4	5	1	4	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	**21.9**

Looking at this data between 1947 and 1959 one can see that the age of new maids ranged between 15 and 51 years old, with most maids between the ages of 16 and 23. The average age of women who started working as a maid between 1947 and 1959 was 21.9 years old.[133]

Table 5. Ages of Maid School Applicants and Graduates

Age:	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	27	**Ave. Age**
Number of Applicants:	6	8	37	39	23	8	9	4	2	1	**19.2**
Number of Graduates:	3	3	18	20	10	4	4	2	2	1	**19.3**

The table above shows the age breakdown of applicants to the maid school from the first, second, fifth and sixth training course, held between June of 1956 and February of 1958. All applicants were between the ages of 16 and 27, with most applicants between the ages of 16 and 22. The average age of applicants was 19.2 years old, and the average age of graduates was 19.3 years old. [134] Although the age range is smaller, and the average age of maids were slightly younger than that found through the labor cards, this data, too, points to the fact that maids tended to be in their late teens and early twenties in the 1940s and 1950s.

The oral histories of the women who worked as maids and their employers between 1945 and 1960 provide similar information to the age data found in the maid training course applications. M3 started working as a maid when she was 17 years old in 1947. Both M2 and M7 were 19 years old when they started working as maids in 1948 and 1959 respectively. M2 also recalled that every day she commuted to work with a large group of her former classmates, all around the same age as her, to work as maids in the Awase Housing Area. Natalie Sundberg, too, remembered that the maids that worked for her family between 1946 and 1947 were between 18 and 20 years old, as were most of the maids who worked for nearby families. She

noted that a large proportion of women married in their early twenties in Okinawa at that time, so many would work as maid on base for a few years and then quit their job upon marriage.

Table 6. Ages of Oral History Participants

Age:	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	27	28	29	37	**Ave Age**
Number of Women:	1	4	5	4	7	4	1	1	1	2	1	**20.0**

Although there is a wider range of ages than those who applied for the maid training course, with five women starting maid employment between the ages of 27 and 37, most of the women surveyed through oral history began working as a maid between the ages of 16 and 20. Their average age was 20.0 years old, which is similar to both the average labor card data age of 21.9 years old and the maid school applicant age of 19.2 years old. [135] This demonstrates at the very least that there were a large proportion of women in their late teens to early twenties who worked as maids between 1945 and 1960.

There is a common image from this time of war widows working as maids.[136] However, there is not a great deal of data to support this idea. Based upon the above data, the majority of women who worked as maids were in their late teens and early twenties, so it is likely that they were unmarried when they worked as a maid. However, some women in their mid to late twenties, thirties, forties, and fifties did work as maids, so they could have been widows. Widows with children would have been more limited in working as a maid because they would not have been able to work as live-in maids unless someone could watch their children. They would more likely work in the bachelor quarters or as commuting maids. Additionally, they would have been less likely to enroll in a maid training course because they did not have the financial ability to take an unpaid training course.

Family Structure

Table 7. Family Size of the Second Maid School Training Course Applicants

No. of Family Members:	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of Applicants:	1	0	2	2	1	4	2	1	0	1	1

The average family size of maid school applicants for the second training course was 6.8 people per household. [137] By comparing this data to the Census data on household size in Okinawa in 1955 and 1960, we can see that these maids typically came from larger than average households. The average household size in 1955 in Okinawa was 4.9 people per household and by 1960 it had dropped to 4.3 people per household.[138]

Additionally, many of these women were single and resided with their natal family. Most of the 15 training course applicants lived with at least one parent (eight lived with both parents and three lived with only their mothers), and all the participants lived with at least one sibling. None of the students were living with a spouse and only one of the participants lived with her child. Based upon this information, in combination with the age data from above, we can assume that most women during this period worked as a maid while they were single and still living with their natal families. As their families were larger than average, in order to have enough money to support the family, they needed as many of them as possible to work. Young women that might otherwise continue their education were encouraged, or decided for the sake of the family, to take a job as a maid as an additional source of income for the family.

Oral history records support this idea. M2 wanted to continue her education after the war but was unable to because of her household's economic situation. M2 was the only person available to work in her family of four due to her father's heart problems and her younger sister's diagnosis of tuberculosis. She single handedly provided economic support for the entire family

with her job as a maid.[139] M7's family consisted of her mother and her three younger siblings. She gave the entirety of her paycheck to her mother every month to provide financial support for the family and to allow for her younger siblings to continue with their education.[140] Many families were likely pooling their resources to ensure economic survival. Even if no family member had a particularly well-paying job (such as the position of a maid), by combining resources, the families were able to live a more economically comfortable lifestyle.

Education Level

Table 8. Education Level of Maid School Applicants and Graduates

Education Level:	Junior High Graduate	High School Dropout	High School Graduate
Number of Applicants:	56	5	54
Number of Graduates:	22	2	31

Based upon data from the first, second and fifth maid training courses, one can see that applicants were equally divided between junior high and high school graduates.[141] Starting at least in the early fifties, there were more and more women who after completing high school started working as maids. Setsuko Oyakawa, an instructor for the USCAR maid training coursework, noted that starting around 1953-1954, more and more women who were high school graduates were working as maids, further separating the experiences of Okinawan women who worked as maids in pre- and post-war Okinawa.[142] Naoko Minatogawa, another instructor for the USCAR maid training coursework, also commented that overall, the education level of maids was increasing when compared to pre-war Okinawa, with growing numbers of maids being junior high and high school graduates.[143] This suggests that a significant number of women were completing their education before starting to work as a maid.

This data, however, may not have been a true representation of the average Okinawan maid as training courses were not mandatory for employment. As a junior high education and an entrance exam was necessary to be selected for the course, those with lower education levels, particularly those who were illiterate, would not have the means to apply for the course. Additionally, the women who attended maid training school were most likely on average more educated than the general maid population. The type of women who would seek out additional training probably enjoyed education, felt that it was important and had the economic resources and support to not work for the duration of the training period. Referencing oral histories, one can see that it is more likely that maids were most frequently junior high graduates, with some graduating from high school and others only graduating from elementary school.[144]

Table 9. Education Level of Oral History Participants

Education Level:	Elementary School Graduate	Junior High School Graduate	High School Graduate
Number of Women:	1	6	1

While using the modern standards for education, it may seem that maids in this period had a low education level. However, during this period the majority of women in Okinawa had a junior high school education or lower. In 1957, the first year that records tracing junior high graduates are available, 8,146 girls graduated from junior high school. Of this group, 3,095 (38.0%) continued with their education to attend high school, 62 (0.7%) worked while continuing their high school education, 3,058 (37.5%) started working and 1,498 (18.3%) were unemployed after graduation.[145] That means that only 38.7% of girls in 1957 were able to continue their education to attend high school and the remaining 61.3% of girls could not. Thus, having an education level of a junior high graduate was not a comparatively low level of education for women at that time. In fact, the percentage of high school graduates would have been even lower in earlier years, particularly the late 1940s, as the Battle of Okinawa completely

disrupted the lives of all Okinawans. There was less access to education and many families did not have the economic ability to send their children to school. Therefore, it can be understood that the education level of maids between 1945 and 1960 was not particularly low when compared to the overall education level of women in Okinawa at the time. Junior high graduate was a typical education level for this generation of women.

Previous Employment

Table 10. Previous Employment Opportunities of the First Maid School Class Applicants and Graduates

Job:	Unemployed (Housework)	Maid	Store Clerk	Office Worker	Dressmaker	Bus Conductor	Nurse	Unknown
Number of Applicants:	58	7	3	5	6	3	1	1
Number of Graduates:	21	1	3	1	1	1	0	0

For many women, working as a maid was their first job outside of the home. Looking at the applications from the first class of the maid school 69.0% of the women did not have a job at the time of applying for the course. They were instead helping around the home.[146] This data suggests that the majority of women who wanted to work as a maid had no previous job experience and that this was their first formal employment opportunity.

This idea is strengthened by information collected in oral histories. Many women first started working outside the home as a maid. M3's first job was working as a maid in the BOQ near her home. She was only 17 when she started working as a maid. Due to the low barriers to enter the profession and the ample availability of jobs, women frequently chose this field as their first step into employment outside of the home.

However, nearly one fourth of the applicants to the first maid school class were employed at the time of their application. These included a wide variety of jobs such as a store clerk, office worker, dressmaker, bus conductor and nurse. As approximately 21.4% of all applicants wanted to switch from their current position to instead work as a maid, it suggests that the position of maid was deemed as a desirable job, worth transferring from an already existing job in a different sector. M7 was one of these women who changed career fields to work as a maid. At the age of 19 she had been employed at a restaurant, but upon hearing about the opportunity to work as a maid, she promptly quit her job.[147] M4 had worked for about a year as a laborer for the military but found this job too physically difficult, so instead chose to work as a maid.[148] Although this job was a stepping stone into the formal workforce for many women in Okinawa between the years of 1945 and 1960, being a maid was also seen as an attractive job, worth transferring into, for some other women.

From the trends found in the labor card data, applicant data from the first, second, fifth and sixth GRI maid training courses and oral histories, we can make some assumptions regarding those who worked as maids between 1945 and 1960. Many of the women who worked as maids were young, typically between 16 and 23 years old. This was a profession for younger women, with many of them entering the workplace for the first time as a maid. These women were typically single and lived with their natal families. They were from larger than average families and helped provide needed economic support for the family. With most women having at least a junior high education, they had a typical education level for their generation. Women did not choose to work in this job because they were poorly educated and had no other job opportunities. In fact, the number of high school graduates that did work as a maid demonstrates that this job was not viewed as a job for women with no other occupational options. Women who had comparatively high education levels also pursued it. Additionally, as about 25% of the women who applied for the maid class had previously worked in another field, one can see that

this job was desirable, worth transferring from an already existing job in a different sector. This further points to the idea that this was not a last chance job for women, but instead a position that many Okinawan women wanted to pursue between 1945 and 1960.

The Changing Nature of Maids in the Later Years of American Control (1961-1972)

After 1960 we can perceive changes in the supply and demand for maids. While the demand for maids from American military-related-personnel was still very high, women were becoming more discerning and less enthusiastic about entering the profession of a maid. This change was in part due to the changing nature of the demographics of maids as discussed above. The younger women who were frequently hired as maids in the past were not satisfied by the working conditions in most maid jobs. They did not want to work as live-in maids, which was traditionally a job for young, single maids, because they had no time to themselves.[149] Younger women started looking towards other fields for employment, which led to a change in the demographics of those working in domestic service for American military-related-personnel. The average age of maids working for American military-related-personnel rose to the mid-30s. These women were frequently married and had their own children. Compared to their peers, these women had in general lower education levels. While this was still typically a first job for many of the women, they had worked at it for several years and had become well experienced at the job. The charts and explanations below will provide data and information to better understand the demographics of maids during the later years (1961-1972) of American control.

Age

Table 11. Ages of Maid Survey Respondents

Age	Under 18	18 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 to 54	55 and over	**Ave Age**
Percent of Women:	1	3	13	37	64	51	32	9	0	**37.7**

The average age of those working as maids had risen significantly from the early years of American control. While between 1945 and 1960 the average age of a maid was, depending on the source, between 19 and 20 years old, by 1970 the average age had risen to 37.7 years old. 91.9% (193) of all maids interviewed in 1970 The Actual Conditions of Maids Working with the Military survey were 30 years old and over and only 1.7% (4) were 24 years old or under. When broken into five-year age brackets, the most common age bracket was 35-39 years old, with 30.5% (64) of all maids interviewed falling into this group. This was followed by those between the ages of 40-44 years old (24.3%, 51), those between the ages of 30-34 years old (17.6%, 37) and those between the ages of 45-49 years old (15.3%, 32).[150]

This pattern is further evidenced by the data found in the 1968 and 1969 *Shokugyō Shōkai Kankei Nenpō* (Annual Report Related to Employment Placement). Although over 4,000 Okinawans found jobs as maids and houseboys through job placement offices in both 1968 and 1969, less than one percent of these job seekers were recent graduates from school. In fact, between June 1, 1968, and May 31, 1969, only 1 recent female junior high graduate and 23 recent high school graduates (6 men and 17 women) took jobs as maids or houseboys.[151] By the late 1960s, those who graduated from junior high school and high school tended to seek other job opportunities. Instead, being a maid was a job primarily filled by women who had been out of education for some time and were no longer in their mid to late teens. Additionally, when compared with other working women in Okinawa we can also see that the average age for maids working for American military-related-personnel was higher than the average age for all

Okinawan women who worked. In 1969, the average age for all Okinawan women who worked was 27.7 years old, exactly 10 years younger than the average age for maids.[152] Therefore we can conclude that by 1970, being a maid was no longer a common job for young women.

Table 12. Length of Experience of Survey Respondents

Number of Years:	Less than 1 Year	1 to 5 Years	5 to 10 Years	10 to 15 Years	15 to 20 Years	20 Years or More	**Ave Years**
Number of Women:	7	50	68	45	27	13	**9.2**

One can also see this upward movement of the age of maids through an analysis of the average length of experience data from the survey. The average length of experience (non-employer dependent, total time working as a maid) was 9.2 years, with 32.4 % (68) of all maids surveyed having worked as a maid for between 5 to 10 years. From this data we can assume that many maids started working as a maid around the early 1960s in their late 20s and early 30s and continued in this profession. Additionally, as 19.2% (50) of all maids surveyed had been working for 15 years or more, it can be assumed that some of these more experienced maids started working shortly after the end of the Battle of Okinawa and continued in this profession until the 1970s or later.[153]

Family Structure

Table 13. Marital Status of Survey Respondents

Marital Status	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Number of Women:	17	142	22	29

As the average age of maids had increased, the marital status of maids had also changed. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, over half of the maids surveyed, 67.2% (142), were

married.[154] Additionally, 13.8% (29) were divorced and 10.5% (22) were widowed. Only 8.1% (17) were single. The single maids were the youngest of the surveyed population. Their ages ranged from 16 to 39 years old. Non single maids tended to be older with married maids ranging in age from 25 to 53 years old, widowed maids from 30-53 years old and divorced from 30-49 years old.[155] This demonstrates that there still was a population of single, younger maids, it is just that other populations of older maids with marriage experience were larger. For those who were or had been married (to include divorcees and widows), 92.7% of these women had at least one child. The average number of children per maid for this period was 3.4 children while the average household size for maids was 4.3 people per household.[156]

By comparing this data to the Census data on household size in Okinawa in 1970, we can see that these maids typically came from average sized households. The average household size in 1970 in Okinawa was 4.23 people per household, very close to the average household size for maids working for American military-related-personnel.[157] Compared to maids in the 1950s, who came from larger than average families, maids in the 1960s and 1970s were living in smaller families that were representative of the average family size in Okinawa at the time. The maids of the 1960s and 1970s were also most often living with their own children and a spouse, instead of parents and/or siblings as most maids did in the 1940s and 1950s. While the income from maids were still used to support their family members, by the later years of American control, this monetary support had transferred from parental and sibling to support of a spouse or children.

This change in family make-up also resulted in a change in working conditions. While in the early years of American control, many women worked as live-in maids for the families of American military-related-personnel, by 1970 the vast majority, 98.1% (206), of all maids surveyed commuted to work. As maids got older and started their own families, they were no longer as willing to live with their employer, which, in turn, altered the nature of maid

employment in Okinawa. Live-in maids became less common and commuting maids became the standard for most American families hiring maids in Okinawa. However, among maids who were unmarried, some still lived with their employer. Among the unmarried survey respondents, nearly one-fourth, 23.5% (4), worked as a live-in maid.[158] This demonstrates that there was still a market for live-in maids. It had just shrunk because of the changing demographics of the maid population.

Education Level

Table 14. Education Level of Survey Respondents

Education Level:	Elementary School	Kōtō Shogakko (8 years)	Junior High School	Kōtō Jyogakko (11 years)	High School	Junior College	Other
Number of Respondents:	66	73	60	3	5	0	3

Maid education levels dropped during later years of American control. By 1969-70, 94.8% of all women working as maids had at most nine years of education. 34.8% (73) of the women were graduates of *kōtō shogakko* (高等小学校), which included 8 years of education, 31.4 % (66) of the women were graduates of elementary school, which included 6 years of education and 28.6% (60) of the women were graduates of junior high, which included 9 years of education. Only 3.8% of women working as maids had a high school degree, consisting of 12 years of education, or higher.[159] This is a comparatively lower level of education than the women who worked as maids during the early years of American control. Additionally, this was also relatively low level of education at the time. In fact, the authors of The Actual Conditions of Maids Working with the Military report even noted that the education level of the surveyed maids was "concentrated in a considerably low bracket."[160]

By the later years of American control women had much more access to education. Looking at data from junior high graduates of the period, in 1970 there were 25,638 junior high graduates. Of these graduates (the data was no longer separated between men and women) 64.2% (16,462) matriculated into high school, 18.2% (4,676) started working, 3.3% (838) worked while attending high school, and 14.0% (3,591) were unemployed.[161] Most Okinawan children in the late 1960s and early 1970s were able to continue with their education and no longer needed to start working after completing junior high. Therefore, women who had lower levels of education were pushed into careers such as maids as there were no education requirements.

Previous Employment

Table 15. Previous Employment Opportunities of Survey Respondents

Job:	Unemployed	Dressmaking	Waitress	Farming	Laundry	Store Clerk	Laborer	Office Worker	Piece Work	Other	Unknown
Number of Women:	148	9	9	6	5	3	3	3	2	12	10

Even with the differences in ages, family structure and education levels of maids between the early and later years of American control, there was one similarity, in that being a maid was frequently the first job held by many of these women. In the later years of American control, for 70.5% (148) respondents, being a maid was their first job. Only 24.8% of maids surveyed had worked previously in another profession. Of those that had worked prior to becoming a maid, many had worked as dressmakers, waitresses, laundresses, farmers, store clerks, laborers, office workers and store clerks.[162] It was most common among unmarried maids to try another job before working as a maid. 58.8% (10) of unmarried maids had previously worked before starting domestic service as opposed to the only 35.3% (6) that reported working as a maid as their first

job.[163] This demonstrates that, particularly for this group of maids, the job of a maid was still seen as desirable and worth transferring from an already existing job in a different sector.

The demographics of the maids working in the early years of American control (1945-1960) and the late years of American control (1961 to 1972) significantly changed. Maids working in the later period were older and more experienced in their jobs. These maids were much more likely to be married and have children. This meant that their salaries often went to support their spouse or children, as opposed to the support of parents or siblings that was frequently seen in the earlier years. This also meant that because of their families, maids in the 1960s and 1970s were less likely to live with their employer and more likely to commute to their job than maids in the late 1940s and 1950s. The education level of maids had also changed over the years. While maids in the early years of American control had comparable education levels to their peers, maids in the later years had comparatively low levels of education.

While there were many changes in the demographics of maids between the early and late periods of American control, one aspect remained similar. Becoming a maid was often a first job for these women. The majority of maids in Okinawa had no prior formal job experience before their position as a maid and it was their first step into formal employment. However, in both the early and later years of American control approximately 25% of women did transfer from another job to work as a maid. This demonstrates that independent of the period, for about one in four women the job of a maid was seen as a desirable position, worth transferring in from another career field.

In the 1940s and 1950s there were few educational and occupational opportunities for women in Okinawa. The Battle of Okinawa had caused complete and utter devastation to the island, wreaking havoc on both the educational system and economy. Therefore, working as a maid was a desirable option for women in Okinawa at that time. Many young women flocked to the career after completing their schooling to support their natal families and provide a much-

needed additional income through their job as a maid. Due to the overall hardships of the time and lack of other opportunities, many Okinawan women were willing to accept difficult working conditions. As job options and money were tight, many women likely felt that they had to work the long hours and taxing conditions of a maid without complaint. These young women, due to a lack of other options, worked in strenuous positions while making the best of the situation to help support their families.

However, by the early 1960s, over 15 years had passed since the end of the war and Okinawa had made significant recoveries. Women had many more educational and job opportunities, so the allure of working as a maid had faded somewhat, especially for young women. Many recognized how difficult the job was, with low pay and long hours, particularly for those who worked as live-in maids, so those who had other opportunities frequently chose not to become a maid. This was particularly true for women who had completed at least high school. The demographics of maids reflect these societal changes as the profession became one for older women, typically in their 30s or beyond, who had a lower-than-average education level, and fewer job options. As these women were older, many of them already had their own families, and instead of working as a live-in maid, worked as a commuting maid. The years of the young, single, educated maid were gone and a new era of older, less educated maids who had children to take care of at home had replaced it.

The Battle of Okinawa changed Okinawa in innumerable ways, including the creation of a new employment option for women, working as a maid for American military-related-personnel. This chapter examined both the pathway for the creation of this position, along with specifics about the job including work responsibilities, hiring processes and the number and demographics of the women who worked as maids. The next chapter will focus on the struggles faced by Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel. These women often found themselves in low paying positions with poor working conditions, including at times

threats of violence. Maids in Okinawa faced numerous hardships associated with their employment.

CHAPTER 3

THE HARDSHIPS ASSOCIATED WITH WORKING AS A MAID IN OKINAWA

Some of the hardships associated with working as a maid have been noted in previous research on maids. Through oral history interviews, Tomohisa Saso's "A Study of Maid in Okinawa under the U.S. Rule: Mainly Focused on Understanding the actual situation and social role as an occupation" introduces some of the problems that maids faced in their work. Saso uses quotes from his interviews with former maids to highlight their negative experiences at work to include sexual harassment, poor working conditions, and job loss.[164] While these examples are enlightening in their demonstration of how problems at work personally impacted each maid, there is a need for more information beyond personal experiences to demonstrate how and why these hardships were systemic to the position of a maid and how they shaped the career field.

This chapter will provide a comprehensive explanation of the hardships faced by Okinawan women working as maids for American military-related-personnel in Okinawa and provide reasons as to why these problems consistently existed. Although working on the U.S. military bases or for U.S. military-related-personnel, maids were not protected by any of the legislation or regulations that were provided for most other military base employees. Therefore, Okinawan maids suffered from a wide variety of poor working conditions, including low pay, long hours, and a lack of employee rights. Maids' salaries were often meager and compared to other base employees, maids consistently received some of the lowest wages. Although wages were considered a private contract between employees and employers, at times maids' salaries were subject to U.S. military base policies that stipulated maximum rates and forced their wages to stagnate at a low level. Additionally, unlike most other military base employees, maids were not subject to any type of legal protections. They were not legally limited in the hours they could work and did not receive guaranteed sick, vacation or maternity leave. Depending on the

employer, a maid could be forced to work 12 hours a day or more, seven days a week with no repercussions. There were also no requirements regarding the quality of living accommodations for live-in maids, so some women received only leftover food for their meals and were not given their own room to sleep in, but instead forced to sleep with the children they watched. Maids' pay and working conditions were subject completely to their employer and depending on the employer could result in a substandard labor environment.

Additionally, maids were consistently subject to social marginalization due to their profession. Maids did not have rights regarding being fired and employers could simply dismiss their maid without reason. Some employers even accused their maids of crimes, which they did not commit, to provide false justification for firing them. This not only cost these maids loss of wages but prevented them from finding new employment. Additionally, crimes and other wrongs against maids were ignored. For example, in 1951 a maid was accidentally shot by her employer's son and was left partially paralyzed. Her employer refused to take responsibility for the incident and returned to the U.S. without paying for the maid's medical treatment or loss of future earnings. Sexual harassment and violence in the workplace, particularly in the BOQ, was prevalent and included the rape and murder of a maid in 1968. This chapter will elucidate upon the various hardships faced by Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel demonstrating how there was little to envy relating to maids' working conditions.

Salary Issues

Low Pay for Base Employees

To understand the wage systems for Okinawan maids, it is important first to understand the wage systems for all Okinawan U.S. military base employees during the period of American control. When the U.S. military started paying Okinawans for their work, they created a complex

pay scale system with wages for military base related employees consistently lower than those Okinawans working in other sectors. The persistently low wages lasted until around 1957. An early example of this is Directive 136, which authorized the hourly pay scale for all Okinawan laborers working on the U.S. military bases in 1946. Employees' wages were classified according to their education level and the skill sets necessary to complete their jobs. Class 1 laborers were considered, "unskilled labor requiring no particular skill, training or responsibility."[165] Construction workers, farm laborers, forestry workers, laundresses, cooks, janitors, male and female domestic employees, ditch diggers, apprentices along with any other workers doing what was considered unskilled work were classified as Class 1 employees. This category of workers received .60 B yen ($0.04) per hour, while the foremen (*hancho*), also classified as a Class 1 employee, received .65 B yen ($0.043) per hour. Class 2 consisted of skilled laborers whose salaries ranged from .70 B yen ($0.046) per hour to 1.30 B yen ($0.087) per hour. Class 3 consisted of clerical positions and other occupations, whose salaries ranged from .60 ($0.04) B yen per hour for messengers and watchmen to 2.30 B yen ($0.153) per hour for training school teachers, interpreters, and translators.[166] Employees were expected to work six days a week and if overtime was worked, it was paid on a straight time basis. This meant that wages for full time on base employees ranged between 124.6 B yen ($8.32) and 478.4 B yen ($31.89) a month. At this time, the salary of those who worked for the Okinawan government varied between 140 B yen ($9.33) to 700 B yen ($46.67) per month.[167]

The legal limits on maximum wages set by the Military Government for Okinawans working in private enterprise or for the civilian government were abolished on February 1, 1949. This meant that employers outside of the military were able to set their employees' salaries at whatever rate they felt was competitive, creating an even larger wage difference between on base and off base employees. This law was inapplicable to not only to those who were directly hired by the military, but also to "individuals employed by the military using agencies or to employees

of any company or contractor having contractual relationship with the military using agencies where such employees are provided extra caloric rations and special trade store privileges," and "personnel who render personal services to occupation force personnel."[168] All military related Okinawan employees, including maids, regardless of their direct employer, were legally prevented from receiving competitive salaries and limited to the military set pay scales.

The comparatively low wages for Okinawan military employees continued into the 1950s. Based upon a 1953 wage survey conducted by USCAR, salaries paid by the U.S. Forces were on average 29% lower than wages paid by the private sector.[169] In a 1955 survey, it was found that the average salary of Okinawan employees of the U.S. Military Forces (to exclude maids and gardeners, some of the lowest paid military employees) was 19.25 B yen ($0.16) per hour and 3,388 B yen ($28.23) per month.[170] The salaries, which were highly regulated by the U.S. military, were heavily dependent upon both occupation and time in that particular position, and ranged from 10 B yen ($0.08) per hour for a beginning (Step 1) light laborer to 34 B yen ($0.28) per hour for an experienced (Step 7) Investigator or Guard Supervisor (Company Commander).[171] However, on average, these salaries were low compared to other jobs in Okinawa. In July of 1954, the average monthly wage of employees of the GRI was 4,421 B yen ($36.84) per month and those working in the civilian marketplace were on average receiving 4,633 B yen ($38.60) per month.[172] Working for either the local Okinawan government or in a private enterprise resulted in, on average, at least a 1,000 B yen ($8.00) increase of salary a month.

Okinawan families of three or more people could not live off the salaries of a single employee working for the military. As of November of 1953, the cost of living at the subsistence level for Okinawan families was determined as follows:

Table 16. Cost of Living at the Subsistence Level for Okinawa Families, November 1953

Number of People in Family	Monthly Cost of Living[173]
2	3,309.00 B yen ($27.58)
3	4,454.00 B yen ($37.20)
4	5,683.00 B yen ($47.36)
5	6,940.00 B yen ($57.83)

Based upon these numbers, it can be understood that it was incredibly difficult for an average head of household, who was an employee of U.S. military forces with a family of three or more people, to support their family with their salary alone. Many of these families would have needed to depend on secondary income from a spouse or child to make ends meet.

In addition to low wages comparative to other Okinawans, the wage scale for Okinawans employees of the U.S. Military Forces was significantly lower than the wage scales for American, Filipino or Japanese employees of the U.S. Military Forces. For example, when an Okinawan was promoted to the position of foreman for the Army Engineers in 1956, the maximum salary he was allowed to receive was equivalent to $60.00 (7,200 B yen) a month. However, the base salary of the Filipino national who had previously held the position of foreman, was equivalent to $263.00 (31,560 B yen) per month, over four times the salary legally allowed for Okinawans. A comparison of the wage scales for Okinawans and foreign nationals as found in the 1956 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Report of Okinawa clearly demonstrated the role of race in pay:

Table 17. Relationship Between Nationality and Pay Scales[174]

Nationality	Minimum Pay per Hour in US Dollars (B yen)	Maximum Pay per Hour in US Dollars (B yen)
American	$1.20 (144)	$6.52 (782.4)
Filipino	$0.52 (62.4)	$3.77 (452.4)
Japanese	$0.83 (99.6)	$1.03 (123.6)
Okinawan	$0.10 (12)	$0.36 (43.2)

The maximum hourly salary that an Okinawan employee of the US Forces could make was less than the minimum hourly salary of any other nationality. Additionally, based upon the maximum pay per hour data, an American could hypothetically earn over 18 times more salary than an Okinawan for doing the exact same job.

The U.S. military, too, eventually came to judge that, overall, the salaries of Okinawans working for the U.S. Military Forces needed to be raised. Not only did they realize that families were having a hard time making ends meet when the head of family worked for the military[175] but they also began to understand that if they continued to pay these low wages fewer people would want to work for the U.S. military. A reduction in employees could have potentially damaging effects upon the U.S. military's actions in Okinawa and East Asia, by slowing the military's ability to react to perceived threats, so the military wanted to prevent this from happening. [176] Furthermore, with the population growth in Okinawa and an already existing shortage of jobs, USCAR realized that the easiest way to have more Okinawans working was to employ them on the military bases. However, wages would need to be higher to get Okinawans to want to take these new positions.[177] Finally, with the push of outside labor groups, such as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which released a 1956 report criticizing the military's wage regulations based upon a 10-day fact finding mission in Okinawa, the military had further motivation to improve the salaries of Okinawans working for the U.S. military.[178] It was this combination of reasons that led to the overall wage increase for most Okinawan base employees starting in 1957.

Maids' Salaries

While the pay of Okinawans working on U.S. military bases was low compared to other sectors, particularly before 1957, the job of a maid was consistently one of the poorest paid professions related to the military bases. For example, the 1946 Directive Number 136, discussed

above, limited maids' wages to .60 B yen ($0.04) per hour. This was the lowest possible pay rate for military employees. Additionally, the 1946 Directive Number 136 stipulated "no deviations from these rates will be allowed without the written authorization of the Deputy Commander for Military Government. Payment of bonuses in kind, and of allowances for subsistence, quarters, laundry or other purposes is prohibited…Gifts of clothing, food, cigarettes, soap, candy, etc. which violate the purpose and spirit of Military Government wage control policy will make offending units liable to forfeiture of labor."[179] This meant that maids' salaries, along with all base employees at the time, were not allowed to be supplemented in any manner and any type of supplementation could result in the loss of employment.

Shortly after the war and until at least 1948 maids' salaries were paid by the military government, which meant that it was easy to keep maids' wages low. American military service members and their families were told prior to their arrival that they were to have Okinawan maids to assist them with their housework and that "All Okinawan workers are paid through Military Government funds and their services to you are free."[180] Natalie Sundberg, who first moved to Okinawa in 1946 as a dependent of her Air Force father, recalled that her family did not pay their maids a salary. However, they were responsible for feeding their maids during the week and providing food for them to take home on the weekend.[181] Maids were provided for Americans as a means to further stimulate the economy and create employment for Okinawan women. However, as wages were kept artificially low, it is questionable as to how much this income actually supported these women and their families.

This payment system was similar to the situation in mainland Japan at the time, as the wages of Japanese maids working for American military-related-personnel were also completely subsidized. Maids in Japan were not paid by their employers, but instead their pay came from the general account of the Japanese government (終戦処理費). However, there were major differences between the employment categorization of maids in Okinawa and mainland Japan.

Between July of 1948 and June of 1952 maids in mainland Japan were considered civil servants and their employer was the Japanese government.[182] Between July 1948 and December 1948, maids were considered national civil servants (regular government service) (国家公務員（一般職）) and between December of 1948 and June of 1952 maids were considered national civil servants (special government service) (国家公務員（特別職）).[183] This arrangement lasted until the Treaty of San Francisco (Treaty of Peace with Japan) was put into effect on April 28, 1952.[184] Okinawan women who worked as maids for American military-related-personnel in Okinawa were never considered civil servants.

In later years when it became the responsibility of the American employer to pay their maid, the military created various regulations to ensure that maids' salaries remained lower than other career fields. According to Military Government Ordinance 7, which was released on April 12, 1950, full time maids could receive a salary between 1,100 B yen ($9.17) to 1,300 B yen ($10.83) per month. Additionally, per Ordinance 7, maids were not allowed to receive any type of bonus, which could potentially improve their salary, except for "personal property of insignificant value for the recipient's own use" with "incentives, special rations, special purchasing privileges, or other forms of additional compensation in money or goods" being specifically banned.[185]

At the same time while maids were locked into monthly salaries other military base employees were paid by the hour based upon their grade and step. The lowest paid grade 1 employees, which included bus boys and girls, dish washers and mess attendants, started out with a minimum wage of 8.5 B yen ($0.07) per hour and could receive up to 10.5 B yen ($0.09) per hour.[186] Assuming the grade 1 employee worked full time, which at the time was usually eight hours a day for six days a week, the employee could have made between 1,768 B yen ($14.73) and 2,184 ($18.20) a month, significantly more than even the best paid maid.

USCAR Ordinance 79, which became effective on June 1, 1952, kept the minimum salary of maids the same at 1,100 B yen ($9.17) per month but increased the maximum pay to 1,500 B yen ($12.50) per month. This ordinance also allowed General Officers, Commanders of major commands and Deputy Commanders to pay more than the stated maximum salary.[187] Yet, this salary was still significantly lower than any of the other minimum and maximum salaries set out by USCAR Ordinance 79. The lowest paying job contained in the Ordinance was a light laborer who could receive between 9 B yen ($ 0.07) and 13 B yen ($ 0.11) an hour. [188] Assuming the light laborer worked full time (eight hours a day, six days a week), the laborer could have made between 1,872 B yen ($15.60) and 2,704 ($22.53) a month. Even working at the minimum wage, the light laborer would have made more income than a maid receiving the maximum allowable salary in 1952.

Even though working agreements between Okinawan maids and their American employers were considered private contracts, the military, between 1945 and the mid-1950s, continued to uphold stringent regulations regarding maid paid scales. Between 1946 and 1953 and again between 1955 and 1956 wages for maids were strictly controlled with both a minimum and maximum wage.[189] This type of directive was unique to Okinawa. In other major military commands throughout Asia, the military did not have regulations regarding the pay scales for maids. Maids' salaries were considered a private matter between employee and employer and driven by the labor market.[190]

While the maximum salary statutes were initially dropped for maids in 1953, the RYCOM Circular Number 123/Air Division Regulation 173-4, titled "Indigenous Domestic Wage Scale" brought back strict wage controls for maids in September 1955. The Regulation was also colloquially called "Moore Say," named after Lieutenant General James Edward Moore, who was the Deputy governor and Commanding General of the Ryukyu Islands Command when the regulations were put into place. Per this document, monthly salaries for

maids were limited to between 1,100 B yen ($9.17) and 1,500 B yen ($12.50) for those working in homes employing one to two maids. For homes employing three or more maids, their salaries were limited to between 1,500 B yen ($12.50) and 1,800 B yen ($15.00) per month. Maids who were able to sew or cook were to be allowed an extra 300 B yen ($2.50) a month, however, there were numerous regulations regarding this additional pay. Maids who occasionally helped with cooking and sewing were specifically excluded from this salary increase. Cooking and/or sewing had to be a major component of their job to receive the additional pay.[191] This is at a time when the average salary of Okinawan employees of the U.S. Military Forces (to exclude maids and gardeners) was 3,388 B yen ($28.23) per month[192] most maids received less than half of the average salary of the already comparatively underpaid Okinawan employees of the U.S. military forces.

In addition to re-imposing a wage ceiling, the RYCOM Circular Number 123 permitted discriminatory wage practices between male and female employees, limited employers paying for their maids' commuting costs and prevented employers from giving their maids gifts. Looking at the salaries of men working as houseboys, per Circular 123, their pay ranged between a minimum of 1,100 B yen ($9.17) and maximum of 1,800 B yen ($15.00) per month. Pay was not dependent upon the number of co-workers, which allowed for male domestic employees to potentially receive more money than females. Additionally, per these regulations, for maids that commuted, it was optional for employers to pay for their travel costs. If an employer did decide to pay for his or her maid's commuting costs, the maid's salary and commuting costs together could not exceed the maximum salary as designated by the Wage Scale documents. Live-in maids were also specifically excluded from receiving any payment for their commuting costs, even though they typically commuted to their homes between one and four times a month. Finally, employers were banned from giving any type of extravagant gift or cash gift to their maid to supplement their income in any way. Even if the employer offered a gift, it was illegal

for the maid to accept it.[193] Instead of protecting maids to ensure that they received a fair and livable salary, the reinstatement of wage regulations through RYCOM Circular Number 123 guaranteed that maids' salaries would remain low.

When maids complained about their low salaries, the military's policy was not to get involved with disputes. The military contended that wage agreements and other aspects of the contract were made freely between maids and their employers. Yet, this policy was a contradiction as it was RYCOM Circular Number 123 that limited the pay of maids and therefore played a large role in shaping the salaries paid by employers. When maids complained about their pay, stating that they deserved more, employers would frequently state that it was "Moore Say" and there was nothing they could do to increase their maid's salary.[194] Maids were trapped in a catch-22 situation. Their salaries were regulated by military restrictions, yet maids who complained to military authorities were told that their wages were decided in private between an employee and employer so the military would not get involved in any disputes. However, when maids complained about their pay to their employers, they were told that their salaries were limited due to military restrictions and there was nothing they could do to improve it. There was no effective manner to raise the salary of maids.

Not all in the military supported the reinstatement of these wage restrictions. USCAR's Civil Administrator, Brigadier General Vonna F. Burger, criticized this choice in a September 23, 1955, letter to the Civil Administration, asking for the regulation to be immediately withdrawn. Burger, noted that "by reinstating a maximum wage rate for domestic employees it is a clear retrogression to a program that has been previously abolished" and that since the U.S. was already "constantly charged with violation of human rights, rights for labor, civil liberties, etc." regarding its control of Okinawa, this reinstatement of maximum wages would only provide more fuel for these arguments.[195] While Burger felt that these types of rigid controls may have been necessary when U.S. Forces first occupied Okinawa, he concluded they were no longer

needed and could be used as proof of discriminatory treatment towards Okinawans. Furthermore, Burger felt that it was stepping beyond the military's bounds to publish mandatory wage scales to be followed by private individuals. Since maids' salaries were private contracts between employees and employers they should be handled exclusively between these parties. Finally, Burger was also concerned that enforcing these salary rates would cause excessive issues for the military and was not practical. The military already had enough to do without having to determine if all American military-related-personnel were paying their maids using the approved wage scales.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), an international trade union established in 1949, also supported increasing the wages of Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel. Through the ICFTU's trade union activities, the organization received reports about the labor situation in Okinawa, which suggested that there was "a need for an official examination of the labor laws and how they are being administered; rates of pay and working conditions; to what extent are the actions of the occupation authorities a restraint on the democratic functioning of the civil authorities; and to determine if there are violations of civil and basic human rights of the workers of Okinawa."[196] The ICFTU officially sent a delegation to Okinawa to better understand the employment systems in Okinawa and make appropriate recommendations to improve the working conditions of all Okinawan employees in 1956. The delegation visited Okinawa for ten days, between May 16 and May 25, 1956.

Among the many issues discussed during this fact-finding mission by the ICFTU, most pertinent to this research was the conclusion that maids' salaries were too low. The ICFTU Report on Okinawa sent to USCAR's Chief of the Labor Division on August 3, 1956, noted that the military restrictions limiting maids' earnings was a grave injustice. The report stated, "Another example of unfair wage exploitation is the wage ceiling on domestic employees. These wage ceilings are established by the Army and Air Forces Commands. No matter how willing

and able or efficient any of the 9,000 or more domestic employees working in the homes of Military Personnel are, they cannot legally be paid more than the magnificent sum of $15.00 per month for a work week that defies calculation."[197] Maids were not subject to periodic wage increases like other base employees, nor were they provided any legal protections by GRI or USCAR labor laws.[198] Per military regulations, they were simply limited to a maximum salary of $15 (1,800 B yen) a month no matter the working conditions or the skill level of the maid. Considering that at this time many maids lived in the homes of their employers and worked for over 12 hours a day at least 6 days a week, the ICFTU rightfully considered this situation to be unfair wage exploitation.

These pressures led to the rescinding of general wage regulations for maids in August-September of 1956, but confusion about this policy change, along with branches of the military retaining their own guidelines regarding maid salaries kept pay rates low. Employers who worked for the 3rd Marines or Navy who hired one to two maids were directed to pay their maids between 1,200 B yen ($10) and 1,700 B yen ($14.70) per month, while those employers who hired three or maids were directed to pay their maids between 1,600 B yen ($13.33) and 2,000 B yen ($16.67) per month. The 313th Air Division, which commanded U.S. Air Force units that were assigned to Okinawa, also had their own wage regulations. Employers falling under Air Force regulations who had one to two maids were directed to pay between 1,100 B yen ($9.17) and 1,500 B yen ($12.50) per month and those who had three or more maids were directed to pay their maids between 1,500 B yen ($12.50) and 1,800 B yen ($15.00) a month. The Marine, Navy and Air Force pay scales were listed as suggested wages so employers could pay their maids higher than suggested salaries, although it is unclear if many employers did so.[199] Employers were also now able to give presents to their maids, however, these presents were not allowed to be excessive. Additionally, maids could not be given a combination of goods and cash in lieu of

a salary. However, even with these improved wage scales, maids still earned consistently less than other occupations in Okinawa.

Furthermore, Okinawan maids even earned less than their Japanese counterparts working for American military-related-personnel in mainland Japan. According to a June 21, 1957, article in the *Okinawa Times*, Japanese maids made on average between ¥9,000 to ¥10,000 (3,000 B yen to 3,333 B yen; $25 to $27.78[200]) per month, a much higher salary than Okinawan domestic servants. Maids working in Japan also received two rest days per month and worked 12-13 hours per day, as opposed to Okinawan maids who had no regularly scheduled rest days and frequently worked up to 17-18 hours a day. Maids in Japan who commuted to work also received two meals a day without cost, while this was not guaranteed in Okinawa.[201] While all maids suffered from poor working conditions and low pay, it is apparent that the situation for maids in Okinawa was significantly worse than those working in mainland Japan.

Some maids, in desperate need of more money formed relationships with military-related-personnel for financial support. A 1957 *Okinawa Times* article entitled "Maids…Domestic Service with No "Hope"…Low Wages and Various Other Restrictions" highlighted the fact that due to the exceedingly low wages maids received, many women entered common law marriages with Americans to supplement their low pay. The article shared the story of H, a war orphan from Naha who worked as a maid for U.S. military-related-personnel. Since she needed money to send to relatives, H first became involved in a common law marriage with her employer, an American service member and gave birth to his child. However, the American service member had to leave for Korea, so she then became involved in a common law marriage to her next employer, a Filipino government employee. In 1957, she became pregnant with his child. Just about the time that H was due to give birth, the Filipino man lost his job due to a Reduction in Force by the military and he left Okinawa. H, who was dependent upon her common law marriages to supplement her income from working as a maid, was left penniless

with two small children. She appealed to the government to receive some of the money the Filipino government employee received after losing his job but was refused. She also tried to receive benefits for her child through the local welfare office, but since her children were not Japanese citizens[202] she could not do this.[203] H used common law marriage to provide her with economic support beyond her meager maid wages but after her partners left, she had two young children and no economic means beyond the low pay that she could receive as a maid.

By the 1960s there were no advertised minimum or maximum wages for Okinawan maids. Decisions about salaries for maids were finally actually considered a private contract between employers and employees, therefore the military did not get involved in these decisions. According to the 1966 edition of *Isle Tell*, a pamphlet designed by the Fort Bucker Women's Club for women who had recently moved to Okinawa, while the wages for maids depended on a number of factors such as the maid's experience, the number of hours worked and how many children were in the family, salaries for maids were still "very reasonable."[204] The authors of the pamphlet suggested discussing going wages with neighbors and friends to establish a fair salary for the maid.

Based upon oral histories of the maids who worked during the early and mid-1960s and their employers, maids' wages could vary greatly between $20 to $32 a month (with some families paying upwards of $50 a month) for a commuting maid who worked five days a week.[205] For maids working in the Bachelor Officer Quarters (BOQ), who also frequently worked five days a week, wages were typically between $11 and $14 per room cleaned each month. BOQ maids working on Marine, or Navy bases typically cleaned between three to six rooms a month, which would provide them with a monthly salary between $33 and $84 per month depending on how many rooms the maid cleaned.

The 1961 Industrial Occupational Survey, which through a survey of 363 industrial establishments hiring 10 or more employees (excluding military base employees), provided

information on the types of, numbers of, and wages for a variety of professions in Okinawa in 1960 and 1961. According to the survey, maids working for non-American military-related-personnel typically made between $24 and $29 a month.[206] This rate was similar to the salary of commuting maids for American families, but less than the rate most women working as maids for multiple employers in the BOQs would have made. Looking at other occupations highlighted in the Survey, the salaries for woman-dominant "unskilled occupations" that needed "no specific training" and "no independent judgment," such as compression preparer and a can wiper, ranged between $15 and $36 a month. While maids did make larger bases salaries than some of these positions, the women working in these jobs also frequently received bonuses equivalent to between 100 and 300% of their yearly pay, significantly increasing their yearly salaries.[207] This meant that many of these women received larger salaries for maids. Overall, Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel generally earned less money for their jobs than many unskilled workers, though maids worked in professions that needed both training and independent judgment to be successful.

By 1969-1970 the average salary for full time maids working for American military-related-personnel was $59.24 a month. According to the data collected in The Actual Conditions of Maids Working with the Military (軍関係メイドの実態) survey, 20.4% of full time maids received over $70 a month, 38.0% received between $60 and $70 a month, 35.2% received between $50 and $60 dollars a month, and 6.5% of full-time maids received between $40 and $50 a month. No maids surveyed received less than $40 a month for full time work. Maids who worked on either a part time basis or as a day laborer were paid by the day. Almost all surveyed maids received $2.50 or more per day for their work. 47.7% of these maids were paid $3.00 a day or more, 15.9% were paid between $2.75 and $3.00 a day and 34.1% were paid between $2.50 to $2.75 per day. Two part time maids interviewed for the survey were paid significantly less, one receiving between $2.00 and $2.25 per day and the other receiving between $1.50 and

$1.75 per day. These remarkably lower salaries appear to be exceptions to the normal pay scale.[208]

However, even with the overall increases in their salaries, maids in the late 1960s and early 1970s were still receiving less salary on average than women working in other professions. In 1969, the average monthly salary for women in Okinawa was $75 a month, but salaries were highly dependent upon the women's profession. For example, on the low end, those working in the construction industry on average received $68 a month and those working in wholesale or retail related business and those working in manufacturing received $71 a month. However, even in lower paying jobs, the average salary rates were higher than maids' average salary of $59.24 a month. Alternatively, those working in finance or insurance on average received $117 a month and those women working for electricity, gas or water providers received $119 a month.[209] These professions earned nearly double the salary of maids per month.

Additionally, when compared to the average salaries of women in mainland Japan, the low salary of Okinawan women working as maids for American military-related-personnel becomes even more evident. In 1969, the average salary for women working in businesses that hired 30 or more people in Japan was ¥36,838 per month, equivalent to $102 per month. Even those working the lowest salaried profession, the construction industry, received on average ¥29,598 ($82) per month.[210] This was $22 more a month than the average maid in Okinawa received. Salaries for women in Japan, even in low skilled jobs, were still significantly higher than those in Okinawa, particularly when compared to the incomes of maids.

The table below provides a summary of the changes in maids salaries between the years of 1945 and 1972.

Table 18. Salaries of Maids Between 1945 and 1972

Year	Maid's Salary	Notes for Comparison
1945		• April 1945 – August 1945: 10 B yen = $1 • September 1945 – February 1947: 15 B yen = $1[211]
1946	• .60 B yen ($0.04)/hour (assuming the maid worked 6 days a week and 8 hours a day she would receive 124.6 B yen ($8.32)/month)[212]	• Salaries for Okinawan government employees' range between 140 ($9.33) and 700 B yen ($46.67)/month[213]
1947	• 120 B yen ($2.40)/month (live-in, employer also left 120 B yen ($2.40) under her pillow once a month to take home to her family)[214] • 140 B yen ($2.80)/month (November 28, 1947)[215] • 160 B yen ($3.20)/month (December 1, 1947)[216]	• January-February 1947 - average wage of Okinawan laborer = 108 B yen ($7.20)/month[217] • March 1947 – April 1950: 50 B yen = $1[218] • March-April 1947 – average wage of Okinawan laborer = 135 B yen ($2.70)/month[219]
1948	• 160 B yen ($3.20)/month (January 6, 1948)[220] • 190 B yen ($3.80)/month (December 21, 1948)[221] • 200 B yen ($4)/month (August 27, 1948)[222]	
1949	• 380 B yen ($7.60)/month (March 14, 1949)[223] • 440 B yen ($8.80)/month (September 1, 1949)[224] • 750 B yen ($15)/month (live-in)[225]	
1950	• 1,100 B yen ($9.17) to 1,300 B yen ($10.83)/month (live-in)[226]	• April 1950 – September 1958: 120 B yen = $1[227] • Per MG Ordinance 7 maids and houseboys were regulated to receive the same salaries[228] • The lowest paid general employee of the military base (excluding maids) made between 1,768 B yen ($14.73) and 2,184 B yen (18.20)/month working full time[229]
1951	• 1,188 B yen ($9.90) (February 1, 1950)[230] • 1,200 B yen ($10)/month (live-in maid, supplemented with gifts)[231]	
1952	• 1,100 B yen ($9.17) to 1,500 B yen ($12.50)/month (However, those employed in the "household	• Maids in mainland Japan received between $18 to $36/month[234]

	staff of General Officers, Commanders of major commands, and Deputy Commanders are exempt from the maximums indicated above.")[232] • 1,200 B yen ($10)/month (live-in maid, supplemented with gifts)[233]	• Light laborers working for the U.S. military working full time received between 1,872 B yen ($15.60)/month and 2,704 B yen ($22.53)/month.[235]
1953	• 1,200 B yen ($10)/month (live-in maid, supplemented with gifts)[236]	• Janitors make between 1,000 B yen ($8.33) to 5,070 B yen ($42.25)/month with an average salary of 3,030 B yen ($25.25)/month[237] • Houseboys working in BOQ, and other Officers' Quarters made 600 B yen ($5)/room. One ambitious houseboy worked for approximately 20 people, so he made around 12,000 B yen ($100)/month[238] • Maximum salary rules for maids were dropped
1954		• The average monthly salary for employees of the GRI was 4,421 B yen ($36.84/month) and for private enterprise was 4,633 B yen ($38.60)/month.[239]
1955	• 1,800 B yen ($15)/month (live-in)[240] • 2,160 B yen ($18)/month (live-in)[241] • 2,640 ($22)/month (live-in)[242] • Per Moore Say: 1,100 B yen ($9.17) to 1,800 B yen ($15)/month (all maids, dependent on the military branch of the employer and number of maids), an additional 300 B yen ($2.50)/month could be paid if the maid was a cook or seamstress[243]	• The average monthly salary of Okinawan employees of the U.S. Military Forces (excluding maids and gardeners) was 3,388 B yen ($28.23)/month[244] • Maximum wages for maids were re-established in September 1955. These changes were colloquially known as "Moore Say"[245]
1956	• Prior to September 14, 1956: 1,100 B yen ($9.17) to 1,800 B yen ($15)/month (all maids, dependent on the military branch of the employer and number of maids), an additional 300 B yen ($2.50)/month could be paid if the maid was a cook or seamstress • After September 14, 1956: Maid salaries were a private agreement between employers and	• The average monthly salary for military base employees was 4,090 B yen ($34.08)/month, for public employees was 4,562 B yen ($38.02)/month and for private employees was 4,532 B yen ($37.77)/month[248]

	employees and maids were no longer subject to minimum or maximum salaries[246] • Navy and Marine Recommendations: 1,200 B yen ($10) to 1,700 B yen ($14.70)/month for employers with one to two maids • 1,600 B yen ($13.33) to 2,000 B yen (16.67)/month for employers with three or more maids • Air Force Recommendations: 1,100 B yen ($9.17) to 1,500 B yen/month for employers with one or two maids • 1,500 B yen ($12.50) to 1,800 B yen ($15.00)/month for employers with three or more maids[247]	
1957	• 1,500 B yen ($12.50)/month (BOQ, commuting)[249]	• Japanese maids working for American military-related-personnel in mainland Japan typically made between ¥9,000 to ¥10,000/month (3,000 B yen ($25.00) to 3,333 B yen ($27.78)/month[250]
1958	• 120 B yen ($1)/day (commuting)[251] • 2,000 B yen ($16.67) to 2,400 B yen ($20)/month (live-in maid)[252]	• September 1958 – May 1952: B yen is no longer used. U.S. dollars become the official currency for Okinawa.[253]
1959		
1960	• $12.50/month (BOQ, commuting)[254] • $20.00-$40.00/month (both live-in and commuting housemaids)[255]	
1961		• Maid working in the private sector typically received $24-$29/month for working 72 hours/week[256] • The average salary for a base employee was $58.06/month[257]
1962	• $20/month (5 days/week, commuting)[258] • $50/month and gifts (5 days/week, 6 hours/day)[259]	
1963	• $20/month (5 days/week, commuting)[260] • Around $25/month (5 days/week, commuting)[261] • $50/month and gifts (5 days/week, 6 hours/day)[262]	

1964	• $20/month (5 days/week, commuting)[263] • Around $25/month (5 days/week, commuting)[264] • $50/month and gifts (5 days/week, 6 hours/day)[265]	
1965	• $20/month (5 days/week, commuting)[266] • Around $25/month (5 days/week, commuting)[267]	
1966	• $3.00/day (2-3 days/week, commuting)[268]	
1967	• $3.00/day (2-3 days/week, commuting)[269] • $45/month[270]	
1968	• $3.00/day (2-3 days/week, commuting)[271]	
1969	• $1/hour (commuting)[272] • $3.00/day (2-3 days/week, commuting)[273] • $11-$14/month (BOQ on Futenma. Most maids working here were cleaning multiple rooms typically making $33-$84/ month.[274]	• Average salary for Okinawan women was $75/month and the average salary for Japanese women was ¥36,838 ($102)/month[275]
1970	• $1/hour (commuting)[276]	• The average full-time maid working for American military-related-personnel received $59.24/month • Most part-time maids made at least $2.50/day.[277]
1971	• $1/hour (commuting)[278]	
1972	• $3.50/day (3 days/week, commuting)[279] • $75/month (5 days/week, live-in on weekdays)[280] • $90/month (live-in)[281]	

Labor Laws and Worker Protections

Legal Protections for Base Employees

While the earliest workers on the U.S. military bases in Okinawa did not have particularly plentiful rights, these rights were provided to all base employees in a consistent

manner. This meant that maids were provided the same workers' rights as other Okinawan base employees. For example, the U.S. Naval Military Government's Directive Number 136, which was published on March 22, 1946, established the working hours for all Okinawan employees of the U.S. military, to include maids, to coincide with the "normal working day of the military using unit" and that all employees who worked overtime were guaranteed overtime pay "computed on a straight time basis."[282] In fact, in this same document, those working as maids were even provided with special considerations. While men working as domestic servants (houseboys) were permitted to live at the place of their employment, women working as maids were "required to leave their places of employment in time to reach their homes before sunset each evening except when employed as a domestic in a private family when adequate quarters are available, in which case the approval of the Commanding Officer is required."[283] Additionally, it was noted in the same directive that all military personnel who wanted to personally hire any Okinawan using their own private funds, such as a maid, gardener or chauffeur, must conform to all of the same rules that were found in Directive Number 136. Although their wages were low, maids were ensured labor conditions like any other U.S. military related position through written directives.

However, throughout the 1950s, as labor standard legislation increased, the legalized protections of maids decreased. USCAR's CA Ordinance Number 97, which was written on January 17, 1953, set minimum standards regarding the working conditions for Okinawan employees. Yet, maids were specifically listed as exempt from these legal protections.[284] While other categories of workers received the right to limit their workdays to eight hours a day and no more than 48 hours a week and to also receive overtime pay, a meal break of at least 45 minutes, annual paid vacation and at least one day off a week, domestic employees did not receive these benefits. CA Ordinance Number 97 also provided special protections for women and those under the age of 18 to prevent them from working more than 10 hours in a 24-hour period, working

more than 54 hours in any six consecutive days or from working more than six consecutive days without a day off. Maids were again excluded from these parts of the legislation.[285]

Eight months later, on August 18, 1953, USCAR promulgated new legislation regarding the Okinawans who were employed by or on behalf of the United States. Named CA Ordinance Number 116, the Labor Relations and Labor Standards Concerning Ryukyuan Employees, this legislation rescinded CA Ordinance 97. CA Ordinance 116 developed a four-part categorization system for workers who were employed either directly or indirectly by United States Forces. Category one employees were those who were direct hire employees whose salary came from U.S. Government appropriated funds. Category two employees were also direct hire employees but whose salary came from U.S. Government non-appropriated funds. Examples of these types of employees included those working in troop or open messes, orderly rooms, or the clubs. Category three employees were those who were directly hired by U.S. Forces personnel such as maids or houseboys. Finally, category four employees were those that were employed by contractors of the U.S. Government.[286] Workers' rights depended on their category.

The stated purpose of CA Ordinance Number 116 was "to make provisions concerning working conditions of Ryukyuan employees of the U.S. Forces, Ryukyu Islands (USFR) to the end that there will be maintained a minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency, and general well-being of such employees."[287] However these improvements were not for all Okinawan base employees and only applied to category one and two Okinawan employees. These workers were given a Bill of Rights of Labor. The Bill included a wide variety of entitlements such as the right to "safe, healthful working conditions," "payment for his services in accordance with their quantity and quality," "rest and leisure," and "associate himself with other workers in labor organizations."[288] This legislation greatly expanded the rights of Category one and two Okinawans who were working on base and provided them with improved working conditions.

Yet once again, as with CA Ordinance 97, those working "in the domestic service of any family or person at his home" were specifically excluded from these protections.[289] The protections of a minimum wage of ¥8.50 ($0.07) per hour (which went up to $0.30 per hour by 1971[290]), limiting daily and weekly hours to 8 hour days or 48 hours a week respectively, one guaranteed rest day a week, overtime pay of 25% of the normal wages and the rights to paid annual vacation (and starting in July of 1956, paid sick leave[291]), unpaid childbirth leave and unpaid nursing time were not provided for women working as maids.[292] Due to the lack of legislation regarding the employment of maids, the working conditions of each maid were highly dependent upon her employer. This created an expansive variety of operational environments and issues for maids.

In later years, the Manual of Personnel Policies and Procedures for Ryukyuan Employees, which was first published in May of 1957, defined the basic labor policies regarding Ryukyuan employees of the United States Army and Marine Corps in Okinawa. However, this policy also specifically excluded any domestic employees, such as maids, houseboys, or gardeners, from the protections set about in this manual. This meant that unlike other employees of the Army or Marine Corps, maids did not receive benefits such as annual leave, sick leave, accident compensation, periodic pay increases, night differential pay, language differential pay, incentive awards, training, or the right to grievance procedures.[293] Additionally, in protected jobs where English was deemed necessary, additional pay was provided to employees who improved their English outside of work hours through coursework at the Civilian Training Center or private English schools. Maids, particularly those who worked in the homes of American families, frequently worked one on one with Americans, and needed English skills to complete their jobs properly and efficiently. Yet, they were not provided with the same benefits that other military employees received when they improved their language skills.

Other full time base employees could earn annual and sick leave. Those working for the Army or Marine Corps could receive between 12 and 20 days of annual leave a year depending on how many years they had worked for the military. They also accrued sick leave at the rate of 12 days per year.[294] Yet, maids did not receive these rights. It was up to each individual employer to determine whether they would give their maid annual leave. A 1966 pamphlet made by the Fort Buckner Women's Club suggested that "a reasonable paid vacation period may be provided each year or equivalent occasional days off may be granted"[295] but there was no guarantee of annual leave. Additionally, the wording of this phrase is vague such that it is up to the interpretation of each employer. "Reasonable" and "occasional" can be understood in a variety of ways by each employer creating a large discrepancy between workplaces as to the availability and usage of annual leave. Sick leave, too, was not a right for maids. In fact, the pamphlet does not even discuss sick leave options for maids, suggesting that this right was not typically given to any maid.

For non-domestic employees of the Army or Marine Corps there were also written job performance standards. These Okinawan employees were regularly evaluated to determine how they were achieving or underachieving according to these guidelines. Employees who were not meeting these standards were first given special training before being fired. Per the manual, "Every reasonable means available should be used to strengthen job security for Ryukyuan employees, provide work satisfaction and instill pride in their own personal development."[296] However, for maids there was no requirement for standardization of job requirements and with each employer their duties changed. Each employer could create their own job requirements and at the very least each employer would have their own idiosyncrasies when it came to cleaning their home, washing their clothes, or caring for their children. Additionally, there was no standardized approach for judging the work of a maid. While some employers accepted and gently corrected the mistakes of their maids, alternatively there are numerous stories of other

maids being fired for a simple error. Maids who were not meeting their employers' standards could be fired with no attempts to correct issues. While there were various training programs available for Okinawan maids, there was no standard practice for maids to be enrolled in training prior or during their period of service, so that their job weaknesses could be understood and corrected. Alternatively, employees of the Army or Marine Corps who were high achievers were rewarded for their excellence. Supervisors of these military employees could recommend their employee for an "outstanding" rating or incentive award. Maids were not eligible for this process. Outstanding maids did not have the opportunity to be recognized for their efficient and effective work. Therefore, it can be understood that unlike many other military base related jobs at the time mistakes made by maids could lead to an immediate loss of job and excellence did not need to be recognized. No attempts seemed to be made to strengthen job security for maids or create an environment promoting work satisfaction and pride in personal development.

Non-Existent Legal Protections for Maids and their Resulting Working Conditions

Since there was little legislation or standardized requirements that protected maids working in the homes of American military personnel, their working environments varied greatly and were highly dependent upon the employer. While some employers treated their maids with respect and kindness, others treated their maid like a disposable servant who was expected to be able to work 24 hours a day seven days a week. Some of the poorer working environments for maids were highlighted during the June 13, 1957, Counter-Measure Committee for Human Rights of Maids meeting. Haruko Machida, a maid, summarized the complaints about the working conditions of maids in private homes in the following way:

> For the household maids there are those who commute to and from work and those that live-in. Those who commute receive about [B]¥1,100 ($9.17) to [B]¥1,500 ($12.50) and occasionally they are paid [B]¥2,000 ($16.67) privately [per month]. Those who live-in work about 17-18 hours per day from 5 a.m. until 12 p.m. at night. When a request was made to have an increase in wage it was not accepted. There are places which give one

> piece of toast and a cup of coffee for breakfast and one handful of rice with salt or soy-sauce for lunch. It seems that Americans learn while on ships coming over to Okinawa that there are shops here which sell canned sardines for Okinawan maids. We have the same dinner meals but the left-overs. Toilets for Okinawans are different and if we make a mistake and are found to be in the toilet designated for Americans we are thrown out even if we are in the midst of using the facility. We cannot drink the ice water in the refrigerator and are not supposed to talk to the garden boys. They say it is 'T.B.' even when we only cough and if they want to terminate us there are many reasons they can use. There are instances when we are made to buy a set in case we break one cup ... We have heard that there is one rest-day per week but we are given rest-days only on occasions.[297]

Some live-in maids did not even receive their own space for living and sleeping. Kazuko Nakamoto worked as a live-in maid for an American military family in the 1950s in Ameku's Makiminato Housing Area (currently Naha City). Nakamoto did not have her own room and slept in the room of the elementary school third grade daughter of her employer.[298] Yaeko China, who worked as a live-in maid during the mid to late 1950s had to sleep on the patio of her employer's home even though they had an unused room inside the house.[299]

Other maids even faced threats to their lives, as their employers would not let them take necessary medical leave. Machida also reiterated an incident regarding a maid who worked on Oroku Air Base who was denied the right to take leave to have a necessary medical procedure. She stated, "Just before Christmas this domestic servant was not feeling well and went to the hospital on Sunday and found out that she had to have an operation and informed the employer on Monday and asked to be absent. The employer told her to correct her sickness after Christmas is over and did not give her a leave of absence."[300] Even in cases of severe illness, some maids were not guaranteed the right to take leave. The lack of legislation protecting maids' rights demonstrated that employer's needs were deemed of greater importance than the health of their maid.

Yet, leaving a private home and instead working as a commuting in the Bachelor Officer Quarters (BOQ) did not ensure that the working conditions for maids were any better. Maids working in the BOQ also faced poor working conditions along with the threat of sexual assault.

Machida, in the same meeting, described the conditions of maids working in the BOQ in the following manner:

> Kadena is one [maid] for two [employers]. One maid performs service for two people and receives only [B]¥1,500 [$12.00] per month. We have heard that each American pays $8.00 [960 B yen] and we should get $16.00 [1,920 B yen] performing services for two people. There is one timekeeper (maid 'hancho') for every four buildings and it is believed that this person is doing something funny. Wages will not be paid without the signature of the employer. Thirty minutes is deducted when we are five minutes late. If this happens often, several days wages will be deducted. We cannot go home even after five o'clock if we are not finished with the work. However, we cannot go home even if we finish work before five o'clock. We do not receive bus fee and people commuting from Ishikawa [City to Kadena Air Base] receive only a small sum.[301]

Yet, the American policy regarding complaints by maids about their working conditions was to dismiss them. In a confidential military draft document discussing the elimination of wage ceilings for domestic servants, maids' grievances regarding their working conditions were not viewed as justified objections but instead as mere political ploys. The unnamed author wrote, "The current activities relative to protests against wage rates and working conditions of Ryukyuan domestic servants of U.S. Forces personnel are obviously of a predominantly political nature. It is believed they are directly connected with the very important impending Naha City Assembly election scheduled for 4 August 1957."[302] This way of thinking can also be seen in the *Morning Star*, an Okinawa based, American owned and operated, English language newspaper. A 1957 article titled "Maids' Human Rights," did acknowledge that maids should be entitled to the same basic human rights and dignities as any other group of people and that the working conditions for some domestic servants were not "Utopian."[303] However, the piece primarily focused on how the majority of maids were treated with respect by their employers and were generally provided much better financial benefits and treatment than they would receive working as a maid in an Okinawan home. Through these statements the unnamed author of the article attempted to justify the poor treatment of some maids with broad generalizations regarding what he imagined to be the treatment received by most maids. The article closed by arguing,

"Employers have human rights too,"[304] suggesting that by asking for better working conditions or salaries, maids in Okinawa were infringing upon the human rights of their bosses. This was a rather crass position when it was clear that the American employer held all the power in the employee-employer relationship.

Understanding that the working conditions for Okinawan maids were at times very poor, the GRI attempted to remedy this situation. In 1958 the GRI petitioned USCAR for assistance in acquiring information about the working conditions of maids directly from the maids themselves. This information would allow the GRI to better understand the problems Okinawan women faced working for American military-related-personnel in both the BOQs and the dependent housing areas.[305] The Women's and Minors' Section of the GRI's Department of Labor planned to prepare and provide the surveys and requested that the Civil Administration, through military command channels, pass out and collect these surveys such that every Okinawan maid would have a chance to comment on the working conditions of her job. The purpose of the survey was framed such that "the good points [of being a maid] could be developed and the bad points corrected, and human relations between the employer and employee, and American-Ryukyuan friendship could be further improved."[306] The survey included general questions regarding working hours, rest periods, wages, and meals. There were also a number of questions specifically regarding facilities, such as "Do you have curtains in your bedroom?" and "What type of bedding do you have for winter?"[307] Additionally, in order to fulfill the purpose of understanding both the positive and negative aspects of being a domestic servant, there were two open ended questions which asked maids to "List the things which you believe are good relative to your work" and "List the things you believe are unpleasant relative to your work."[308] A completed survey by every Okinawan maid working for U.S. military-related-personnel would have provided a wealth of information for the GRI's Department of

Labor, and could have potentially aided the Labor Department in creating legislation to better the working conditions of maids.

However, the GRI Department of Labor's proposed survey did not come to fruition. The military viewed the survey in a negative manner and found many reasons as to why it would not be expedient to complete it. Civilian Personnel Officer, Mr. Wallace E. Walker, of the 313th Air Division felt that the "appropriateness and desirability of some of the items suggested for the questionnaire are obviously questionable (e.g.: identifying the maid and her place of employment; whether she eats with the employer's family; whether she has curtains in her room; and the necessity for improvement in her facilities or accommodations)."[309] He also felt that illuminating some of the more negative aspects of the work of a maid would not put the military in a positive light and was therefore to be avoided. In a separate memo to the USCAR Labor Department, Civil Administrator Vonna F. Burger stated that he felt the survey would accomplish nothing. He pointed out that while there were approximately 10,000 domestic servants working for the military, to the best of his knowledge, the largest group of domestic servants who assembled to complain about their treatment was 30. He concluded that, "To believe that 100% of the employees in any field are completely satisfied is most unrealistic. It is felt that the domestic servants who expressed dissatisfaction probably should be fired, and certainly would be, should the employer become aware of the complaint."[310] Clearly the military did not have any interest in improving the conditions of the thousands of maids working on base. Those who spoke out were troublemakers who deserved to be fired. As most maids did not openly complain about their working conditions, no changes were necessary in the eyes of the military or USCAR.

It is through these discussions of the working conditions for Okinawan maids that the difficulties of this profession can be understood. These women worked long hours for very low salaries without legislative protections to improve their working conditions or limit their working

hours. Due to this fact, the working conditions of maids were highly dependent upon their employers and often resulted in miserable working environments, creating problems far worse than long hours and low pay. Some employers did not consider the health and welfare of their maids to be important and would not let them take necessary sick leave even for emergency medical situations. Other employers practiced segregation in their homes by not allowing their maids to use the same toilet as their families or drink the water from the refrigerator. Still others faced issues regarding food. Many maids were contractually provided two to three meals a day while working, yet the quality of the food was often very low and at times not enough to be considered a proper meal. Yet, no protections were created to ensure that these women retained their basic human rights.

A Case Study: The BOQ Maids of Kadena and Naha Air Base

The experiences of maids employed at the BOQs on Kadena and Naha Air Base during the early 1960s provide an excellent example of the wide variety of issues faced by maids working for American military-related-personnel. Maids did not face problems regarding their low pay, poor working conditions, or legal rights as separate and distinct problems. Instead, these obstacles frequently appeared in conjunction making it more difficult to reach resolutions. This section will explore these various problems that maids working at Air Force BOQs faced and how they fit into the pattern of low wages, poor working conditions, and few legal rights for Okinawan maids.

On April 21, 1960, the *Ryūkyū Shimpō* published an article regarding the low salaries of maids working at the BOQs on Naha and Kadena Air Bases. The article explained that these maids were paid as little as $12.50 a month in 1960, when most Okinawan maids working in private homes of American military-related-personnel at the time were receiving between $20.00

to $40.00 a month. According to E, a 24-year-old maid from Omine, Naha City, she had received this salary for many years but was afraid to ask for a raise. She told the newspaper reporter, "It is eight years since I became a maid after graduating from a junior high school, but I have received not a single wage increase and my pay remains $12.50 ever since the time of my employment. If I make a complaint about salary, chances are that I will be fired. So I don't say anything about it."[311] Another maid, Y, age 47, from Sobe, Naha City, explained that she too received only $12.50 a month in wages. Prior to working for the Air Force, Y was able to make about $25.00 a month by working various part time jobs for the Navy as a maid. Yet, when she switched to working for the Air Force as a maid, she was not allowed to work at any other jobs, to include part time work, which limited her earning potential. She found this situation incredibly difficult and stated, "with [the] three children I have, $12.50 is so cheap that I sometimes skip my lunch."[312] Based upon a working schedule of 24 days a month, each BOQ maid was receiving only $0.50 per day as her salary. According to the newspaper the salary rate had been in effect since 1952 at the Air Force BOQs without any changes.[313] In 1952 receiving $12.50 (1,500 B Yen) as a maid would have been a quite competitive rate and was the maximum salary that a maid could receive at the time. However, eight years later in 1960, $12.50 a month was a ridiculously low salary, even for the position of a maid, which historically received only nominal wages.

Additionally, maid's salaries at Air Force BOQs were being siphoned off to pay for other services. To have their room cleaned each officer was charged $8.65 per month. This amount in itself was quite low, but the Labor Office, which oversaw the collecting of maid's salaries, did not want to increase these charges because they felt it would economically burden the officers.[314] However, looking at the pay scales for officers in 1960, even the lowest paid Air Force officer, a Second Lieutenant (O-1), received at the absolute minimum $220.30 a month.[315] Clearly any Air Force officer could have afforded to pay their maid more. As maids were limited to cleaning two

rooms, each maid should have received $17.30 a month. However, they only received $12.50. According to the Air Force Labor Office, a $1.00 deduction was made to pay for labor office operational expenses and $3.80 was deducted from each maid's salary to pay for the salaries of maid leaders, grass cutters and other miscellaneous expenses.[316] Maids did not even receive the full amount of money paid by their employers.

Due to an April 1960 newspaper article, the public became aware of and concerned about the low wages of maids. Howard T. Robinson, the Representative of the ICFTU's Okinawa Office immediately wrote a letter to Lieutenant General Donald F. Booth, the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands at the time, regarding the salaries of maids. He was disgusted by the low wages received by some maids and stated in his correspondence:

> ... a $12.50 per month wage should be embarrassing to any and all American[s] in view of our international position on economic's [sic] freedom and democracy…It embarrasses me as an American to have to report such conditions practiced by [a] person of my own country. If we are to wonder why there is developing such strong anti-American feelings among workers and sometimes exploited by political elements, then we might pay close attention to the need and the neglect of workers.[317]

Two representatives of the GRI Labor Department, Mr. Higa, the Deputy Director and Mrs. Yamashiro, the Chief of the Women's and Minors' Division also got involved due to these articles. Higa and Yamashiro contacted W.D. Stout, the director of the USCAR Labor Department, on May 4, 1960, to discuss the salaries of maids hired by U.S. military personnel. They pushed for access to visit the bases themselves to check on the working conditions of these women. Stout was able to stall access to the bases for weeks but became concerned about continuing the practice. As he noted in a confidential memo to the Civil Administration, "It is relatively easy to put people off for a while, but not forever."[318]

The immediate American policy was to deny responsibility for the low maid wages. In a previously confidential memo between Stout and the Civil Administrator, Stout noted that as contracts between maids and employers were private affairs, neither the military command nor

USCAR had any control over the salaries of Okinawan maids working for U.S. military personnel. Stout contended that it effectively was not their problem that the maids' wages were low and there was nothing that the military or USCAR could do to change the situation.

Additionally, Stout personally did not believe the claims regarding maids' salaries as printed in the newspaper. In his memo, he suggested that based upon his experiences, along with those of friends and acquaintances, that it was in fact difficult to find a maid that would work for less than $20 a month. He further stated that if maids were working for $12.50 a month, this was most likely a very rare case and "maids in U.S. homes actually fared quite well as compared to unskilled or semi-skilled laborers generally."[319] This point was moot though, as the April 21, 1960 *Ryūkyū Shimpō* article also noted that the salary ranges for maids working for U.S. military personnel and their families was typically between $20.00 and $40.00 a month.[320] The particular focus of this article was the maids who worked at the BOQs on Air Bases. In fact, Stout was actually aware that some maids were receiving salaries as low as $12.50 a month because the Labor Office quoted pay scales from $12.50 to $20 a month for the employment of a maid when he contacted them.[321] Although Stout did not want to admit it, some maids, particularly those working in the BOQs on Air Force bases, were receiving wages as low as $12.50 a month.

However, low salaries were not the problem exposed by the newspaper article. Maids working on Air Force Bases in Okinawa in the BOQ were hired through a central labor office. Although at first glance this does not appear to be a significant point, this fact was important in determining the employment status of these maids. In the past the military and USCAR had frequently claimed they could not do anything to improve the working conditions and salaries of maids due to the private contract that existed between maids and their employers. Yet, the maids working in Air Force BOQs were not hired through private contracts between maids and their direct employers. In an undated document (likely from around 1957),[322] entitled *Central Maid Service (Labor Office)*, the Naha Air Base Labor Office explained its labor policies for maids

working at the local BOQ buildings. Maids who worked in these areas kept their timecards with the Labor Office and were required to check in and check out through the office to maintain their timecard records. The maids were also paid through the "BOQ Fund," which was made up of the money that military-personnel paid for their maids. To prevent having too many maids, the Central Office oversaw shifting maids as necessary. As Air Force members moved in and out of the housing areas, maids were shifted in their workplaces to prevent the hiring of too many maids. Per the Labor Office, at maximum a maid could work for up to two people in two different huts, so that maid numbers would not be incredibly impacted by changing numbers of military personnel. If there were extra maids, the Labor Office decided that there would be a Reduction in Force (RIF), starting with the maids who had excessive lateness or absenteeism at their jobs. However, even upon the loss of their job, these maids were often requested to leave the name of a friend who was still working as a maid with the Labor Office and upon the need for more maids, she would be contacted for re-hiring. Therefore, the Labor Office considered this "more of a Layoff" than a termination of employment."[323] As seen by this document created by the Air Force Labor Office itself, these maids were not employees of the men and women whose rooms they cleaned but were in fact employees of the Labor Office.

Since these maids were hired and controlled through the Labor Office, they could be considered employees of the agency making them Category II employees who were subject to the regulations of Ordinance 116. Although maids were specifically exempted from the various protections found in Ordinance 116, the use of an employment agency for hiring and salary payment, as seen in this case, could change their status from that of a personal servant to a labor office employee assigned to a specific household.[324] This meant that these maids should have been eligible for minimum wage protections, paid leave and a variety of other benefits that Category I and 2 employees of the U.S. military were given through Ordinance 116. Yet, these women did not receive any of these benefits and had some of the lowest wages of all maids.

This news was troubling to the USCAR Labor Department. Officially, the Director of the Labor Department, W.D. Stout stated that this information was incorrect. Yet, Stout realized that he would need to look more closely at the hiring and payment system of maids working on the Air Bases to avoid "an extremely embarrassing position both with respect to criticism on the part of GRI and on the part of ICFTU."[325] To better understand the situation regarding maids at the BOQs on the Air Bases Stout visited the Civilian Personnel Officer, Mr. Wallace E. Walker, of the 313th Air Division on Kadena Air Base. However, the discussion between Stout and Walker further complicated the situation. Walker freely admitted that the maids working at the BOQ were employees of the Labor Office, with the Labor Office contracting out maid services to individual residents of the quarters. However, he noted that individual residents of the BOQ did not have to hire their maid directly through the Kadena Air Base Labor Office. Residents had the option to locate and hire a maid of their own choice. Additionally, Walker claimed that no matter which hiring option the employer chose, the decision about salary always came down to negotiations between individual maids and employers. Yet, later in the same discussion Walker contradicted himself by noting that the salary for all maids working at the BOQ was set at $12.50 a month. He couched this statement by noting that most maids received an additional amount that was negotiated between the maid and their employer but provided no further information regarding an average amount of supplementary salary.

Stout's discussion with Walker confirmed a variety of potentially damaging information. The first was the verification of the incredibly low salary paid to some BOQ maids on Air Bases. These maids were working 6 days a week for 8 hours a day, so with a monthly salary of $12.50, their hourly wage was between $0.06-$0.07 an hour. Even if not eligible for minimum wage, which in 1957 was amended to 14 B yen ($0.11) per hour,[326] these maids' salaries were at an embarrassingly low level. Stout noted in his confidential memo to the Civil Administration that based upon this hourly salary, "Once this information becomes an item of issue, we will be

extremely vulnerable."[327] His concern was not that the wages of maids working in the Air Bases' BOQs was extremely low, but instead that if this pittance of a salary was discovered by the public, the military government would be chastised for it.

Additionally, USCAR had already gone on record to the ICFTU denying that any U.S. agency was an employer of personal servants to U.S. personnel. Yet, Walker clearly stated that maids in the Air Base BOQs received their salaries from the Labor Office. As maids were potentially receiving payments from both the Labor Office and their employers, this created considerable confusion as to whether the maids working at the Air Force's BOQs could still be classified as personal employees or should legally be considered Category II employees who were subject to the labor laws as defined by Ordinance 116.[328] Stout was very concerned that this issue would become a "cause célèbre" leading to much embarrassment in the future."[329] He felt it was best to categorize maids hired by the employment agency as employees of that agency, making them Category II employees as defined by the Ordinance. Yet, nothing was done about the problem for years. Air Force BOQ maids were hired by the Labor Office and received their salaries from them but were not given any of the rights of Category II base employees, The issue was finally fully resolved in 1964

After years of deliberations, the personnel department of the Kadena Air Base eventually did create a plan to raise the wages of maids working in the BOQs in August of 1963 and put this plan into place the next month in September of 1963.[330] The increase in wages was scheduled as follows:

Table 19. August 1963 and Prior Pay Schedule

Number of Rooms Cleaned	Total Amount Paid by Room Owners	Amount Deducted by Kadena Labor Office	Amount of Pay Received by Maid
2 Rooms	$15.00	$2.50	$12.50
3 Rooms	$22.50	$3.75	$18.75
4 Rooms	$30.00	$5.00	$25.00

Each room owner paid $7.50 a month for cleaning.

Table 20. September 1963 and Later Pay Schedule

Number of Rooms Cleaned	Total Amount Paid by Room Owners	Amount Deducted by Kadena Labor Office	Amount of Pay Received by Maid
2 Rooms	$20.00	$2.00	$18.00
3 Rooms	$30.00	$6.00	$24.00
4 Rooms	$40.00	$15.00	$25.00

Each room owner paid $10.00 a month for cleaning[331]

This change was intended to raise the overall salaries of the maids working at the BOQs on Kadena. Yet upon inspection of the revised pay scales, many maids were naturally upset. The difference in salaries of a maid cleaning three rooms and four rooms was only a dollar. Additionally, for maids cleaning four rooms, 37.5% of their salary was paid to the Kadena Labor Office. The revised pay scale brought them no little improvement in salary even though their employers would have to pay more money for their services.

Due to the overall dissatisfaction with the changes to the pay scale, and the fact many maids felt their questions about these changes were not being answered, the maids brought their complaints to the Air Force Labor Union. The Air Force Labor Union then went to the head of the Personnel Office to discuss the issues surrounding the salary of the BOQ maids. The Air Force Labor Union also decided to call upon other organizations for support, to include the GRI Labor Department, the GRI Legislature, the Chairman of the Mayor's Association (市町村長会長) and the ICFTU, petitioning the Kadena Air Base BOQ maids working conditions as a greater societal problem.[332] However, employees of the Kadena Air Base Personnel Office were

surprised by the complaints filed by the Air Force Labor Union. Prior to the change in the pay scale, all maids working at the BOQs were invited to the Personnel Office for an explanation of the new wage system, but only two to three maids had asked any questions about the change. Therefore, the personnel office believed that all attendees were satisfied by the changes and assumed there would be no further problems. They could not understand this dissatisfaction by the maids as the overall base pay for BOQ maids on Kadena had been increased.[333]

To resolve these issues, the Air Force's Personnel Office decided to reevaluate their previous changes to improve the situation. In a December 13, 1963, letter to the occupants of the BOQs, the BOQ maids and the maid supervisors, the Civilian Personnel Officer, Louis W. Conroy, Jr., established further changes regarding the administration of the Air Force BOQ maids. Per the letter, effective as of January 15, 1964, all maids working at the BOQ were to be directly hired by each BOQ occupant.[334] This change allowed for residents of the BOQ to enter into a personal contract with their maid as opposed to the central employment system that had previously been used. Each BOQ resident then became personally responsible for selecting their maid, having her processed at the Kadena Air Base Employment Office, and paying her wages plus a small service charge to the Kadena Air Base Employment Office monthly. This change also put the working conditions of the maids squarely in the hands of each BOQ occupant. Each occupant was able to decide if their maid should receive days off for Okinawan and/or American holidays, as prior to this change, the Kadena BOQ maids were not given any holidays. BOQ residents were also able to determine what type of work was to be done by their maids, how difficult this work was and what level of salary was appropriate for this work. Salary rates were no longer set by the Employment Office and BOQ occupants were able to determine their maid's salary level and if they wanted to give any type of bonus for exceptional work.

This new policy brought the Kadena BOQ employment system of maids in sync with the other maids working for military-related-personnel in private homes and BOQs on Marine or

Navy bases. Instead of being dependent upon Employment Office regulations, working conditions for BOQ maids became highly dependent upon the employer and the relationship between the two parties. The relationship could improve or deteriorate based upon the employer. This change also resolved the question of whether Kadena BOQ maids were Category II or Category III employees. As these maids were direct hires of the BOQ residents, they clearly were Category III employees, thus resolving one of the ongoing issues faced by the Kadena Air Base Personnel Officer.

However, rumors abounded regarding the labor regulation changes, which were set to take place on January 15, 1964. Therefore, prior to their enforcement, the Personnel Office set up another meeting to explain these changes to the BOQ maids. Nearly 90% of the BOQ maids attended this meeting but only two to three maids asked any questions to the head of the personnel office through the available translator. Instead, many quietly worried about the rumors they heard. Hearsay suggested that due to the direct contracts between BOQ residents and maids, some maids would be fired and that wages would drop to between $7 and $9 per maid.[335] Especially as many of the women working as maids in the BOQ were widows who were in their middle to late working years, the rumors of salary cuts and layoffs were particularly upsetting and a cause of uncertainty.[336] Due to a long history of poor relations between maids working in the BOQ and the Kadena Personnel Office, it is easy to understand why many maids would believe rumors highlighting negative outcomes. These maids were consistently paid low salaries and had none of the benefits of protections that most military base employees received. A sudden change in the Kadena Air Base policy to improve the working conditions of the maids would seem unrealistic.

Due to these continuing issues the Women's and Children's Division of the GRI also became involved in the labor dispute. Masako Yabiku, a member of the Women's and Children's Division, took the lead and prepared a six page report "An Investigation Into the Problems of

BOQ Maids" (BOQ メイド問題の調査について）regarding the issues faced and possible resolutions. Yabiku's first conclusion was that the situation became a much more emotional issue because the maids first went to outside groups, such as the Air Force Labor Union, to complain about their situation and request an investigation, instead of going directly to the Personnel Office to discuss the problems that they saw in their contracts. She thought that the involvement of outside parties from the start of this issue made it a much larger and drawn-out process than it needed to be. However, at the same time Yabiku also understood why the maids took their complaints directly to an outside party instead of trying to resolve them internally first. During this time in Okinawa, it was difficult for women to speak their opinions in public, so the two meetings that the Personnel Office held to discuss the changes to the BOQ maids' contracts was not an effective method to have the women voice their concerns. The women did not feel comfortable stating their opinions in a group and were self-conscious to question any policy. Additionally, many maids feared that if they did make any type of negative statement, their words would be misconstrued and used against them such that they would lose their job. As many of these women were widows, they were the primary breadwinners for their families, and the loss of their job would be detrimental to the wellbeing of their families. Yabiku concluded that the two parties needed to foster greater mutual understanding between them, such that they would be able to resolve future labor issues between themselves.[337]

The issues faced by maids working in the Air Force BOQs highlights some of the difficulties faced by maids. They received a pittance salary and even though they were technically Category II employees for many years they did not secure any of the job protections that they should have. Maids knew these wages were ridiculously low and that they deserved better working conditions, but due to cultural factors they were afraid to speak out fearing a loss of their jobs. They suffered in silence for years because they needed these jobs to support their families.

Job Security: A Comparison Between Military Base Employees and Maids

Most Okinawan military base employees were subject to guidelines dealing with termination. These employees could not simply be fired. Instead, various steps needed to be taken before the employer could terminate the employee. For example, per the 1957 Manual of Personnel Policies and Procedures for Ryukyuan Employees, most employers were required to establish job standards for each position and regularly evaluate their employees to make sure that both parties were aware of the requirements for the job. Employees could not simply be fired after one infraction and instead, it was encouraged that "Every effort will be made…to solve Ryukyuan employee problems before disciplinary actions are taken."[338] For specific disciplinary actions, such as insubordination, sleeping on the job, unexcused absences or theft, there was a guide with specific steps such as verbal and written reprimands and unpaid suspensions that needed to take place before an employee could be fired.

However, these rights were not given to the women who worked as maids. Per amended military government regulations, dated August 6, 1956, military commanders were prohibited from "A. Publish[ing] any directive which might give the impression that the military is responsible as an employer. [and] B. Interfere[ing] with employer-employee relationships in regard to wages and employment conditions."[339] This meant that employers had complete control over their maids' employment and gave employers the right to fire their maids at any time without any reason. Kiku Teruya, who started working as a maid for American families in 1948, recalled that she knew maids that had difficult to please employers and after one small mistake were told not to come back the next day as they had been fired from their job.[340] M3, who started working as a maid in 1947 also had experience with difficult employers. She along with another maid were employed by an officer and his family. One of their responsibilities was cooking

dinner for the family, which they would alternate doing. M3 was quite a good cook, and the family enjoyed her meals. However, the other maid's food was not as delicious. One evening M3's employer came to her and asked if she had cooked dinner. She had not but tried to avoid answering the question. However, her employer knew that the other maid had prepared the meal due to the difference in taste. M3's employer promptly fired the other maid by telling her not to come back tomorrow. According to M3 this was a typical situation. If you did something your employers did not like, they could easily fire the maid because there were no legal protections or job security for maids. During her 13 years of employment, she always had a lingering fear of being fired because it could come out of nowhere.[341]

In 1957, maids working for an Air Force unit on Miyako Island faced similar issues regarding being fired. Originally each maid washed the clothes of eight Air Force members and was paid 1,800 B yen ($15.00) per month. However, after changes were made to the regulations, each maid was expected to wash the clothing of 15 Air Force Members and take a reduction in salary to 1,500 B yen ($12.50) per month. 11 of the women working for the Air Force unit on Miyako requested a wage increase at the end of the month, but they were told if they did not like the working conditions, they should quit their job. Before these women decided what they were going to do, their base passes were taken away and they were terminated from their positions without any type of warning or severance pay. The Air Force contended that "We did not terminate the maids. They terminated themselves and went home."[342] The Air Force promptly hired new maids who were willing to work with the unfavorable working conditions. These examples demonstrate how maids could easily lose their jobs without warning and had no legislative rights to protect them when they complained about poor working conditions.

Maids also lacked rights when being laid off from their jobs due to no fault of their own. As household employees, maids were not protected by CA Ordinance 116. Ordinance 116 established that protected workers were legally given the right to at least "30 calendar days'

notice in writing or 30 calendar days' wages in lieu of such notice" if they were going to lose their jobs.[343] Yet, maids were not protected by this legislation and could be removed from their jobs with only days' notice. The 1957 Manual of Personnel Policies and Procedures for Ryukyuan Employees also established special rules for dealing with the release of employees due to a Reduction in Force (RIF). When deciding which employees would lose their jobs, initial decisions would be based on the amount of time the employee had held their job, with those working the shortest length of service to be cut first. However, there were also special considerations beyond the time in job for those who had been judged as having outstanding work performance. Additionally, instead of simply letting go of all these employees, whenever possible current employees were to be reassigned to other jobs so that they would not become unemployed. Finally, in the case that employees were to lose their job, they were guaranteed a 30-day advance notice.[344] Yet, maids also did not receive any of these protections.

Additionally, maids were not covered by the Act on Temporary Measures Concerning Ex-Workers of Armed Forces Stationed in Japan (駐留軍関係離職者等臨時措置法). This legislation allowed former employees of the military bases to receive training, career guidance, monetary stipends, and temporary housing among other benefits after they were let go from their jobs.[345] The Act, which was taken directly from Japanese law, provided protections for only Category I and Category II base employees, as defined by CA Ordinance 116. Maids, who were designated Category III employees were excluded from this legislation. Even though the number of and employment situation of maids in Okinawa was very different from that of mainland Japan, it was considered impossible to change the law only in Okinawa to provide temporary measures for maids who were let go from their jobs.[346] Once again maids received no protections when they were dismissed from their positions due to no fault of their own.

An example of this situation took place on November 30, 1969, when about 40 maids who were working on Marine Corps Air Station Futenma (MCAF) were laid off from their jobs.

While many maids who were surveyed after they lost their jobs could not state the specific reason for their loss of employment,[347] according to officials at the MCAF Security Office, the job cuts were made to save money on the costs of electricity and water. Prior to the layoffs, 140 maids had worked at MCAF in the dormitories for bachelors, 80 as maids for Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs) and 60 as maids for Officers. However, military policy for MCAF at that time was that NCOs should clean their rooms themselves and take their laundry to the on base laundry services center to have it cleaned for them. Therefore, they decided to cut the positions of maids who worked for NCOs, in theory the costs for electricity and water would decrease by having all laundry washed in a central location.[348] The maids were alerted to these layoffs on November 12, 1969, giving them approximately 18 days to find a new job. These maids lost their jobs through no fault of their own and lacked any of the protections such as 30 days' notice of job termination, severance packages or other monetary support for their sudden job loss that other military base employees received.

In hopes of resolving the issues surrounding their layoffs on November 18, 1969, 16 of these maids petitioned the Okinawan government for help. They made requests to Mayor Kenichiro Sakima of Ginowan City, the city in which MCAF is located, and GRI Legislature member Toshisane Kishimoto to be able to continue with their work. These women expressed a desire that even if it was impossible to continue with the same job, they wanted to at least postpone their layoffs for another three months until after the New Year's holidays or to provide for a change of work locations.[349] However, these changes were not granted, and the women were laid off as scheduled on November 30, 1969.

Maids were not granted any of the legal protections many other base employees received regarding terminations and layoffs. Maids could be fired at any time for no reason. They had no legal protections that guaranteed that certain steps needed to be taken before job termination, like Category I and II base employees. Additionally, maids were not protected from layoffs, for

reasons such as Reduction in Forces (RIF). They were not guaranteed protections that other workers received such as at least 30 days' notice of job termination or any type of severance package. They could simply be told that their job no longer existed, and they needed to find a new one. Maids lacked any type of job security.

Socially Marginalized Maids

Accusations of Crime

Beyond low salaries, poor working conditions and a lack of job security, maids frequently faced other issues due to their social marginality. Employers could easily accuse their maid of a crime without having to provide any proof for their accusations. They could then use this as a reason to fire their maid. According to one maid who worked for various military families during the 1950s, these types of accusations were quite common by employers. To protect herself she refused to accept any type of present from her employers because she worried that they would later change their mind about her and claim that she had stolen the item or that she would be caught with presents while leaving the base by the guards and be accused of theft. She never felt that she could completely trust her employer, so it was in her best interest to never accept any gifts from U.S. military-related-personnel to both protect her integrity and ensure that she would be able to continue in her profession.[350]

This is not to say that some maids did not steal from their employers. The maid above who refused to accept presents from her employers, readily agreed that during the 1940s and 1950s many maids did steal.[351] In fact, two of the first articles published about Okinawan maids who worked for American families in post-war local Okinawan newspapers were focused on thefts by maids. The first article from December 23, 1950, in the *Okinawa Times*, was strikingly entitled, "The Maid was the Culprit." It covered the theft of $1,800 (216,000 B yen) from the

family of an American contractor living in the Awase Family Housing on December 8. After a police investigation, the unnamed 20-year-old maid, eventually confessed to stealing the money and hiding it under the lid of the toilet she used in the house.[352] The second article, "The Maid's Theft," was printed on March 23, 1951, in the *Okinawa Times*. The article told of the crime committed by a maid identified by the pseudonym Hanako Yamada, who was 17 at the time. In the beginning of March, Yamada, who worked in the housing for employees of the Mashiki military hospital (Camp Mercy, modern day Ginowan City), stole $250 (30,000 B yen) from the quarters of her employer's neighbor. The money was hidden in the ground of the goat pen at her residence.[353]

Okinawan maids who were convicted of stealing from their employers were severely punished. Shigeko Shiroma worked as a maid in the American housing development in Uenoya, Naha. On December 15, 1956, she was accused of stealing both a skirt worth 400 B yen ($3.33) and a 14,400 B yen ($120) watch. While Shiroma admitted to stealing the skirt, she vehemently denied taking the watch. Despite her pleas of innocence on the larger charge, Shiroma, who was 19 years old at the time, was found guilty of stealing both items and sentenced to one year of jail and a fine of 10,000 B yen ($83.33).[354] Assuming Shiroma truly did not steal the watch as she professed, this was an incredibly harsh punishment for the crime of stealing a skirt from her employer.

However, even with maids who did steal from their employers, there was also a significant problem with employers making false claims of theft to fire them. Without any proof at all, an employer could say their maid had stolen something and dismiss them from their job. At times employers could even involve the Military Police (MP). The maid would then be roughly questioned by the MPs even if they were not actually involved in the crime. The 1957 Ring Case is a prime example of how false claims regarding theft by an American employer not

only unfairly questioned maids' integrity but also caused loss of employment and at times forced these women to change careers.

The 1957 Ring Case involved two maids, Yaeko China and Ms. Nakama, and their employers, a husband and wife. China started working for the husband and wife in January of 1957, while Nakama had started working there prior to that date. Both China and Nakama worked as live-in maids for the couple. When China began her employment there, she was already aware of the poor reputation of her employers. They had already gone through numerous maids prior to hiring China, which was a sign that they were problematic employers. The husband was said to be of bad character by others and frequently forced the maids to work on their days off. The wife always pushed the two women to work faster and used vulgar terms when talking to them.

Although there were daily irritations in their work, the problems between the maids and their employers came to a head in March of 1957. Near the beginning of the month China and Nakama's employers said that they were going to fire one of the women because they did not need two maids. However, both China and Nakama protested this decision. They felt there was too much work in the home for only one maid. Their employers refused to accept their request so both women decided to quit their jobs. After telling their employers they would quit, the employers requested the women continue working until they could find a new maid. Both China and Nakama agreed to work until the end of March. However, their working conditions continued to deteriorate, so the women told their employers they both were going to quit their jobs on March 13th. Their employer refused to accept their declarations and told the women if they did not work for two additional days and clean both the refrigerator and stove their pay would be deducted. The women worked the additional days to receive their full pay. After quitting China started working in a home on Sukiran (current Camp Foster) and Nakama worked on Futenma.

However, three days into their new employment, both China and Nakama were called in to be questioned by the Military Police (MP). They were separated and then harshly questioned between three and four hours regarding a diamond ring. Their former employer had claimed that the women stole it, but according to China, she had heard that it had been lost before she started working for her employer. Both women vehemently insisted upon their innocence and were eventually released due to a lack of evidence. This incident is what came to be known as the Ring Case.[355]

Even though there was no evidence that China or Nakama had stolen the ring, the accusations made by their previous employer, most likely out of spite, were taken as the truth. Both women were treated as criminals without any proof that they had done anything wrong. During the period of American control, employers could use their superior societal positions to effectively ruin the lives of their employees. Both China and Nakama had trouble keeping employment after the theft accusations. They were fired from their next jobs and felt certain that they would soon be fired from their following positions.[356] These false claims of theft severely impeded both women's abilities to support their families through employment. Their reputations and honor had been ruined by the callous and petty choices of their previous employers. China and Nakama had lost the trust of their future employers because of the false claims by their previous employers. Yet, instead of being swept under the rug, like most cases of false accusations by American employers of their Okinawan maids, due to the perseverance of China, the Okinawan public came to learn of this common yet unfair practice.

Yaeko China was born in 1936 and lived in Nakagusuku Village. Around 1955, when she was 19 years old, she began to work as a live-in maid. From the start of her job, she was not content with her poor working conditions. She worked long hours, seven days a week from 6 in the morning until 8 or 9 at night. She was only given one day off every two weeks to visit her family. Yet, for all this work she received only 1,500 yen ($12.50) per month. China also felt

that many aspects of her employment were unfair. She hated how every time she coughed, her employer asked her if she had tuberculosis and the fact that her employer could fire her simply because he didn't like her. She also could not understand why her food and drinking water had to be separate from her employer's food and drinking water, and that even though the family had an empty room in the house, she was made to sleep on the porch.[357] Prior to her involvement in the Ring Case, China recognized and felt frustrated with the working conditions of maids and their lack of rights.

After experiencing false accusations and extended questioning by the military police, China could not sit idly by and watch these types of injustices continue to take place. She along with Nakama, helped to organize a meeting for Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel to air their grievances. However, when the military authorities found out about the plans for this discussion, China was once again taken back to the MP office and questioned, this time about her political activities. The question of the missing ring was no longer an issue, as it was accepted that the claim about the stolen ring was false, and the interrogation instead focused on China's political activities.[358] Although China had valid reasons for wanting to hold a discussion with other maids about their working conditions, the military authorities attempted to intimidate her into stopping her rallying activities. The reality for Okinawan maids was that they were punished and harassed for trying to improve their working conditions.

Even with this harassment, China was able to rally people for her cause. On May 9, 1957, China was able to gather approximately 20 maids working in the central region (Chubu) of Okinawa, to discuss their working conditions. In addition to the maids, representatives from the government such as legislature members Chojyo Oyama, Ryosho Taira and Kisaburo Owan, along with representatives from the All Okinawa Youth Association such as Yoko Yamashiro were invited to the meeting. At the meeting the maids talked about the excessively heavy labor requirements of their job, especially considering their low pay, and the fact that their human

rights were being ignored in their job. They also requested that maids be covered by labor legislation, which protected other military base employees. This discussion led to the formation of the Meido Jinken Taisaku Iinkai,[359] a group with the goal of improving the rights and working conditions of maids working for American military-related-personnel through activities such as submitting petitions to the Legislature and publicizing the issues commonly faced by maids.[360] Additionally, China attended the World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (原水爆禁止世界大会) as the Okinawan representative in August of 1957 to share information about the problems faced by Okinawan maids to the people of Japan.

However, it was attending the conference that dealt the coup de grace to China's career as a maid. After the U.S. military in Okinawa found out about her participation in this conference, on January 21, 1958, China was taken by the wife of her employer to the labor office. While she was out of her employer's house, the Army Criminal Investigation Division (CID) came and took her diary, various books, and miscellaneous papers from her room (she was a live-in maid). When China realized these documents had been taken and requested their return, she was taken to the headquarters of the CID and questioned for five hours. This interrogation went beyond her job as a maid and included questioning about her beliefs and whether she knew Kamejiro Senaga, the former mayor of Naha City or Ichiro Matayoshi, the first chairman of the Okinawa Farmer's Federation of Trade Union (沖縄県農民組合連合会). After being released, she reported this event to the All Okinawa Federation of Labor Unions (全沖縄労働組合連合会), which then, in turn, made a formal protest regarding these actions to both the Labor Department and USCAR on behalf of China. She was finally able to get her personal belongings back from the CID and the 20 days of pay that had previously been withheld from her. However, China was fired as a maid for American military-related-personnel after the incident and never returned to working on base. All her future jobs were in the private sector.[361]

Throughout her trials China was able to see the bigger meaning of her struggles. She felt that because of all the tribulations she faced, the public was finally able to clearly understand the problems faced by Okinawan maids. Based upon the issues she brought forth, the Women's and Children's Division of the GRI's Labor Department, created the first survey to record the real working conditions of maids in 1958.[362] Even though these improvements were small, they did represent positive changes. Although China faced a variety of struggles, working in poor conditions and with low salary, questions of her honesty because of unscrupulous employers, questioning by the police, and a loss of jobs and salaries she saw how publicizing these issues helped to support all women who worked as maids. She bore these burdens for all women in the profession.

Sexualization of Maids

Okinawa Venture is a book written by Robert T. Frost, an American who spent a year and a half in Okinawa as an active-duty Air Force service member. Although a novel, Frost weaved facts gained from his experiences in Okinawa into the book, thus creating a piece of historical fiction. *Okinawa Venture* tells the story of Lieutenant Richard Walker, known as Dick throughout the novel, who moves to the fictional Kozaki Air Base (most likely modeled after Kadena Air Base) in Okinawa to serve in the Air Force for a year. Dick, although married, must leave his wife and child in the U.S. In Okinawa, he lives in an old housing area half a mile from the base, which he shares with Steve Gibson, a dentist for the Air Force. Dick and Steve hire a maid named Kimiko Shimada to clean their rooms and do their laundry. As time goes on, Dick and Kimiko find themselves interested in each other but resist the attraction. However, after six months, when Steve moves out to live with his wife and son who have finally arrived in Okinawa, the relationship between Dick and Kimiko changes. After an outing to Itoman together to visit the Suicide Cliffs, Kimiko invites Dick to her home for a dinner of sukiyaki and they

consummate their relationship. Dick feels guilt for his actions and decides to avoid Kimiko. However, when Kimiko is ordered to clean a different room by the Labor Office, which would effectively end their contact with each other, Dick decides he needs Kimiko in his life and invites her to live with him. She promptly agrees and quits her job as a maid. Although they become closer as time passes, they stand by their agreement that their relationship will end when Dick returns to the U.S. and his family. About a month before Dick is set to return to the U.S., an American jet crashes into the sea off the western coast of Okinawa. As the military is eager to recover the jet, Dick, and Steve, who are experienced scuba divers, offer to go on an expedition to find it. After Dick discovers the aircraft underwater, he has a diving accident and dies of an embolism on the boat ride home. The book ends with Kimiko taking a step off the Suicide Cliffs in Itoman to be with Dick forever.

While the characters themselves are fictional, details about the American military experience in 1950s Okinawa are based upon the realities of that time. For example, at one point in the novel Dick is told by the Indigenous Labor Office that Kimiko will be transferred from Dick's Quonset Hut to the BOQ to lessen future job transfers.[363] In the 1950s and early 1960s, employment of maids in the Air Base BOQs was controlled by the Indigenous Labor Office and they would have shifted maids' workplaces dependent upon the overall number of Air Force members needing maids. Historically, Kimiko being transferred to another room to work could have happened. As much of the book is based in reality, one can also expect that Frost's descriptions of the women working as maids, in particular, Kimiko, reflect the common view of American military-related-personnel on Okinawa at that time.

Much of Frost's early descriptions of Kimiko focus on her appearance. While the author does describe Shimada as a good worker with a cheerful disposition frequently veiled in shyness, most of his other comments describe how she was an attractive woman. Dick's first statement to Steve regarding Kimiko is about her appearance. Dick tells Steve, "Hey, she's kind of cute" and

then in comparing her to some of the older women who work as maids, states that he, "…rather have something decent to look at than some of these mama-sans I've seen."[364] In later pages Kimiko is described as "obviously attractive," the "youngest and prettiest of the group [of maids]" and as one who enjoyed leading on her employers by flirting and teasing with them.[365] Only two pages after that, two full paragraphs are dedicated to describing Shimada's "beautifully formed" body.[366] Dick clearly notices Kimiko's beauty, but, "It did not seem strange to Dick that he found himself studiously admiring this petite little oriental girl, but he was reluctant to admit to himself that he thought she was more than just an attractive woman."[367] Kimiko's character is not fully developed and she is seen as a shy but beautiful woman. Kimiko's value is in her appearance.

Yet, as the reader later learns in the book, Kimiko is a quite sexual creature hidden behind her shy ways. Upon finding herself attracted to Dick, Kimiko wants to know how he feels about her and craves her employers' attention. She wondered, "What either Dick or Steve felt about her was difficult for Kimiko to guess. She wished she knew. Were they not men and therefore interested in women?"[368] Kimiko also knew that relationships between young maids and their employers were quite common, so she assumed that she too would become involved with one of her employers. Kimiko reflected, "It was common knowledge among the older maids that often the Americans seduced their young employees. Had not Kazuko quit last Spring because she was going to have a baby-san? And here was Kimiko, working for two *ichiban honchos*. Surely it would not be long before they tried to taste the nectar of such a one as she."[369] It was actually Kimiko who made the first move in consummating her and Dick's relationship. After eating dinner at Kimiko's home Dick is convinced by Kimiko to first spend the night and then sleep next to her on her futon. As he starts to fall asleep Kimiko initiates a sexual relationship with him:

> Dick had drifted off to sleep when a sharp pain in his neck instantly startled him awake. In the second of his awakening, he knew Kimiko had bitten him on the neck—he was aware of her warm body pressing his. His heart began to pound as his senses became acutely awake and vibrating to this sensuous intrusion in his sleep. Warm lips whispered in his ear. "What you think, I let you go sleep, Deeku?[370]

Kimiko's character is extremely sexualized. She beguiles married Dick into having an affair.

Beyond just a dalliance, the novel portrays that Kimiko secretly wishes the relationship would lead to her ultimate goal of marrying an American man and having a baby with him. After being with Dick, Kimiko realizes the superiority of American men and that she cannot return to being with a Japanese or Okinawan man. As Kimiko stated, "Ah! I no want marry Japanese boy-san. They all time no treat okusan good. I like marry American. Japanese boy all time expect too much."[371] When Dick questioned her, suggesting that marriage relationships were changing, Kimiko replied, "You think so? Japanese husband no change, want only okusan to cook food—have boy baby-sans. They no love okusan. I know you love your okusan. All American men same. Why I want marry Japanese boy? Maybe someday I marry American boy—have nice baby. I be very happy then."[372] Frost, through the character of Dick suggests that by dating and then possibly marrying the Okinawan women working as maids, American men were saving these women from their difficult lives and providing them the opportunity for a loving marriage and happiness. They were rescuing Okinawan women.

From these descriptions of Kimiko one can better understand how male American military-related-personnel in Okinawa frequently viewed their maids. Maids were not seen as women with unique personalities and life experiences. Instead, they were ranked in order of attractiveness and viewed as objects. Their value came from their personal appearance. Additionally, maids were often sexualized. Behind their shy demeanors were women who craved physical relationships with American men. If given the chance Okinawan maids wanted to be with American men and were hoping for their advances. The goal of any young Okinawan maid was to marry her employer and live happily ever after with him.

Based upon an analysis of this novel, it suggests that some American men, particularly those who lived in the BOQs as they were single, did not see their maids in an employer-employee relationship, but as a potential romantic interest. It is based upon this viewpoint that we can then start to understand why there were attacks upon maids in the BOQ. Some American men may have seen their Okinawan maids as potential partners. They may have believed women were simply too shy to state their feelings, so it was up to the men to unlock the sexual being that was hidden behind modesty and timidness. Maids' rejections of their employers' advances were simply a flirting mechanism, so some men felt that it was acceptable to continue their advances. In certain circumstances, maids were not viewed as humans with preferences and the right to make choices about their future but instead seen as a homogenous group who all secretly desired a future with an American man.

Crimes Against Maids

Shizuko Shiroma's Gunshot Injuries

Yet, false claims of crimes or sexualization by employers were not the worst thing that could happen to Okinawan maids working in the homes of American military-related-personnel. Maids, at times, also faced a variety of dangers while working in the home. Shizuko Shiroma was one such maid. Shiroma worked as a housemaid in the Awase Family Housing area. On August 2, 1951, at approximately 1 pm, Shiroma was shot by the son of her employer, Joey, who was 11 at the time. Shiroma was washing the dishes when the incident happened. Joey had been playing cowboys and aimed, what he assumed to be, a toy gun at Shiroma. Unfortunately, the family owned both a real gun and a toy gun and according to his father, Joey did not realize the difference between them. Joey thought that both guns were toys and accidentally shot the real gun at Shiroma, hitting her in the abdomen. The injury was quite serious and Shiroma first was

treated at the Makiminato military hospital as the bullet was lodged inside of her abdomen. She was later moved to Koza Hospital to continue her treatment.[373]

At first Joey's father took responsibility for the accident. According to a local newspaper, he first told Shiroma, "Because my child did this, I will take all responsibility."[374] However, Joey's father later reversed his word stating that because it was his child who shot the maid, it was not his own responsibility. The Shiroma family could not accept this way of thinking, as naturally they believed that any actions taken by a child were the responsibility of his or her parents. In a quest for justice, Shiroma's father started visiting various offices to lodge complaints. Upon leaving a request for justice with the Commanding Officer of Awase, he received no answer. He also visited the Civilian Administration twice, the Koza Welfare Department (厚生課), and the DE, a military related office, and was turned away at each agency. Finally, he visited the RYCOM headquarters, but was told by a staff member that because his daughter's employer was not a military member (he was a civilian), RYCOM could do nothing about the situation. The only course of action was for Shiroma to contact her former employer and negotiate directly with him.[375] Shiroma's father went back to his daughter's former employer to talk to him once more, but again he refused to take any responsibility for the situation because it was an action done by his child. The Shiroma family finally acquired the services of a lawyer who contacted Shiroma's former employer with a request for 100,000 B yen ($833.33) for medical treatments and suffering. However, the former employer countered with an offer of 36,000 B yen ($300), less than half of the amount requested by the Shiroma family. At first, the family refused this amount as it was significantly less than they sought. However, when the Shiroma family's lawyer heard that Shiroma's former employer would be returning to the U.S. soon, the family decided it was better to accept this money rather than take the chance that her former employer would leave and give the Shiroma family nothing. Shiroma's former employer returned to the U.S. in December of 1952.

Shiroma was forced to stay in the hospital until July 26, 1957, a stay of over five years. Naturally, when Shiroma was finally able to leave Koza Hospital, the 36,000 B yen ($300) she received from her former employer did not cover anywhere near the costs associated with her hospitalization. Luckily, the RYCOM Women's Club, an organization for American women associated with Ryukyu Command headquarters, donated 174,845 B yen ($1,457.04) to cover the remaining costs for Shiroma's hospitalization and treatment. However, even with over five years of treatment Shiroma could not recover completely from her gunshot wounds. The lower half of her body was paralyzed, and her grandmother had to act as Shiroma's healthcare helper because Shiroma could not do many things on her own. Shiroma had already lost her paternal grandparents, mother, and younger brothers during the war, so to have her ability not only to work, but to also use the lower half of her body freely, taken away was particularly tragic for the family. Furthermore, the fact that her employer was not forced to take responsibility for his son's actions and paid only 36,000 B yen ($300) for causing devastating and life changing injuries to Shiroma was the final insult to the family.

Okinawans working for the U.S. military in non-domestic service positions had long been provided legal protections when injured or killed on the job. The earliest legislation regarding workmen's compensation for the disability or death of an Okinawan employee of a U.S. military installation or agency was established by United State Military Government Special Proclamation Number 18. It became effective on August 6, 1947. This proclamation designated the local Workmen's Compensation Commissions to settle any claims of injury or death by employees. Once these claims were adjudicated, the Military Government would pay the determined amount.[376] CA Proclamation Number 5, which went into effect on April 26, 1951, rescinded all early workmen's compensation legislation and stated the intent of the Civil Administrator to create a new workmen's compensation system for Okinawan employees of the United States Government, U.S. government related agencies and contractors of the U.S.

Government. While this proclamation did not lay out the exact rules regarding workmen's compensation regulations, it set into motion future ordinances that would define when and how workmen's compensation should be distributed to injured or dead workers and their families.[377] Ordinance Number 41, which was established on May 1, 1951, defined contractors' (those who employed people to execute a contract being themselves and the United States Government) responsibilities regarding employee compensation due work injuries and deaths. Per this ordinance, "The employer…shall be liable for and shall secure the payment of compensation…for the disability or death of an employee resulting from a personal injury sustained while in the performance of his duty." In the case of Shiroma's injury, which was per this legislation, considered permanent total disability, "compensation equivalent to 1,000 days' wages" were to be paid. The legislation also guaranteed that medical bills related to the incident were to be paid by the employer, noting "the employer shall furnish immediate and continuing medical, surgical and other attendance or treatment, nurse and hospital service, medicine, crutches, and apparatus, for such period as the nature of the injury or the process of recovery may require."[378]

If Shiroma had been eligible for this legislation, her former employer would have had to pay all her medical bills, which totaled over 174,000 yen (equivalent to $1,450) and 1,000 days' worth of her wages (estimating her wages at 1,100 B yen per month, the minimum wage for maids at the time, her total wages for 1,000 days would be at least 36,164 B yen or $301.37). He would not have been able to pay her only 36,000 B yen ($300) and then escape to the United States to forget about the whole situation. Even if this amount was seen as an amount too large for one person to pay, there should have been mechanisms in place which ensured that Shiroma's employer paid the maximum amount that he could afford, and the rest was covered by the military government. Yet, there were not. Once again maids were left to fend for themselves. While others working for the military received workman's compensation guarantees, if maids

were injured on the job, there was no guarantee of monetary support from their employer. In fact, employers could pay their maid nothing at all even if the injury was the direct result of the employer or a family member.

Attacks Upon Maids

Yet tragic accidents like Shiroma's were not the only dangers that maids faced. Unfortunately, maids were subject to attacks by their employers and other American military-related-personnel. During the Counter-Measures Committee for Human Rights of Maids meeting on June 13, 1957, Haruko Machida, a maid, provided a general explanation of the poor working conditions faced by maids. In discussing the various issues maids endured, she noted that at times maids were attacked, stating, "It seems that BOQ is the worst of all. It is said that they lock the key during lunch hours and do funny things. I know several people who have been criminally attacked. There are some who terminate."[379] According to Machida, it was common knowledge among maids at that time that there was a danger of being attacked by an American while doing their jobs. Although the local newspapers did not carry news about these cases, maids knew that there was an inherent danger to working for American military-related-personnel.

Machida's assertions regarding attacks on maids are supported by the oral histories of other women who worked in the profession. M6, who worked as a maid between 1958 and 1965, refused to work in the BOQs. M6 lived very close to a Marine base that had a BOQ and many of her friends and acquaintances worked as maids there, so it would have been a natural place for her to find employment. Curious about opportunities at the BOQ, one day M6 went there with a friend who worked there to see what it was like. At that time, the men were living in Quonset huts that were divided into individual rooms. A large part of each maids' job was ironing so they would frequently stand in these small rooms and iron their employers clothing and sheets. While M6 was there she saw her friend's employer return home for lunch and grab her friend in a hug

from behind. Seeing this event acted to confirm M6's suspicions that the BOQ was a dangerous place to work and frightened her so much that she refused to ever work in a BOQ. She, in fact, commuted a longer distance to avoid working at the BOQ because she was afraid of the men who lived there attacking her. She also quit working for one of her employers after a month and a half due to her employer. M6, who worked for a couple and their two children at the time, was one day left alone with the husband and the children while the wife had to run errands. While M6 was ironing, the husband went around to all the rooms in the house including the bathroom and locked all the doors. M6 asked him why he was doing this, and he said it was to keep out burglars. M6 knew this was strange behavior and it not only made her feel uncomfortable but also worried her about the husband's planned actions. She promptly quit her job and found new employment where she could feel safe working.[380]

M3 started her first job as a maid in 1947 in the BOQs. However, because of the dangers associated with the job she only worked there for a month. She said that the men in the BOQs would often call her by her name or "baby san" and try to get her to go back to their homes (at that time Quonset huts) with them. She knew that there would be trouble if she went back to the huts with them and would ignore their calls. Naturally, she did not feel safe in the BOQs and after a month moved to working as a live-in maid for an officer and his family in RYCOM. Although it was a two hour walk for her to get to her employer's home, she found this situation to be preferable. She felt safe in this environment and did not need to worry about being cat-called or attacked by her employer.[381]

Fujiko Nakanishi also recalled the dangers of working in the bachelor's quarters, based upon her experiences at the 2nd Logistical Command on Machinato Airfield (currently Camp Kinser in Urasoe City). She remembered that there were many men who wanted their maid to become their girlfriend, so she, along with most other women working there, could never let down their guard and work freely. Nakanishi stated, "Among the soldiers, there were some bad

soldiers who had secret intentions to somehow make their maid their girlfriend. I didn't feel like I could work comfortably as a maid for an individual [soldier]."[382] She also noted that many military members gave away clothes, irons, and other personal items to their maids just before they were ready to return to the U.S. in hopes of attracting the woman's attention. Nakanishi experienced this problem a couple of times but knew that she had to keep fighting against these advances. She even changed jobs multiple times because of the romantic pursuits of her American clients. This eventually led her to switch to working as a housemaid for American families as this was a safer option. Low pay, unfair working practices and even bodily danger were threats faced by maids working in bachelor quarter residences.

Maid Murder Incident

Unfortunately, attacks on maids at times progressed to murder. One such victim was Kikuko Tokeshi, a wife, mother, and maid, who was raped and murdered while working. On March 29, 1968, the body of Tokeshi, a maid, was found in the American military's Makiminato Service Area (currently called Camp Kinser in Urasoe City).[383] This case was known as the maid murder incident (メイド殺害事件).

Kikuko Tokeshi had been a long-time maid. She started working as a maid when she was 19 years old and during her over 15 years of service had always worked in the Makiminato Service Area. Tokeshi had never worked as a housemaid, but instead had worked in single servicemen quarters such as BOQs. At the time of her murder, Tokeshi was working as a maid at the lodgings for American School teachers, who were primarily women. Tokeshi was 37 years old when she was murdered. She was married and had two daughters, a five-year-old and a three-year-old. The Tokeshi family plan was for Kikuko to quit working once her oldest daughter started elementary school. The family was trying to save enough money to build their own home and were about one year away from reaching this goal. According to her husband, Shotaro,

Tokeshi had few complaints about her job as a maid because in general she was a tidy and meticulous person and her employers let her know how they valued her work.

The day Tokeshi was murdered she almost didn't go to work. She had a horrible headache and her mother strongly tried to persuade her to stay home. Her daughters, too, cried, "Mommy, don't go" and were unusually clingy. However, as it was the end of the month Tokeshi felt like she couldn't take the day off as it would impact her salary. Additionally, as it was a Friday, if she did not pick up the laundry on that day, there would be a pile up of three days of laundry (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) so she felt it would be inconvenient. It was pouring on March 29, 1968, so Tokeshi put on her raincoat and set out at a bit past 8:00 am from her house in Aja, Naha City to catch the bus to work. In less than 10 minutes she had made it to Makiminato Service Area.

According to her sister-in-law, Takeko Ganaha, who also had experience working in the BOQ, Tokeshi's daily schedule would have looked like this: Tokeshi would have arrived at work at 8:30 am. Before starting her job, she would have changed into her work clothes, a short-sleeved blouse, and knee-length pants. From there she would visit every room that she cleaned and collect the dirty clothes, which she would then immediately wash and hang to dry. As it was raining that day, she would have hung the clothes in the boiler room. Then she would clean all the rooms. After that Tokeshi would typically eat her lunch, which she brought from home (although there were days that she would eat lunch before cleaning the rooms). In the afternoon, Tokeshi would collect all the clothes that had dried, iron them and put them away. Once done with her work she would take a shower. Most of the teachers that Tokeshi cleaned for would arrive back at their homes around 3:30, so Tokeshi would give a report on what she had done to each of her employers and usually leave the base a little past 4:00 pm.[384] However, Tokeshi was unable to leave the base on March 29 as she had been murdered.

From the beginning of the investigation, the military tried to cover up Tokeshi's murder and was uncooperative with her family. When a policeman first came to the Tokeshi home around 5:45 pm on the evening of March 29 Shotaro was simply told that the local police station had received a call from the military base. Shotaro needed to be brought to the U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command (CID) on base in relation to his wife. The police did not tell him any further information, so Shotaro wondered if his wife was involved in an accusation of theft as he had heard stories about maids getting wrapped up in these types of problems. However, he also knew his wife and that she had worked for 15 years without any problems, so he felt she would not be involved in this type of situation. His mind raced over the reasons why he would be called to the CID but could not come to any conclusions.[385]

Once at the CID headquarters, Shotaro was given very little information about the situation. He was first asked to confirm that Tokeshi was his wife and when he said she was, the CID officer simply told him, "Actually [your wife] died at her workplace."[386] The CID provided no further explanation about what happened to her. Shotaro was then taken to his wife's workplace, the housing area for single American school teachers, but was not allowed to enter the building and or see his wife. Later that evening when he finally was shown his wife's body, he was only allowed to see her face. This is most likely due to the extensive injuries all over her body that the military did not want him to know about.

The CID officers immediately tried to push Shotaro to give permission to complete an autopsy of Tokeshi's body, but he resisted. The autopsy was to take place at the Army Hospital and Shotaro felt uneasy about this. Additionally, he felt that he needed to discuss the possibility of an autopsy with Tokeshi's parents and siblings before deciding. This frustrated the CID officer, and he began to treat Shotaro as if he was a suspect in the case, even going as far as to ask Shotaro if he was in the habit of biting his wife's shoulders and back. Shotaro was able to stall and contact his wife's family. As the family still had not been allowed to see the entirety of

Tokeshi's body and worried about what the military was covering up, on the 30th, the family decided to try compromising with the CID officers. They said that they would allow for the autopsy of Tokeshi's body if some of her family members were permitted to change her clothes as was the custom in Okinawa. The CID agreed to this plan. The female family members who changed Tokeshi's clothes purposefully took as much time as possible to check out her body. They informed the other family members that there were injuries all over her body, from head to toe.

In fact, the attack upon Tokeshi was extremely violent. She sustained horrible injuries to her entire body. Bruises in the shape of fingerprints pointed to the fact that she was strangled from behind. She also received a blow to the top of her head that was so powerful that it smashed in her skull. Additionally, there were numerous bruises on Tokeshi's face, and her bottom lip was split open. She suffered from bruising and other injuries on her knees and both sides of her body too, including bite marks on her back. It was a horribly gruesome murder and provided a physical reminder of some of the dangers that could accompany working in the homes of American military personnel. Okinawan women working alone, like Tokeshi, could easily be overpowered and attacked by their employer or another American. Tokeshi was a symbol of the precarious situations that many female maids faced when working on the American military bases.

However, despite the hideousness of the murder the military continued to keep information from Tokeshi's family and investigate unlikely suspects. The military sponsored autopsy report ignored all Tokeshi's horrific injuries and stated that she simply died from drowning. When her family asked about the relationship between the injuries on Tokeshi's body and drowning, the CID refused to provide her family with any further information. They were told that the CID was still involved in the investigation stage of the Tokeshi's death and could not say anything further.[387] The police also continued to question Shotaro as if he were the main

suspect in his wife's death. They repeatedly asked Shotaro to retrace his actions on the 29 and about his and Tokeshi's relationship. They focused on the bite marks on Tokeshi's back and shoulders, and repeatedly questioned Shotaro if he was the cause of them. This was a rather pointless line of questioning as Shotaro worked as trailer truck driver for the Naha City Office, so it was incredibly unlikely that he would have been able to visit the Makiminato Service Area to kill his wife in the shower of the American school teacher's quarters.

When Tokeshi's body was returned to her family on the evening of March 30 they decided they needed to take action since the military was not effectively working to find Tokeshi's murderer. Although it was a very difficult decision, her family resolved to have a second autopsy completed on her body. This time her family was allowed to watch the autopsy. While they agreed that it was a horrible experience to take part in, her family also realized that although Tokeshi's official cause of death may have been drowning, there was much more to her death.

Tokeshi's family continued pressing the CID for more information as it was obvious to them that her death was not due to an accidental drowning in the shower. Finally on May 8, Tokeshi's family received word that one of the female teachers was a suspect and a case against her was moving along smoothly. However, they would not provide any other information. Alternatively, the newspaper reported that the suspect would return to the U.S. soon, leaving the family to feel rather hopeless about the situation.[388]

The family felt disgusted with the slow pace of the investigation and the fact that they weren't being given much information about the case. Therefore, they decided to take matters into their own hands. First, they went to the GRI and discussed their situation with the Chief Executive Seiho Matsuoka. Matsuoka told the family that his relatives had faced a similar situation and that in their case the crime was still unsolved. He could provide no further support. Next, the family approached the Chief of Police and were told by him that the local Okinawan

police were doing all they could to solve the crime. However, as the crime expanded beyond the scope of the local police, he recommended the family get in touch with the military regarding Tokeshi's death. Taking the advice of the Chief of Police, the family then decided to go to the military directly. The Chief of Police called the military police to let them know that Tokeshi's family was coming, so a Japanese American prosecutor was awaiting Tokeshi's family. However, the Japanese American prosecutor was of no help to the family.

Tokeshi's family continued to fight on her behalf. On May 20, almost two months after Tokeshi's death, her family sent a document entitled, "A Petition Regarding the Hastening of the Criminal Investigation of the Maid Murder" (メイド殺害事件の捜査促進に関する陳情) to the GRI's legislature. The Legislature referred the petition to the GRI Legislature's Committee on Judicial Affairs (立法院行政法務委員会) on May 24. According to the Committee, it was obvious to members of the Legislature that it was incredibly unlikely for an adult to drown in a regular sized bathtub. Additionally, they acknowledged that a drowning victim would not typically have bruises, contusions, and lacerations due to drowning in a bathtub. They also found it regrettable that nearly two months after Tokeshi's death the Okinawa police still did not have the right to visit the base to investigate the crime and that it still had not been solved. The Committee compared the situation of Okinawans to those of worms, saying that like a worm, Okinawans could be killed without even a murmur. Tokeshi's murder shed light upon the bigger issue of crimes against Okinawans by Americans related to the U.S. military. These Americans were given extraterritorial rights, which effectively prevented them from being punished for their crimes in Okinawa.

Many other groups also rushed to condemn not only the murder, but also the way that it was being handled. At the Council for the Reversion of Okinawa to the Fatherland (CROFT, 沖縄県祖国復帰協議会) 13th Annual General Meeting on April 14, 1968, CROFT passed a

resolution both protesting the murder and demanding the truth surrounding the murder be brought to light. The resolution concluded with three points, that 1) the autopsy results and facts about the murder be brought forward immediately, 2) the perpetrator be caught promptly and be punished severely to serve as a warning for other potential criminals to prevent future crimes and 3) the extraterritorial rights of the American criminal be abolished and that the right to investigate and prosecute the crime be transferred to the people of Okinawa.[389] The Okinawa Women's Association（沖縄婦人連絡協議会）also sent a petition regarding the murder to the GRI Legislature on May 25, 1968 and it was accepted by the Committee on Judicial Affairs (行政法務委員会) on July 6. Regardless of political parties, all legislature members were concerned about this case.[390] However, in the end the case remained unsolved. The woman who was suspected of the murder returned to the U.S. and no charges were ever pressed upon her. She was able to return to her regular life, which Tokeshi's family was left in Okinawa with very few answers and only their sadness.

While the support of outside groups regarding Tokeshi's murder was important, their resolutions were very general and did not particularly prevent abuses against maids. This murder was a horrendous incident, which naturally drew much attention from the Okinawan public. However, CROFT did not look further into any of the specific situations that put maids most in danger, such as the fact that maids were often left alone in secluded areas with their employers. Instead, the members of CROFT focused on larger general issues related to crimes committed by American military personnel upon Okinawans. To be able to focus on more maid specific issues, CROFT would have had to discuss with the women working as maids about the precise dangers that they faced in their workplaces and the ways that they believed these problems could be solved. It would involve much more than a three-point resolution written as part of a general meeting and a true investigation into the hardships that were faced by maids working for

American military personnel. Although Tokeshi was a natural symbol for the dangers faced by Okinawans, particularly Okinawan women, and the unfair extraterritorial rights system, the protests, and resolutions regarding this murder did not create any type of significant changes that worked to protect maids while working in the living quarters of American military personnel. Instead of recognizing the dangers and difficulties of the profession of a maid and attempting to create real solutions to these problems, the recognition of crimes against maids and the various struggles faced by these women were typically used as a tool to remind Okinawans about the negative aspects of American military control.

Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel between the years of 1945 and 1972 faced a wide variety of hardships in their job. Unprotected by legislation provided to most other base employees, maids were subject to poor and, at times, dangerous working conditions. Maids received meager salaries and for many years were subject to military ordered pay caps that kept maids' pay low. Furthermore, there were no regulations protecting maids in their workplaces and they had no legal rights to working hour limits, or any type of paid leave. Although many women lived with their employers, employers were not required to provide adequate food or sleeping arrangements for their maids, which left many maids in uncomfortable and unhealthy situations. Maids were also consistently subject to social marginalization due to their profession. They had few workers' rights and could be fired simply at the whim of their employer. Employers could also freely make accusations of crimes by their maid, effectively ruining their maid's career. Maids faced bodily threats in their job including injuries, sexual harassment and in the worst case, rape, and murder. Maids endured a wide variety of hardships through their employment that were largely ignored by the public.

However, these struggles alone do not encapsulate the entirety of Okinawan maids' experiences. Despite all the adversity faced by maids, these women found ways to empower themselves. The next chapter will focus on how Okinawan maids used vocational training

programs to not only learn new skills and improve their lives, but also enhance the image of a maid in Okinawa and create new job opportunities for themselves in the future.

CHAPTER 4

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH EDUCATION

Previous work has shed light upon some of the maid vocational training programs in Okinawa. Tomohisa Saso, in his piece, "A Study of Maid in Okinawa under the U.S. Rule: Mainly Focused on Understanding the actual situation and social role as an occupation," briefly introduces three different types of maid vocational training programs in Okinawa, those offered by the U.S. military, the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) and Koza City. Although Saso notes that there is no information regarding the total number of women who partook in maid training programs, he argues that the sheer existence of numerous programs demonstrates how there were a large number of job openings available for women who wanted to work as maids.[391] However, as vocational training played a key role in empowering the maids of Okinawa, more must be said about this topic.

Beyond only explaining the existence of these courses, this chapter will focus on how Okinawan women used maid vocational training to empower themselves and improve their lives. During the period of American control of Okinawa, particularly during the 1950s and early to mid 1960s, a wide variety of both formal and informal training opportunities, beyond those introduced in Saso's work, existed for women wanting to become and already working as maids for American military-related personnel. After discussing why vocational training was necessary for maids in Okinawa and an in-depth review and analysis of these programs and their outcomes, this chapter will demonstrate how these women utilized these programs to not only become more proficient employees but to also learn skills that were new to women in post-war Okinawa. Additionally, through this process, Okinawan maids were able to professionalize and improve the overall image of a maid in post-war Okinawa. This helped to change the general view of maids in Okinawa from that of a servant to a working woman who helped to support their

family. Beyond this, many maids were also able to transfer the skills they mastered as maids to other professions creating even greater opportunities for their futures. These women effectively utilized vocational training to improve their lives.

Training Programs in American Controlled Okinawa:

The period of American control brought countless vocational training programs to Okinawans. As vocational programs were seen as one way to provide skills to unemployed Okinawans and create a larger class of skilled and semi-skilled workers in Okinawa, these programs flourished between the years of 1945 and 1972. While the earliest training programs were sponsored by the U.S. military, in later years this expanded to include government and private sponsored training. No matter which entity created the training course, the goal of all courses was for Okinawans to become more employable for military or private sector jobs and professionalize the workforce.

The U.S. led military government established the first training schools for the Okinawan public shortly after the end of the war. On November 19, 1945, Directive Number 49 established civilian training schools with plans for courses in general teacher education, English teacher education, police training, mechanical training, cooks, and bakers.[392] The school was called the Civilian Training Center. The responsibility for the first courses at the training school fell upon the U.S. military. The first classes started on December 10, 1945, with police training[393] and by January of 1946 the center offered a teacher training course, an English language course and an agricultural higher school course. [394]

The military continued to offer a variety of vocational training programs between the years of 1945-1972, particularly for Okinawan base employees who were paid with appropriated funds. For example, per the 1957 Manual of Personnel Policies and Procedures for Ryukyuan

Employees, the Army and Marines offered seven different off-the-job training courses. These courses were an advanced English course (50 hours), Typing I (90 hours), Typing II (40 hours), Military Correspondence (10 hours), Basic Supervisory Development Course (20 hours), Training Instructor's Course (112 hours) and an On-the-job Training Instructors Course (40 hours). Other more specialized courses could be taught if determined necessary. Base employees also had access to Basic English Courses after work and were encouraged to take advantage of additional self-development opportunities such as beginner English courses offered through the University of the Ryukyus' Extension Department or the lending library of books available through the Training Center on Camp Kue.

After USCAR's creation in 1950, the civil government also became involved in vocational training for Okinawans. With the expansion of Okinawa's populace, one of the main goals of USCAR's training programs was to reduce unemployment rates in Okinawa, as with the growing population came an increase in unemployed Okinawans. To resolve these growing unemployment numbers, USCAR's Labor Department concluded that one of the easiest ways to increase employment opportunities for Okinawans was to provide more positions for Okinawans to work on the military bases. Yet, large numbers of Okinawans did not have the skills necessary to work effectively on the U.S. bases, so training programs were extensively used to prepare Okinawans for military base work. As a 1956 letter from USCAR's Office of the Deputy Governor stated, "Attention is invited to the fact that virtually no unemployment exists with respect to skilled personnel. The unemployed consist of those laborers who are without skills."[395] Training programs were considered a key tool to reduce unemployment rates and improve the economy of Okinawa.

USCAR also sponsored several high-level training programs. Some of the most well-known training sponsored by the American military and government were the scholarship opportunities provided to select Okinawans to study abroad at colleges and universities in

America. At least 1,045 Okinawans received scholarships to study in the U.S. between the years of 1949 and 1970. Funding was first sponsored through the Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA) program and then later through funding sponsored by the Ryukyu Command (RYCOM) and the Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, Army (ARIA).[396] These programs allowed Okinawans to attend and graduate from American universities and receive educational opportunities that were not available in Okinawa at that time. In addition to learning a specific subject through their educational training, participants also came to better understand the English language and American culture and customs.

Other USCAR high-level training programs took place in Okinawa. For example, in 1965 USCAR established the Local National Professional Engineer Training Program. This program allowed Okinawans who had recently graduated with degrees in engineering to train for three years to become even more skilled at their profession. Participants in the program trained using a combination of classroom study and on-the-job experiences with the U.S. Army Engineer District in Okinawa. Using funds paid for by USCAR, enrollees received a salary during their three years of training. Participants of the program also received assistance in finding a job after completion of the program.[397] Additionally, the Office of the High Commissioner in combination with 313th Air Base Wing at Kadena Air Base offered a variety of training courses for high level employees of the GRI starting in February of 1963. The first course was an eight-day management course for 20 supervisors, which focused on defining a supervisor's job, improving efficiency in the workplace, how to train employees, how to work with people and self-improvement. Shizen Sakumoto, Chief of the Administrative Affairs Section of the Education Department of the GRI and a graduate of the training course reflected that, "We, supervisors, thought that we had [a] certain amount of knowledge, techniques and methods of handling business, but these were found to be too idealistic and abstract through actual demonstration in this course. Now we have acquired concrete techniques and methods."[398] Other courses for GRI

employees that were offered throughout February and March of 1963 ranged between one day and three days in length.

The GRI also became involved with vocational training for its people. The Employment Security Act (職業安定法), Act number 61 of 1954, established the GRI's role in vocational training for the Okinawan population. The overall purpose of this act was twofold. The government's first aim was to create a workforce large enough to maintain various industries in Okinawa and therefore provide employment security for those workers. Secondly, through the Act, the government strived to further improve the economy by providing unemployed Okinawans with appropriate opportunities to find jobs suited to their skills. Vocational training began under the GRI to fulfill this second goal. It became the GRI's responsibility "to provide job seekers with necessary vocational guidance or training."[399] Section 5 of the Act laid out the basic regulations regarding vocational training for Okinawans. All vocational training was set to be free of cost and the courses offered were expected to reflect the labor needs of Okinawa but not duplicate those vocational courses that were offered through schools. Additionally, through this Act, Vocational Training Centers were established.[400]

The Naha Vocational Guidance Center (那覇職業補導場), established in November of 1955, and the Koza Vocational Guidance Center (コザ職業補導場),[401] established in June of 1957, were created to support the vocational training needs of the Okinawan public as deemed in the Employment Security Act.[402] The materials and instructions used in the vocational classes were based upon materials that were developed by the Japanese government's labor ministry. The goals of the Vocational Centers were to give Okinawans the technical skills and knowledge that they would need to find a suitable job. Many of the classes and coursework focused on preparing Okinawans to work on the American military bases, especially for skilled jobs that were previously held by Americans, Filipinos or Japanese. Any Okinawan who was 15 or over

and had completed his or her compulsory education was eligible to participate in the training courses.

At first there were only three courses that each ran four months. The 30 students enrolled in the English Typing Department studied civics, English conversation foundations and business English. The 30 students enrolled in the accounting department studied civics, conversational English, and bookkeeping. The 30 students enrolled in the English department studied civics, conversational English, and English foundations.[403] The goal for graduates of these courses was to find employment on an American military base. Later the Vocational Centers expanded their coursework to include a wide variety of courses including courses in housekeeping (maids), diving, wooden furniture building, typing in Japanese, automobile maintenance, carpentry, sheet metal welding, surveying, office work, electronics repair, conversational English, accounting in English, accounting, and architectural drafting.[404] All courses were not offered every year but instead changed based upon the employment conditions and Okinawan vocational training needs. Courses ranged in length from 120 hours (housekeeping) to 900 hours (office work, automobile maintenance and electronics repair).[405] Some courses were offered during the day, but others were offered as night school options so that participants could work while attending vocational training.

Students who completed the courses had high rates of employment post-graduation. Instead of being left to search for a job on their own, participants in these vocational courses also received support to find appropriate employment. One month prior to their graduation date, students were requested to visit their nearest Public Employment Security Office and partake in an occupational counseling session. Through this informational session they could receive information on appropriate, available jobs. These training courses and along with the occupational counseling sessions were highly successful in placing graduates in employment. Between the years of 1956 and 1963 there were 2,246 graduates of the Vocational Guidance

Centers and 93% of these graduates, 2,089 people were able to find employment. As the years went by the job placement rates for graduates of the programs continued to rise. While only 87% of graduates of the 1956 class were able to find jobs, by the 1960s over 90% of all graduates were consistently able to locate employment. In fact, in 1963, 98% of all graduates were able to find employment. 100% of all graduates of the housekeeping, typing in English, surveying and Automobile Maintenance courses, 97% of the graduates of the conversational English course and 91% of the sheet metal welding course found employment. Only 4 graduates of a class of 314 students remained unemployed.[406]

Job Training for Women

Vocational training programs specific for women were also developed during the period of American control. Many of these programs focused on home industry work to help widows with children support their families. For example, in 1952, members of the local Women's Federation were introduced to an American man named Azar, and they were able to develop a program where women learned how to do embroidery and sell these pieces through Azar's company. 112 women were chosen to do a three-month training course at Azar's company in Ameku (currently Naha City). To subsidize the financial difficulties associated with a three-month training course, each woman was paid 2,000 B yen ($16.66) a month and they were allowed to sleep at the Women's Federation building so they did not have to commute daily. When the women went back to their hometowns, they were able to teach other women how to embroider. Unfortunately, Azar suddenly died, which put an end to the program. Additionally, although many women were trained in the skill of embroidery, there was not a large market for their goods. The only places they could find to sell these embroidered goods was the military gift shops on Kadena and Rycom bases,[407] which limited the success of this training program.

The Women's and Children's Division of the GRI's Labor Department also offered training courses for women, specifically focusing on home industry jobs. The goal of this training was to give women an opportunity to work so that they could stabilize their livelihoods. Between 1958 and 1963 two different courses were offered. Training for knitting with yarn (毛糸編み) courses were offered in 43 different locations to 1,262 women. A course on handicrafts was also offered in 88 locations to 3,593 women. In July of 1971, the Women's and Children's Division started offering training courses for home industry jobs for women again. The courses were targeted in general to women, but specifically to those who were losing their jobs on the American military bases, those who were currently employed on a military base or in a job related to the military bases but wanted to change careers, single mothers and those who had a hard time leaving the house to work. Courses focused upon folk crafts, with the demand for learning how to weave particularly high.[408]

However, among vocational courses for women the most prevalent was for women wanting to become or currently working as a maid. Maid training coursework was offered by a variety of organizations including USCAR, the military, military affiliated women's clubs, the GRI and Koza City. The earliest training materials were informational texts published in 1948, but starting in the 1950s, vocational classes expanded to include both conversational English coursework along with practical training related to maid specific skills. These courses lasted until at least 1971. The training programs helped maids to not only improve their technical competencies at the job and learn new skills, but also to improve the status of the position of a maid, so that the job was no longer seen as simply a servant but instead as a career option for women. Women also used the skills they learned through these courses to create improved job opportunities for themselves.

Rethinking the Profession of Maids

The typical image of a maid, at least in the U.S., is of one who has a low level of education and no other job opportunities. This idea can even be seen in academic literature discussing maids, such as Allyson Sherman Grossman's "Women in Domestic Work: Yesterday and Today." In her article, Grossman describes the position of a domestic servant as one that "did not require formal education, experience or well-developed skills."[409] Working as a maid is not considered a profession or a choice, it is something done because you have no other employment or education options. The skills used in this profession are viewed as natural to women since females frequently do this type of labor in their own households for free. Thus, women are understood as instinctively endowed with the abilities and techniques necessary to complete the job. They do not need training or any type of specialized knowledge to work labor in the domestic work field.

As the skills related to working as a maid are understood as being a part of womanhood, the women who work as maids are frequently viewed as a commodity, easily interchangeable with another. Throughout Asia, in regions such as in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, those searching for a maid can visit a 'maid agency' to find a new employee for their home. At the agency, potential employers can view the photographs and profiles of available maids. These photographs are specifically designed to make the women look as identical as possible. The women wear uniforms and have the same haircut. They pose in a similar manner with their hands in front of them and always smile in the shot. As Olivia Killias notes in her book *Follow the Maid: Domestic Worker Migration in and From Indonesia*, "The standardised photographs underline the focus on the labouring body and contribute to the idea that choosing a domestic worker is a matter of physical measurements – apart from these, it is suggested, domestic workers are all the same, and thus easily replaceable."[410] Maids are not seen

as human employees, with individual strengths and weaknesses, along with skills and abilities, but instead, as products whose services are consumed in the household. If they are unfavorable in any manner, they can simply be replaced for a different model.

While one can argue that a formal education is not necessary to work as a maid (although it certainly can be helpful), experience and well-developed skills are undeniably necessary to be successful in the field. Women, by being born with two X chromosomes, are not intrinsically bestowed with the special skills needed to clean a home or care for children. As C. Hélène Barker noted in her book, *Wanted a Young Woman to Do Housework* in 1915*,* very few people are naturally endowed with the capabilities to be a good housekeeper. She wrote,

> It is a popular impression that the knowledge of good housekeeping, and of the proper care of children, comes naturally to a woman, who, though she had no previous training or preparation for these duties, suddenly finds them thrust upon her. But how many women can really look back with joy to the first years of their housekeeping? Do they not remember them more with a feeling of dismay than pleasure? How many foolish mistakes occurred entailing repentance and discomfort! And how many heart-burnings were caused, and even tears shed, because in spite of the best intentions, everything seemed to go wrong?[411]

Housekeeping and the care of children is a learned skill that is dependent on experience and educational opportunities. While some may be naturally more skilled at the tasks related to these jobs, there is nothing intrinsic to every woman that makes her instinctively able to complete the job of a maid. In fact, as Barker observed: "There are only a few women to-day who regard domestic science in the light of a profession or a business, although it is both. For what is a profession if it be not the application of science to life? And does not work which one follows regularly constitute a business?"[412]

The learning and practice of technical cleaning related skills along with various other competencies are necessary for success in the maid industry. As Anita Borner, a Polish woman who worked as a maid in Germany noted, "This job needs knowledge, too. It's not like lots of people imagine: that you can just walk in and get started. That's wrong. I know exactly what I

can use on marble, antique furniture or silverware, what and how and why."[413] It is only through experimentation and learning process that one can determine which are the best chemicals and tools to clean a variety of surfaces. Removing grease and mold are a surprisingly difficult task and it takes a thorough understanding of the different cleaning materials and the appropriate tools available to complete this task efficiently and effectively. Additionally, maids need to be able to pay careful attention to detail, in both noticing what needs to be cleaned, and ascertain the most effective methods for cleaning each surface. They must also be able to multitask and manage their time effectively. Maids can be promptly fired if they do not clean everything in the time allotted to them and are also frequently expected to care for children while completing other household tasks. Therefore, they need to be able to create and follow a schedule. Maids must also be incredibly self-motivated. As many maids are regularly left alone at the workplace, they must be able to complete their work without a supervisor watching over them or critiquing their performance. Finally, maids must be able to communicate with their employer effectively, particularly when there is a problem. An unhappy employer can mean the end of their employment so being able to articulate their ideas and opinions is of utmost importance.[414] All of these competencies are skills gained through training and experience. Maids are not simply interchangeable commodities born to clean, but instead employees with specific proficiencies, who benefit in their job capabilities from training and a variety of work-related experiences.

Additional Barriers to Success for Okinawan Maids

Beyond the fact that like all other skills, the multitude of cleaning and child rearing techniques that make up housekeeping must be learned and then repeatedly practiced for a person to become adept at them, there are strong cultural norms that dictate the way housework is done. Therefore, for the Okinawan women working as maids in the homes of Americans, there

were numerous additional obstacles to success in their job. Okinawan maids in American homes had to not only work through a language barrier with their employer but also had to learn different ways to clean, frequently with tools and technologies that were new to them. Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel needed to overcome a wide variety of barriers to be successful in their positions.

The first hindrance to efficient work was the language barrier. To succeed at their job, Okinawan maids needed to be able to clearly communicate with their employer about their responsibilities and expectations. However, the responsibility for language was thrust upon the Okinawan maids. Most employers spoke only English, so Okinawan maids were frequently expected to have a working level of English for their employment. While some employers were sympathetic to their maids' struggles with the English language, others were not and expected that their maids communicate with them in clear English. They had no empathy for the difficulties of working in a non-native language. Natalie Sundberg, who lived in Okinawa twice as a military dependent in both the mid 1940s and the early 1950s, recalled how this was a constant problem between employers and their maids at the time. Sundberg clearly remembered one woman stating, "I don't understand it. No matter how loud I yell at the maid she doesn't know what I want her to do."[415] A communication failure could prevent a maid from doing her job properly even if she had the skill set to complete her task.

For many maids, the language barriers were what made the job most difficult. Junko Isa, who worked as a live-in maid in the Awase Housing Area for four months recalled that communication was the most problematic aspect of her job stating, "I guess the toughest thing about living with that family was communicating with them…I could hardly understand a word the family was saying. The parents used to have to point to things when explaining what they wanted me to do. And the mother watched everything! I was so nervous about making a mistake in front of her."[416] M6, who worked as a commuting maid intermittently between April of 1958

and December of 1965 in four different homes, also remembered language as the most difficult aspect of job. In particular, she hated answering the phone because she was very nervous about misunderstanding or not being able to communicate with the caller. However, M6's sister-in-law had an even more difficult time with the language. She fainted on her first day of work because she was overwhelmed by her inability to communicate with her employer. M6 went to her sister-in-law's workplace to make sure she was okay and explain what needed to be done but could not resolve the issues. Her sister-in-law was unable to continue working as a maid due to the language differences she faced with her employer.[417]

Maids also needed to be able to read the containers holding food or cleaning items to be successful at their work. However, due to difficulties with the English language many mistakes happened. Mitsuko Inafuku, who worked as a live-in maid for an American family between 1950 and 1951, recalled that while she watched the 4-year-old son of her employer, he kept asking her for chocolate. She finally gave into the child's request and went into the cabinet and grabbed a piece of chocolate out of a box. The one piece of chocolate did not satiate the boy and finally Inafuku gave in to his begging and provided him with a few more pieces. This was a mistake as she had accidentally given the boy multiple chocolate flavored laxatives.[418] In a different household, a former employer recalled how one day when she was searching in her kitchen cabinet for a can of tuna fish, her maid came to help her. The maid pointed at a can on the shelf to show her where the tuna was, but the employer let her know that the can was cat food. The maid then covered her face with her hand and stated, "Oh, Okusan, I mix with noodles and feed to Shawn and Kristi. They like it."[419] She had unknowingly been feeding the children cat food because she could not read the label. The inability to communicate with their employer, caused a variety of problems and great stress for many maids.

Even if there was a level of effective communication between a maid and her employer, cleaning in an American house came with a completely different set of cleaning skills,

techniques, and technologies from an Okinawan home, adding an additional barrier to success. Shortly after the war, the differences between life on the American military bases and in a typical Okinawan home were particularly staggering. Since the Battle of Okinawa had destroyed most homes in Okinawa many Okinawans were living in makeshift housing until the early 1950s. After moving out of temporary housing in tents, standard housing for Okinawans in the mid to late 1940s consisted of crudely made buildings with thatched roofs and walls made of tightly stretched tents.[420] M1, who worked as a maid for American families in the mid-1950s, recalled that after years of living in a tent after the Battle of Okinawa, her first home did not even have walls. Yet, this was still a great improvement over the tent she had been living in.[421]

Furthermore, during the late 1940s and early to mid 1950s most Okinawan homes did not have electricity or running water. Okinawans were frequently dependent upon wells, rivers, and rainwater for their daily water needs. Even the University of the Ryukyus, which was built after the Battle of Okinawa, had no running water in their dormitories in the early 1950s. When it first opened in 1950 all the students were dependent upon wells for getting water. Every morning upon waking up the women would have to walk approximately 100 meters to the Ryuhi spring to get water to get ready for the day. This continued until at least 1953.[422] Students at the university were first given access to western style flush toilets in December of 1955.[423] Okinawan homes had very few of the utilities and amenities that were considered standard in American homes in the late 1940s and early to mid 1950s.

Alternatively, in 1948, Americans stationed in Okinawa were living in Quonset Huts. Although these homes were not as comfortable as the homes many had in the U.S., compared to the housing Okinawans were living in, they were luxurious. According to a 1948 publication by the 1st Air Division Headquarters entitled, *Sweatin' Okinawa*, the Quonset Hut homes had screened in front and side porches, a living/dining room, a kitchen, bedrooms (number dependent upon the size of the family), a bathroom and a dry closet, a toilet that contained no water, in

which dirt or ashes were added after use. Families also received rattan furniture from the military to furnish their homes. While these houses did not have stoves or ovens, 70% of the homes had refrigerators and all houses had hot water heaters and electricity. Families were also encouraged to bring appliances or supplies not readily available in Okinawa from home such as a Kerosene cook stove and oven, an electric hot plate, an electric fan and heater, light bulbs and fuses, electric and steam irons, electric refrigerators, a car, bicycles for children, a sewing machine, a washing machine, and a camera. While these objects would have been readily available for most families in America, in the 1940s and 1950s they would have been unreachable luxuries for most Okinawans.

Starting around 1949 permanent houses were built for the American military-related-families in Okinawa. These houses were incredibly spacious and technologically advanced compared to the typical homes of Okinawans at the time. Upon entering the gates of a military base, one could see a "little America" with spacious well-maintained lawns and meticulously trimmed trees in front of every house. The roads inside the base were paved and most of the houses had a car parked outside. In a time where most Okinawans were walking, hitchhiking, or riding a bus, Americans were encouraged to bring a private car to Okinawa. Inside the homes, the kitchens had many conveniences not typically found in an Okinawan home, such as refrigerators and freezers, and the cupboards were full of dishes and coffee cups neatly lined up for use. There were master bedrooms along with bedrooms for each child. Unlike the toilets that were frequently located outside of Okinawan homes, Americans often had multiple toilets in the home, one even set aside specifically for guests. Sometimes homes even had three bathtubs.

These differences in household amenities and technologies in Okinawan and American homes were staggering for the Okinawan women who worked as maids inside of them. Kiku Teruya worked as a maid in Morgan Manor, an off-base housing subdivision for military families starting in 1948. As Okinawa was still in a state of destruction from the Battle of

Okinawa, she was in utter awe of the goods in her employer's home. Prior to working at Morgan Manor, Teruya had no concept of running water in a home and was in wonder of the fact that when she turned on a faucet fresh water came out. She had also never seen a flush toilet before, so she didn't know its purpose. Upon seeing it for the first time she wondered why clean water was being flushed down the toilet. Additionally, Teruya, who was expected to iron the clothes and sheets of her employer, did not understand that it was the iron's cord which provided the electricity to run the iron. While ironing one day she roughly pulled the cord from the electrical outlet and one of the prongs of the plug stuck in the outlet. Not realizing that the prong was electrified, Teruya stuck her finger in the outlet to pull out the prong and shocked herself. [424]

Even at the college level housekeeping related supplies were minuscule in Okinawa in comparison to what could be normally found in an American home. Students studying in the University of the Ryukyus home economics course did not have access to many of the tools that Americans commonly used in their homes for cooking and cleaning. Instead of a stove and oven, like most American homes had, the students had to use a small, portable charcoal stove for cooking food that was specifically made for them by the students in the industrial training course. Cleaning materials were also limited. Around 1953 a professor at the university found around 200 used comforters at a military dump and wanted to give them to the students to be used in the dormitories. However, they first needed to be cleaned. Ruth Peck, a home economics professor from Michigan State University, provided the students of the Home Economics department with powdered soap to wash all the futons. Powdered soap was still such a rarity in Okinawa at the time that Kimiyo Onaga, a home economist and professor at the University of the Ryukyus, remembered how she and other members of the home economics department "stared at it in round eyed wonder."[425] For Onaga, this was the first time that she had ever seen or used powdered soap for laundry. In fact, for many Okinawans, especially those who were older, powdered soap was soap of the lowest quality and only for use in cleaning floors. For many

maids it must have been at first very confusing to be given powdered soap to clean clothing. They were probably very unsure of its use and needed training to properly use it.

Even years after the Battle of Okinawa, there was still a significant gap between the amenities and technologies found in Okinawan and American homes. A 1966 pamphlet, *Isle Tell*, created by the Fort Bucker Women's Club, warned American women who had recently arrived on Okinawa about some of the problems they may encounter with their maids. The pamphlet cautioned:

> You may have to show your house-girl just how you want things to be done several times, perhaps. She probably will already have some knowledge of American appliances, but instruct and caution her thoroughly. One of the most common mistakes is to wash completely all kitchenware, including electric coffee makers, toasters, etc., and we all know how disastrous that can be…Please remember that all of the things that we take for granted in our homes, such as beds and bathrooms, refrigerators and hot and cold water from a faucet are, for the most part, still alien to the Far East. One suggestion to newcomers has been to be sure to inform your household help that our water here is heated in a tank, and the supply is not inexhaustible. Instruct her, also, on the necessity for conservation of both water and electricity.[426]

While the tone in which this pamphlet was written is patronizing and ignores the fact that many maids were competent in their jobs, it does point out some of the common issues that were faced between Okinawan maids and their American employers due to the differences in the technologies they were familiar with.

Okinawan maids faced many barriers to success at their jobs. Differences in language, material goods and technologies created issues that an Okinawan maid working for an Okinawan family would not have had to face. Yet, these women persevered with their work despite these challenges. In fact, many Okinawan women utilized one or more of the wide varieties of formal and informal vocational training courses available to maids, thus taking the opportunity to empower themselves. Through training were these women able to both learn numerous skills that were new to post-war Okinawa and improve their skill sets and efficiency as a maid. This in turn professionalized the field and helped to improve the image of a maid in post-war Okinawa.

Through training maids were also able to utilize the skills and techniques they learned to create improved job opportunities for Okinawan women.

Formal Maid Vocational Training Courses

During the period of American control in Okinawa (1945-1972) there were a variety of formal vocational training options for maids. The earliest form of training was through written materials such as the English and Japanese bilingual 502-page manual, *The American Way of Housekeeping*, which was compiled by various women's groups connected with the American military bases in Japan. Later vocational training expanded to classes that focused on the English language and technical skills necessary to be successful as a maid. Some of the earliest training courses included U.S. military related courses such as the Air Force's English language training courses specifically for maids in the early 1950s and the Okinawa Maid School, which was established around 1952 by Marian Chapple Merritt and the Kadena Officers' Wives' Club. Governments also became involved in these programs including training sponsored by the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR, the civil government of Okinawa controlled by the U.S. military), which started around 1951, the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) training programs, which started in 1956 and by Koza City (currently Okinawa City), which started in 1959.

Written Materials

The earliest form of vocational training for maids in Okinawa were written materials. An example of this is the book, *The American Way of Housekeeping*, which was compiled by various women's groups connected with the American military bases in Japan, the American Women's Guild, the Cavalry Officers' Wives, the Christian Women's Association, the GHQ

Officers' Wives, and the Navy Officers' Wives. The book was sold at military post exchanges throughout Japan and went through at least 11 printings between the years of 1948 and 1966.[427] The English and Japanese bilingual 502-page manual provided ample information for the reader regarding American house cleaning norms. The stated goal of the book was to teach readers how to keep Western households. Per its foreword, "This book is designed to meet the everyday needs of the women who are maintaining Western households here in the East…The aim has been to provide the fundamental directions and instructions which will help the homemaker meet the needs, fulfill the purposes and solve the problems of her household." [428]

Although educating maids is not specifically listed as a purpose of the book in the foreword, there are various references throughout the text that make it clear that this text was meant to be used for Japanese and Okinawan maids working in American homes. For example, the text on the first page of Chapter I explains the importance of discussing with your "mistress" a daily schedule for cleaning.[429] Additionally, the opening sentence of Chapter V, which discussed minor medical care at home, provided instruction directly to maids about their role in helping with medical care at home specifying that, "When there are minor illnesses, injuries or a convalescent in the family the Japanese servant can be of a great help in aiding her mistress, the patient and the doctor."[430] The text then continued to explain in detail about the specific tasks the maid should complete. As it was bilingual, this book could be a useful tool for teaching American housekeeping related skills to a Japanese or Okinawan maid.

At times the book could be patronizing and arrogant in its assumptions regarding Japanese and Okinawans basic knowledge and cleanliness standards. For example, in Chapter IV, the section on caring for children, readers are reminded that they should, "Never pick the baby up by his arms or lift him by his wrists."[431] Later in Chapter V, which covered home nursing, maids were warned to "be particularly careful to bathe and put on clean clothing when you return from your holiday. [and to] *Never, under any circumstances, give a patient or a child*

under your care any Japanese food."[432] Yet, beyond this unnecessary commentary, the book provided ample useful information regarding all aspects of homemaking norms in an American home. Full of descriptions, photographs and diagrams, this book was an effective tool for helping to teach Japanese and Okinawan maids how to successfully work in an American home.

The book had eight chapters, each focusing on a specific aspect of homemaking in an American residence. Chapter I focused on cleaning in the home, specifically daily cleaning, periodic cleaning, and information about how to make a bed. In addition to describing each cleaning task in minute detail the chapter also included explanations and drawings of the tools that were used for each of these tasks and how to care for these tools. Chapter II focused on the care of electrical equipment. The beginning of the chapter noted general rules regarding electric equipment, such as "Never put a piece of electric equipment in the dishpan" and "All electrical equipment has a cord, the end of which is to be either plugged into or screwed into an electrical outlet."[433] These types of warnings would have been important for maids who did not have electricity in their own homes. The text continued to explain the use of all electrical equipment found in typical American homes. Chapter III was about the care of clothing, including how to wash, dry, starch, store and repair all types of clothing commonly worn by Americans. Chapter IV discussed the care of children, providing general guidelines for safely caring for a child. Chapter V, on minor medical care at home, was the shortest chapter by far at only four pages, and primarily focused on the need for the maid to keep herself and the areas around her clean to avoid passing illnesses on to her employers. Chapter VI focused on the kitchen, particularly providing information regarding the cleaning of the kitchen, proper food storage techniques and care of kitchen equipment. Chapter VII discussed the proper serving of food in an American home noting, "It is the desire of your mistress to give her family and her guests perfectly prepared, properly dished and nicely served food, on a beautifully laid table served by spotlessly clean, quiet, efficient servants."[434] The chapter covered table settings at every type of meal in

both formal and informal situations. It also included information on properly answering the door of an American home. The last chapter of the book, Chapter VIII, provided some basic information about common cooking utensils, ingredients, and terminology, but was primarily dedicated to sharing American recipes for all meals of the day. Recipes, in fact, were the bulk of this text, covering 305 pages of the 502-page book. The last six pages of the chapter shared four Japanese recipes, *chawan mushi*, a savory steamed egg custard served in a cup, tempura and two versions of sukiyaki.

Other books also supported communication between American employers and their Japanese domestic staff. Although most maids did not cook for their employers, if an employer was interested in having their maid cook for them, the Fort Buckner Women's Club recommended purchasing the book *Hibachi Cookery in the American Manner* by George E. Engler. This book explained how to cook American foods using American ingredients on a small Japanese charcoal cooker in both Japanese and English. The book was on sale at all the Post Exchange's (PX) on Okinawa.[435] Unlike *The American Way of Housekeeping*, this book was not specifically written to target maids and their employers. It instead focused on showing ways and providing recipes for people to cook American foods using Japanese household appliances and could be used in an American home as well as a Japanese home. However, the book also contained a daily menu planning section, which provided complete meals for breakfast, lunch, and dinner for a week along with detailed recipes that showed not only how to make foods but also provided definitions for tools used in the kitchen and foods that were typically unfamiliar to Japanese and Okinawan readers. Due to this section, this book would have been one of the better resources for Okinawan maids to prepare American style dishes for their employer.[436] Like the *American Way of Housekeeping*, the book was quite popular. First published in 1952, it went through at least twenty-two printings over the years.

Books like *The American Way of Housekeeping* demonstrate some of the earliest formal training tools for Okinawan maids working for American military-related-personnel. Yet, these texts were significantly different from later training programs. *The American Way of Housekeeping* and other texts were created for American employers to be shared with their Okinawan maids. As the dedication in the front of the book notes, the text represented "The American Way of Housekeeping of the Women of the Occupation, by the Women of the Occupation, for the Women of the Occupation."[437] These types of books were made to make American women's lives easier, and ownership and control of these training materials were in American hands. An Okinawan woman could not go out and purchase this book if she wanted to improve her job skills. Instead, she had to wait until her American employer purchased it and showed it to her. Although texts like *The American Way of Housekeeping* were a first step in creating training programs for Okinawan maids and could be a useful tool for maids who were not able to complete formal training programs, these types of materials firmly placed the control of vocational training in the hands of American employers. Later training programs, which will be discussed below, allowed maids to actively seek out and take control of their job training opportunities.

USCAR Sponsored Maid Training Programs

USCAR started maid training coursework around 1951. There were two training courses for maids, a pre-employment course, and a post-employment course. Those who enrolled in the pre-employment course were women who had graduated from junior high or high school but did not have any work experience, while those who enrolled in the post-employment course were already working as maids. One of the goals for the pre-employment course was to have students immediately start working after graduating. However, at some of the military bases, such as Naha Air Base, there was a rule that only women who had at least one year of job experience

could work there. Therefore, even after graduating from the pre-employment course, many women were still not eligible to work as maids. To resolve this problem, a new course was developed to provide a certification system for maids. Maids would take 30 hours of coursework and if after this course they were able to pass an exam with over 70%, they would receive a completion certificate from the Chief of the Labor Department, GRI, which would allow them to work on Naha Air Base.[438]

Setsuko Oyakawa was one of the instructors of vocational education for maids. Oyakawa started her career as a high school teacher. Until the spring of 1951, she taught housekeeping skills to students at Chinen High School. However, seeing the struggles her students faced in trying to reach their goals, particularly her female students, made Oyakawa want to do more to help the women of Okinawa. Therefore, she decided to quit teaching and instead work with women who held service-related occupations on base. In May of 1951, she went to Japan to take a course on how to provide training for women and then started teaching. In her over five years of teaching skills classes to women, she had taught approximately 2,000 hours of classes (each class lasting approximately 50 hours) and reached approximately 1,000 students.[439]

Oyakawa taught classes on housekeeping, food service and sales clerk manners. Specifically looking at her maid centered coursework, Oyakawa's housekeeping class focused on American style etiquette and manners, how to receive guests, hygiene, how to make daily and weekly cleaning schedules, ironing, cleaning methods, how to use an icebox, bed making, clothing care and the care of children. However, beyond simply teaching skills Oyakawa hoped for her students to have passion for their jobs. She saw an example of this when she went with one of her former students to the White Beach port (currently Uruma City) to say farewell to her former student's employer as they were returning to the United States. When she saw her former student hug the children goodbye, she saw the affection between them. This scene brought joy to

Oyakawa as the love between the children and the maid was apparent to all there. She could see a living example of how her coursework had helped a maid succeed in her job.[440]

Fig. 8. Setsuko Oyakawa Teaching How to Iron at a Maid Training Course at her Home in Wakamatsu, Naha on October 28, 1952. Photograph from the Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Fig. 9. Setsuko Oyakawa Teaching How to Use a Stove at a Maid Training Course at her Home in Wakamatsu, Naha on October 28, 1952. Photograph from the Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Fig. 10. Setsuko Oyakawa Teaching Bedmaking at a Maid Training Course at her home in Wakamatsu, Naha on October 28, 1952. Photograph from the Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Fig. 11. Setsuko Oyakawa Teaching Table Setting at a Maid Training Course at her home in Wakamatsu, Naha on October 28, 1952. Photograph from the Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Naoko Minatogawa also provided training for women who wanted to or were currently working as maids, waitresses and bartenders. She too, like Oyakawa, took a class on how to provide training for women in mainland Japan in May of 1951. After teaching approximately 1,000 students, which included about 3,000 classroom hours over a period of more than five years, was considered an expert in the field. In September of 1956, Minatogawa worked on Kadena Air Base in a Quonset Hut that she could use as a model home for training her pre-employment students. Through this model home set up, students were able to do practical training exercises with real appliances and tools to better understand the skills necessary to be an effective maid, which were particularly important for the women enrolled in the pre-employment program. These women were able to practice using a stove, refrigerator, and electric washing machine, along with learning how to iron and clean using various chemicals. They also practiced table and telephone manners, which were first time experiences for many of these aspiring maids.[441]

Women who were in the post-employment course frequently worked for high-ranking officers on Kadena and Rycom bases. Therefore, they learned more specialized skills related to dining such as how to provide table service during a party, how to distinguish different types of glasses, and silverware care. They even covered a variety of finer points for dinner service. This included rules such as when serving cake to people, make sure to place the pointed end of the cake slice towards the person, when serving wine, give the first cup to the male head of household and then serve the next cup of wine to the woman sitting to the right of him, and when serving the main dish of the meal, serve the women before the men. Since many of the maids in the post-employment course were already working for officers, having a strong understanding of party table settings, and serving methods was a very important skill.[442] While some of these lessons included techniques that may have come natural to most Americans, such as serving cake with the tip pointed towards the guest, many would not have been well known by most

Americans. Only Americans with formal training in dinner party manners would know about the order for serving wine or who should be served first at a dinner party, thus demonstrating how lessons taught in the post-employment were quite advanced maid and serving-related skills. Maids working in the American homes of officers were expected to know beyond their own cultural norms and be proficient in American party serving etiquette.

Minatogawa's goal for maid training was to expand the training even further. She felt that one aspect that still needed to be focused on was English language skills training. Through her job, Minatogawa recognized that misunderstandings due to language still accounted for many of the problems between maids and their employers, so ensuring that all maids had a basic knowledge of the English language could resolve some of these issues. With improved communication skills, Minatogawa hoped that maids would be able to teach their American employers some aspects of Japanese culture, such as flower arrangement or tea ceremony. She also hoped that the skills learned in American homes by maids would not only stay in these homes but could be brought to Okinawan homes. Through the continued rational teaching of American housekeeping and child rearing skills, Minatogawa hoped that in the future, these ideas would start to permeate Okinawan homes, making them more democratic in nature.[443] Minatogawa saw further vocational training as a way to improve Okinawan women's lives as well as promote further cross-cultural exchange between Okinawans and Americans. Beyond simply preparing women for their jobs, training aided in creating a richer existence for Okinawans.

Okinawa Maid School

However, not all formal maid training programs were sponsored by government agencies. In fact, the spouses of U.S. military-related-personnel members also played a role in creating maid training programs. Around 1952, Marian Chapple Merritt, the wife of an American Air

Force Officer stationed in Okinawa, came up with the idea of opening a privately run maid training program. The course was called the Okinawa Maid School.

Merritt was not your typical American military spouse. Born in 1904 in Ashland, Wisconsin, a small town in northern Wisconsin, Merritt was one of five children. Although she contracted polio at the age of four and used a crutch, her family treated her as they treated her siblings and expected the same out of her. After graduating from high school, Marian went on to college, continued to get her master's degree from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania and later became a teacher. Merritt married her husband Robert Merritt around 1928. Together, they had a daughter, Natalie, who was born in 1932. With the start of World War II, Robert decided to enlist in the military, joining the Air Force as a public information officer. It was through his position that the family left their home in the U.S. to move to Okinawa. The Merritt family was stationed in Okinawa twice, first for a year in a half between 1946 and 1947 and the second, for approximately two years, between 1952 and 1954. During her time in Okinawa Merritt created the Okinawa Maid School, was a founding member of the Okinawa International Women's Club, was president of the Kadena Chapel Guild, was involved in the Kadena Officers' Wives Club and taught English at Koza Junior High School. She also wrote a book about her time in Okinawa titled *Is Like Typhoon: Okinawa and the Far East*. The book was based upon letters that she wrote to her mother and friends during her time in Okinawa.

The idea for the Okinawa Maid School came from Merritt's interactions with her fellow military spouses. While attending military spouse functions, Merritt frequently heard the other women complain about their Okinawan maids. She recalled that the American women lamented about "how stupid they [their Okinawan maids] were, how much they ate, [and] how much they let the children run" so often that Merritt considered these women "disgruntled" and were therefore "not able to enjoy the luxury of maids."[444] Yet, Merritt herself knew these accusations to be untrue stating, "I knew they [the Okinawan maids] were far from stupid, that they were shy

about eating unless the food was offered to them directly and that they were more than capable at taking care of the children."[445] It was against this background that the idea of a maid training school was born. Merritt, along with some other women in the Kadena Officers' Wives Club, then formed the Okinawa Maid School Committee, to make this idea a reality.

One of the first steps for the Okinawa Maid School Committee was locating a teacher for the course. An Okinawan woman named Yoshiko Nagata was chosen. Marian noted that Nagata was selected because she was "married, knew a little English, [and] had studied in Tokyo,"[446] yet Nagata's qualifications for the position were far beyond these skills. Nagata, who was born in Naha City in 1924, was a graduate of both the First Prefectural Girls' High School (1937) and the Okinawa Women's Normal School (1941). After graduating Nagata first taught at the Naha Municipal Kakinohana National Elementary School between 1941 and 1943 and then after evacuating with her husband's family to Taiwan, at the Keelung City, Taiwan Masago National Elementary School between 1944 and 1945. After teaching in Taiwan for approximately four months Nagata quit her job and started working for the Foreign Affairs Division of the Taiwan Governor General Office. Upon the end of World War II, she worked as a clerk for the Chief Executive of the Taiwan Province until she was forced to return to Okinawa in 1947. In 1950, Nagata returned to teaching and worked at Nodake High School (currently Futenma High School). However, in 1951 upon moving back to Naha City, she quit her job teaching and began to work as a vocational training instructor at the Central Labor Office of USCAR.[447] She became involved with the Okinawa Maid School around 1953. As one can see from Nagata's education and work history, Nagata was a teacher by trade and had worked in various positions that provided her with the skills necessary to lead the maid training coursework. Beyond one who simply knew a little English and was married, Nagata was uniquely qualified to work as a teacher at the Okinawa Maid School.

The curriculum and practical training had already been developed by Merritt and the other members of the club's Maid School Committee, so Nagata's role was to provide additional support as needed, particularly regarding teaching this material to the Okinawan students. As Nagata was the only Japanese speaker involved in the Maid School, she had a great deal of responsibility to ensure that the Okinawan students clearly understood all the curriculum created by the Maid School Committee. Nagata taught the class for about two years, commuting daily from Naha to Kadena. In her memoir, she noted her pride in the fact that during these two years of teaching, she was never late to work, nor took a day off. Though there were difficulties with her job, such as navigating the different social customs of the American workplace and using English daily, she felt that her work was appreciated and felt satisfied by the work she was doing.[448]

The training course at the Okinawa Maid School lasted two weeks and took place in the homes of Merritt and the other members of the Maid School Committee. During the two-week course, which involved a total of 60 hours of training, six to eight Okinawan women would come to the houses of Merritt and other Americans five days a week, Monday through Friday, to train in a variety of skills such as how to vacuum, make beds, iron, and care for children. According to Natalie Sundberg, Merritt's daughter, the class was very popular and ran continuously while the Merritt family lived in Okinawa. Upon graduating from the training program, each maid received a diploma, purse-sized graduation card and a bilingual schedule showing the skills they learned in the training course and the typical chores done in an American household.

Okinawan maids utilized this vocational coursework to professionalize their abilities. Through this training all graduates improved their skill set as maids, which in turn allowed them to complete their jobs more confidently and efficiently and become more desirable candidates for future employment. Due to practical training in American homes, these women better understood and had actual experience with some of the frequently used skills in cleaning an American

house. They also learned a variety of techniques, such as polishing silver, making beds and cleaning western style bathrooms, which most Okinawan would not have encountered prior to working as a maid in an American home. Finally, they practiced English through the course, particularly dealing with the English words necessary for working inside of an American home to improve communication with their employers. Although Merritt herself was the first to admit that more extensive training would be more beneficial describing the graduates as "not accomplished, as we in America think of an excellent maid," she understood that this training was the first step in having a more skilled maid workforce describing graduates as "at least, with the first raw edges smoothed down and with the beginning of an understanding of the American way and a smattering of the American language."[449] Instead of having to learn these skills on the job, the course graduates could come with the basic job related skills necessary and then build upon these to improve as they continued working.

However, beyond the improvement of skill sets, the completion of the Okinawa Maid School training could also result in monetary benefits. According to Sundberg, maids could receive a raise once they had completed this course, which made the class incredibly popular.[450] The pay raise was most likely related to the salary controls, which were in place for maids at the time of the Okinawa Maid School. Prior to September 14, 1956, maids' salaries, both minimums and maximums, were regulated by the military. Employers, no matter how well they felt their maid was completing her job, were not allowed to exceed the maximum monthly pay set by the military. However, there was one caveat to this ruling. Maids who were particularly adept at their job could receive an extra 300 yen a month in their salary. [451] The training through the Okinawa Maid School could have qualified these graduates for extra pay from their employer due to their improved skill set helping to drive the popularity of the course.

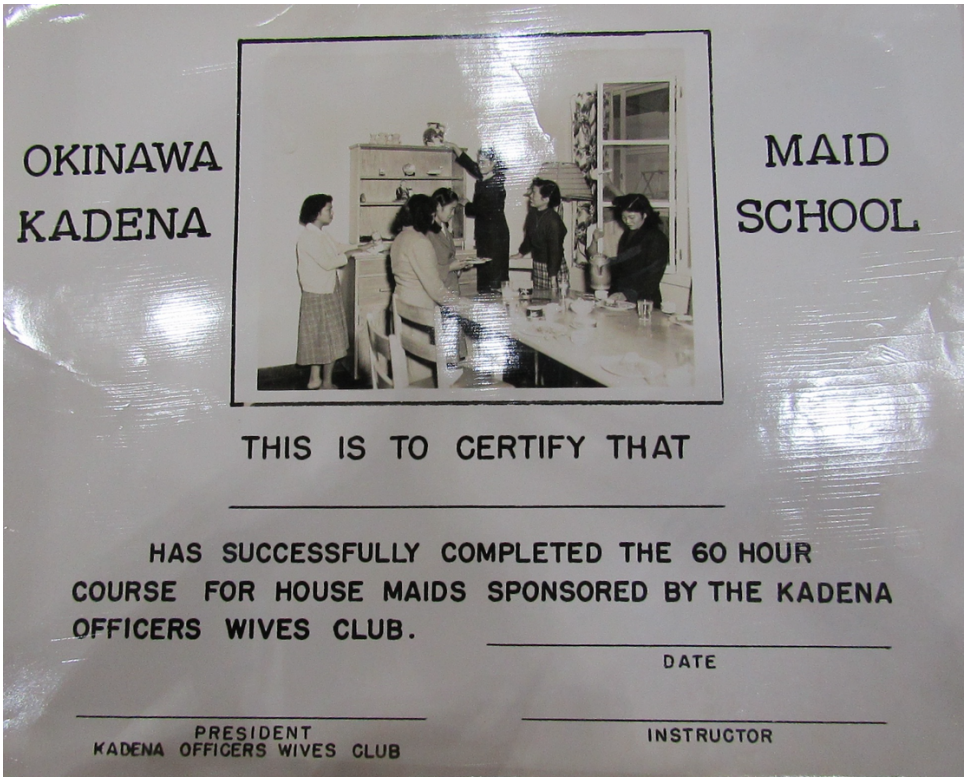

Fig. 12. A Blank Graduation Certificate from the Okinawa Maid School. Certificate from the Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Finally, an important aspect of the Okinawa Maid School was the tools and continued support that they received after graduating. As mentioned above, graduates of the course received a bilingual schedule showing the skills they learned in the training course and the typical chores done in an American household. In this schedule, each specific duty was numbered to aid in the communication between American employers and their Okinawan maids. The employer could point to a chore that they wanted their maid to complete and then the maid could find the corresponding task written in Japanese and vice versa, thus aiding in the conveying of job duties. Maids were also given a one-page sheet, which provided suggestions to make future employment work more smoothly. Maids were reminded that they should come to work on time, contact their employer if they were ill and could not come to work and should not skip work due to rain unless it was a typhoon.[452]

If there were problems in their workplace that they could not overcome, graduates of the Maid School were also able to contact a member of the maid committee for help. They were

provided with the following information, “Most American mistresses want to be kind but sometimes they do not understand. If you are unhappy, or do not understand your mistress, or feel that she doesn’t understand you or is unfair, go to a member of the maid committee and explain your difficulty. An American will call on your mistress and an Okinawan will call on you and all will be explained.”[453] Beyond simply teaching these women English and cleaning related skills, the Maid School also provided continued support after graduation. This aspect of the class reflected Merritt’s desire to truly improve the working conditions between maids and their employers. She knew that even with training problems were bound to emerge, due to cultural and language differences between the Okinawan and American populations, so by providing post-graduation support she created another method to limit these issues.

Most interestingly, this school not only trained Okinawan women how to work as maids in American homes but also provided training for American women to become better employers through a letter distributed to all employers. This aspect of the course existed because Merritt realized that empathy and improved communication on the part of the employer could greatly improve both their relationship with their maid and the efficacy of their maid in the home. Furthermore, Merritt felt that the relationships between maids and their employers also played an important role in overall American-Okinawan relations. In her letter, Merritt stressed that although it may have only seemed like an employer-employee relationship to the American, this relationship could be quite significant in forming opinions about Americans, as for the Okinawan maid, their employer may have been the only American they knew. Merritt, in a letter to all employers, wrote, “All that these little girls and their families and their whole villages know of America is what they are learning from you and your home. Are you making friends for our country?”[454] A bad employer-employee relationship could poison many Okinawans’ views of Americans.

The letter introduced numerous tips and suggestions for American employers. The beginning of the letter stressed the need for empathy on the part of the employer, reminding them that their maids were still rather inexperienced. The letter asked, "The committee asks only that you 'Have a Heart.' Stop and ask yourself 'If I had only sixty hours of training, could I do better?"[455] Statements such as this were written to help the American employer to put themselves in the shoes of their Okinawan maid and be more generous in their reactions when there was some type of problem or miscommunication. The letter followed with advice about communication with their maid, stressing that clear explanations were the responsibility of the employer, "Mistakes occur. If you do not explain, how can they know? There are hundreds of opportunities for misunderstandings. If there is a mistake, was it your fault or theirs? Did you explain? If you do not like the way your maid learned to do things in the maid school tell her. Explain your way, but be sure she understands."[456] The intent of the letter was to remind employers that they played a significant role in the success of the relationship between themselves and their maids.

The letter also addressed some other common problems between maids and employers in hopes of educating the American employers to prevent these issues. In particular, misunderstandings and miscommunications regarding food often caused problems in the households. In general, most employers, especially those that employed live-in maids, were expected to provide meals for their maids. Yet, some families did not fulfill this duty. In some cases, maids were provided only leftover bits from the family's dinner. Other employers created situations where the maid felt that she wasn't free to eat the food. In fact, at the "Counter-Measure Committee for Human Rights of Maids" meeting on June 13, 1957, Haruko Machida, a maid, noted that the inadequate quantity and quality food provided by some families was a major issue facing maids. She stated, "There are places which give one piece of toast and a cup of coffee for breakfast and one handful of rice with salt or soy-sauce for lunch,"[457] which clearly

was not enough food to keep an adult full and healthy. To remedy this type of situation, the letter recommended that employers always not only keep rice and other food commonly eaten by Okinawans, such as soy sauce, canned fish, and cabbage, on hand in an easily accessible area, but also make sure to make it clear to their maid that she can and should eat these foods freely. For employers that wanted their maid to eat American food, the letter encouraged employers to give their maids enough food and "not just what happens to be left when your hungry family leaves the table."[458] Merritt understood that there were two people involved in the maid-employer relationship and that employers also needed training to ensure that they were behaving properly towards their maid.

M6, who worked as a commuting maid intermittently between April of 1958 and December of 1965, in four different homes, was a graduate of this course around March of 1958. M6 took the course before starting her first maid position in the house of an Air Force pilot and his wife. She decided to take the course because she felt it would make her a better employee. As she frankly explained, "If you don't know the language or the job, you can't do it."[459] In describing the course itself, M6 recalled that it was around three weeks long and they met for about three hours a day. The course appeared to be run by American women, probably from one the on base women's clubs, but there was also an interpreter who translated all the information into Japanese for the students. The class was held inside a home and had about 15 students. M6 thought that the home was just used for teaching the maid course and that no Americans lived there. She believed that the class was free for her to take and remembered that she did not get paid while attending the course.

It is unclear exactly when the Okinawa Maid School closed. According to Sundberg, she believes that the school ended shortly after the Merritt family returned to the US around 1954. However, M6 did complete a form of this course in 1958. The Okinawa Prefectural Archives also houses three photographs of maid school coursework taken on February 5, 1963, which

suggests that a form of Merritt's maid school continued at least until the early 1960s. There is little explanation of the photographs. The only remaining information is their title *Homemakers' Class For Domestic Help* (the same for all three photographs) and that they are part of a series of photographs of Women's Club Activities taken by the USCAR Public Relations Office. Each photograph features the same six women, five Okinawans and one American. One of the Okinawan women looks older than the others so she may have been the interpreter for the course. In the first photograph (Figure 13) all women stand in the kitchen. The American woman is stirring something in a pan, while the Okinawan women watch intently. In the second picture (Figure 14), one of the Okinawan women is stirring milk into a pan on the stove while the other women watch her. The interpreter stands close to her seemingly explaining what steps she needs to take. Finally, in the third picture (Figure 15) four of the Okinawan women sit at a formal dining room table while the American woman lectures them on a topic and the Okinawan interpreter watches.

Fig. 14. Homemaker's Class for Domestic Help, February 5, 1963a. Photograph from Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Fig. 14. Homemaker's Class for Domestic Help, February 5, 1963b. Photograph from Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Fig. 15. Homemaker's Class for Domestic Help, February 5, 1963c. Photograph from Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

Based upon this information, it appears that the maid school founded by Merritt continued until at least the early 1960s. Although it became more formalized, with an actual home set aside for training and introductions from the Kadena Air Base Personnel Office bringing in new students, the goal of the course was still similar, in providing education to maids to help them be more successful in their employment. However, the dual emphasis on simultaneously training American women to be better employers was most likely lost after Merritt's return to the U.S. This was a special aspect of the course that existed because of Merritt's willingness to look beyond the social hierarchies of the time that placed Americans above Okinawans. This was not a common attitude during the period of American control so the women who later controlled the maid school most likely did not find this to be an important aspect of the vocational course.

Military Sponsored Maid Training Programs

The military also offered maid training programs, specifically focusing on basic English skills for maids. Maids who worked for Air Force Personnel had the opportunity to take an English Foundations class at the Kadena Education Center on Kadena Air Base. The class was offered for several years, starting at least in July of 1954, and lasting until at least March of 1958.[460] In 1954 the class included 60 hours of classroom time, focusing on reading, listening, and speaking in English and pronunciation of English words.[461] The October 1955 course was offered weekly on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 7pm to 9pm but by March of 1957, the class was held only twice a week, on Mondays and Wednesdays from 7 to 9:30 pm and lasted for 10 weeks.[462] Potential students found out about this educational opportunity through articles in local newspapers or from the Indigenous Labor Office, while employers could learn about this class in English newspapers, such as the local Air Force newspaper, the *313th Air Division Vanguard*.

This course was different from many of the other training programs available as success in it was dependent upon a partnership between maids and their employers instead of being solely based upon the initiative of the maid herself. As opposed to Okinawan sponsored courses, which were generally free or low cost, this class cost $3.00. This price would have been prohibitive for most maids at the time, so employers were expected to pay the fee for the course. If an employer did not want to spend this money, the maid would not likely have been able to enroll in the course. Additionally, since the course was held in the evenings, maids' attendance would be dependent upon the ability to have time off from work to study. As the course was aimed at women already working as maids, particularly those who worked as live-in maids, these women could only be successful in this course if they were allowed time off in the evening to attend classes. To encourage employers' support of their maids' continuing education, American employers were also responsible for taking and picking their maid up from the course and for making sure that their maid completed the course.[463] These rules helped to ensure that maids were given the time off and support needed to complete this training program.

GRI Sponsored Maid Training Programs

The Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI), the Okinawan run government during the period of American control, also created a maid training course in 1956. The classes, which were free, were held intermittently until 1971 first at the Naha City and then later also at the Koza City Vocational Guidance Centers. Women found out about the courses through newspaper articles. To apply for the class, women had to visit their local Public Employment Security Office. The first course was scheduled between June 18, 1956, and July 18, 1956. This one-month class included 72 hours of coursework. 36 of these hours were lectures and the remaining 36 hours were for practical training. The classes were designed to focus on the various technical and language skills maids needed to be successful in their jobs. Graduates of the course were

expected to be able to fully understand responsibilities of the job, which included the differences between cleaning that needed to be done daily versus periodically, how to make a bed, how to care for electrical appliances, the concept of laundry day, how to wash and care for clothing, including special care clothing, how to look after children in the American style, how to care for sick family members, how to store food, the care and cleaning of the kitchen and kitchen appliances, how to serve people at meals and American hygienic standards.[464] All women over the age of 15, who had completed their compulsory education and were able to commute to the course were eligible for the class.

Looking at the applications from the first class, one can understand how the course was seen as a valuable learning tool by the many women who wanted to work as maids. While the first class was intended for up to 30 students, initially 84 women applied, almost triple the number of available slots for students.[465] Clearly women wanted the opportunity to complete vocational training. As there were too many applicants for the course, an exam was held to determine who would be allowed to attend the maid school. 63 of the original applicants took the exam and 28 women were selected for the first session of the maid training program.[466]

Focusing more on the women who applied for the class, based upon their demographic data, one can see that many women made great efforts to take the class. While many of the applicants were from Naha City (in the southern part of Okinawa Island), where the class was held, more than half came from towns outside of Naha, particularly from neighborhoods in central and northern regions of Okinawa, as far away as Haneji and Kushi (now both part of Nago City), which was over 60 kilometers (37.2 miles) away.[467] Although this does not seem like a large distance, due to the lack of private vehicles and efficient public transportation at the time, these women had to move from their homes and live closer to Naha specifically for this course. They valued the training enough to find temporary housing closer to the Vocational Center for the period of the class. Additionally, approximately 1/3, 28, of the initial applicants

were already working when they applied for the course.[468] This means that they were willing to quit their jobs and enroll in unpaid vocational training. They were prepared to lose their incomes for a period as they believed that the skills they would learn in the maid training course would help them to professionalize their abilities and provide better opportunities in the future.

The first course was taught by a woman named Nobu Nakamura (中村信). Although one cannot be absolutely certain, this Nobu Nakamura is most likely the same Nobu Nakamura who was highly involved with the Okinawa Women's Association (沖縄婦人連合会). Nakamura had a high level of English due to studying at Sakurai Onna Eigaku Juku, a private school in Tokyo which focused on English education, for three years.[469] She also was a graduate of the Okinawa Normal School, had worked as a teacher, completed formal training on how to train Okinawans to work on the American bases in jobs such as the clubs, the PX and as maids, and worked as an instructor for the U.S. military government's Labor Department in Okinawa for about a year. In this position, she primarily taught women, focusing on a wide variety of skills such as English conversation, proper sanitation, and procedures to make workers more efficient in their jobs.[470] Based upon these experiences it seems incredibly likely that she was the first teacher of this course.

However, it does not appear that Nakamura taught the course for a long period. By the fifth course, which ran between October 4, 1957, and November 29, 1957, the maid training course records show that a Mrs. Aiko Miura taught the students.[471] Miura was married to Kei Miura, a professor at the University of the Ryukyus, who received his bachelor's degree from the University of Central Missouri in 1956.[472] While her husband was studying abroad in America, Miura decided to also go to the U.S. and study at the same university for a year.[473] During Aiko Miura's time in Missouri the Miura's rented an apartment near the university and lived in close contact with other Americans. Their American landlords lived below them, and Miura frequently went to visit them to chat or watch television. There were also two American couples who lived

in the apartments next to theirs.[474] Through this experience of living and studying abroad with Americans, Miura not only improved her English skills but learned a lot about the American lifestyle and ways of thinking, which would allow for her to be an effective teacher of maid related coursework.

The course continued in different forms over the years. Although only a one-month, 72-hour course during the first session, in 1957, the third offering of the course had expanded to a two-month course, which met daily from 10 am until 3 pm providing instruction on the English language, the skills deemed necessary for a maid in an American home, and practical training exercises.[475] However, by 1966 the course had been standardized into a one month, 120-hour course. 85 hours were spent studying housekeeping and English, while 35 hours of the course were used for practical experiences in cleaning, laundry, ironing, setting the table and table service.[476] The Naha Public Vocational Guidance Center offered the maid training course, between the years of 1956 and 1971 and the Koza Public Vocational Guidance Center offered the course between 1958 and 1965. The charts below show the number of women who graduated from the training course and the percent who found employment after graduating from their course.

Table 21. The Naha Public Vocational Guidance Center Housekeeping (Housemaid) Course

(Center established in 1955)

Year	Number of Times Class Offered	Total Number of Graduates	Number of Graduates Who Found Employment	Percent of Graduates Who Found Employment as a Maid
1956	1	Data Not Available	Data Not Available	Data Not Available
1957	4	39	39	100%
1958	3	41	41	100%
1959	4	34	33	97%
1960	1	12	10	83%
1961	3	40	40	100%
1962	5	38	34	89%
1963	7	69	69	100%
1964	8	63	62	98%
1965	8	75	75	100%
1966	8	74	74	100%[477]
1967	Data Not Available	70	69	99%[478]
1968	Data Not Available	Data Not Available	Data Not Available	Data Not Available
1969	Data Not Available	54	54	100%[479]
1970	Data Not Available	68	68	100%[480]
1971	8	3	3	100%[481]

Table 22. The Koza Public Vocational Guidance Center Housekeeping (Housemaid) Course

(Center established in 1957)

Year	Number of Times Class Offered	Total Number of Graduates	Number of Graduates Who Found Employment	Percent of Graduates Who Found Employment as a Maid
1958	14	124	124	100%
1959	17	191	191	100%
1960	17	202	201	99%
1961	14	125	125	100%
1962	12	111	108	97%
1963	4	20	20	100%
1964	2	27	27	100%
1965	1	14	14	100%

Based upon the above charts, one can see that during this 15-year period, the training course was held at least 141 times, at least 60 times at the Naha Center and 81 times at the Koza Center. Of the at least 1,494 graduates (680 from the Naha Center and 814 from the Koza Center), 1,481 women, over 99% of all graduates, successfully found employment as a maid. Completion of the course helped women to not only acquire the skills necessary to be successful in their job but also helped them to secure work in their chosen field after graduating.

The women who enrolled in these courses also felt the training was beneficial. In May of 1962 *Ryukyu Rōdō*, a quarterly magazine published by the GRI's Labor Division, published a piece demonstrating the positive impact made by the maid training courses. This article contained two short passages by actual graduates of the program, Kiyoko Yamashiro and Tomiko Miyagi, in which they explained how they became maids and their impressions of the course. Yamashiro felt exceedingly thankful for the program and the support that she received while in it. In fact, she considered the experience a gift. By the end of the program, she felt that if economically she could afford not to work, she would have loved to have another month of training to further improve her skills.[482] Miyagi was extremely satisfied by the experience and wished that more women would take advantage of it. While her first impression was disappointment with the facilities available for training at the Naha Public Vocational Guidance Center, this feeling was quickly erased by the passion shown by the teachers of the course. She thought the representatives of the GRI's Labor Department, along with the teachers, put in a great deal of effort into the maid training course. She reflected that it was a shame that more women did not utilize the course.[483] Maid vocational training was beneficial to the women who completed it.

Koza City Sponsored Maid Training Programs

The GRI was not the only Okinawan public entity to offer maid training coursework. Koza City (currently Okinawa City) also created their own maid training program, which started in 1959. As Koza was the epitome of a base town with strong economic ties to Kadena Air Base and other nearby military installations, those working at the city office understood there was a large market for women to work as maids on the neighboring American military bases. Therefore, the city office decided to also offer a maid training course. The first class was held on November 18, 1959, in two Quonset huts donated by Kadena Air Base on the grounds of the city hall.

To be eligible for the course, participants needed to be a female who had completed at least junior high school and were able to speak a little English. Those that were interested in enrolling the maid training course were requested to send a resume to the Society Division (社会課) of the Koza City Office. As only up to 15 applicants were accepted for each class, candidates were first subject to an interview. If they passed the interview, they would then need to submit proof of a physical to the City Office. With this information the City Office would then make the final choice of participants for the course. Graduates of the course could expect to find work as a maid at either the bachelor quarters or in a family home.[484]

The class ran for two months and consisted of 60 hours of training. The teaching materials were based upon those created by the Labor Department and enrollment in the course cost participants 50 cents.[485] Participants met on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 9:30 am until 4:30 pm (although the class in later sessions was shortened to 7 weeks of meeting Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 9 am to 3 pm).[486] 30 hours of the class was dedicated to English, particularly focusing on English conversation, while the remaining 30 hours of the course was concentrated on practical training. The practical training consisted of learning general housekeeping for American homes to include the cleaning of rooms and bathrooms along with

how to wash and care for clothing and care for children. The goal of the practical training was to create a well-rounded maid who could complete all these skills.

Self and Peer Training

Of course, not all women who wanted further training could take a maid training course. Common barriers to formal training courses included a lack of information regarding the availability of training courses and the loss of income during the training period. Instead, many maids had to figure out ways to successfully train themselves on the job to become better skilled. N, who was featured in a 1957 *Ryūkyū Shimpō* newspaper article, was an example of a maid who wanted more training but was unable to enroll in a formal training course. When she first started working as a live-in maid for an American family on Kadena Air Base, she faced many difficulties, particularly regarding communication. N often could not understand what her employer was saying to her. She would try to guess what was wanted of her and frequently made mistakes. When these mistakes were pointed out to her, she would at times burst out into tears. These tears were not because she was being scolded but were because she was disappointed in herself for not being able to successfully complete her job. N had pride in her work and wanted to be an effective employee. Therefore, she thought of a way to better communicate with her employers. She took a notebook and wrote down the English name of every word she could think of that was used during her work as a maid and memorized these words. She, in fact, made her own English training course to allow herself to comprehend the words necessary for her job. N recognized what issues were preventing her from doing her job effectively and created a practical and effectual system for remedying this problem.

Understanding all the nouns that were involved in her daily work allowed N to be much more successful at her work. As she improved her job skills, she was simultaneously able to

better understand the American way of thinking and expectations regarding her position. This realization, in turn, strengthened her professional competencies and allowed her to figure out the most efficient ways to finish her work. N described her English and related job improvements as if the doors to an unknown world had been opened to her. She felt particularly happy that this led to the children of her employer becoming closer to her and even felt that the children had become more attached to her than their own mother. In turn, N also adored the children and treated them with great affection.[487] Both N and her employer benefited greatly from her self-motivated efforts to improve her job skills.

Maids also frequently used peer to peer teaching systems to train women new to the profession. Maids who completed vocational training would have likely worked for higher level military members who frequently hired multiple maids in the home. There they could teach and offer support to other less experienced maids based upon the skills they learned in their vocational coursework. M7 had this experience in the first house that she worked as a maid in the late 1950s. Her employer was a Colonel and had two maids. As M7 did not take any training courses prior to being hired, she learned many of the skills necessary for her job from the other maid.[488] She became a very proficient maid through the teachings of her co-worker and when the Colonel returned home to the U.S., he recommended M7 to another military member. Due to the high level of M7's abilities she worked continuously as a maid for ten years with four different families until she decided to quit her job due to pregnancy. The vocational training she received from her first co-worker allowed her to succeed at her job.

M3 also received training from fellow maids, which allowed her to be successful at her job. M3 started working as a maid when she was only 17 years old in 1947. She had extremely limited English and little familiarity with American cleaning technologies when she started working as a live-in maid for an American military officer's family. On her first day she was told that she needed to wash the clothes of her employers but had no idea how to do it. She had never

seen a washing machine before and nobody from the family was home to show her how to use it. She found a brush in the house and assumed that the brush was used for washing clothes. She took the brush and the pile of clothes to the front porch of the house and started using the brush to brush and beat the clothes clean. Luckily, maids who worked in the neighboring houses saw what she was doing and taught her how to properly wash the clothes along with the true purpose of the brush, which was used to polish shoes. It was in this way that M3 learned the skills that were necessary for her profession. After being taught the basics of her job by other maids, she continued to watch and listen to her employer to learn other skills important to her job, thus further improving her skill set. She ended up working as a maid for over thirteen years and was incredibly proud of her abilities at the job. While other maids she worked with were fired for their poor skills, M3 never had a problem finding a position. When her employers would return to the U.S. leaving M3 temporarily jobless, she had such glowing recommendations that she was immediately employed by another family.[489] Through informal training methods, M3 effectively learned the skills necessary for her job as a maid, which allowed her to have a successful career in the field.

The Importance of Maid Training Programs

Improved Proficiency

Maids were better at their jobs because of vocational training. M6, who graduated from her maid training course around March of 1958, credited her training course as one of the keys to her success as a maid. Throughout the class, she and her classmates practiced English words related to cleaning and communicating with an employer along with practical training exercises. As M6 had little experience with English and no experience cleaning in the American style, she felt the class was instrumental in guiding her to become an effective employee. All the

proficiencies and techniques she mastered through her training course allowed her to widen her skill sets and provide higher quality services. She was also able to easily find new employment when her employers returned to the U.S. and created opportunities for her to find higher paying employers.[490]

Reflecting upon the course, M6 believed the most important information she learned was to always ask her employer how she wanted her home to be cleaned. Her teachers stressed how each person has a different understanding of housework. Therefore, it was critical for her and her classmates to ask their employers on their first day of work what cleaning they wanted done in the house and their priority for cleaning every morning. Based upon this information, M6 made sure to always ask these questions and in this way avoided some of the most common issues between maids and their employers. This simple action prevented numerous problems, especially with some of the more opinionated and difficult employers and made her a more competent and proficient employee.

Kiyoko Yamashiro also utilized maid training coursework to help her to become a proficient employee. Yamashiro long had interest in working as a maid for American military-related-personnel but hesitated to start working due to her lack of experience and the fact that she could not speak English. She felt that she needed training to be prepared for the job. Therefore, when Yamashiro found a notice in the newspaper about the maid training course held at the Naha Vocational Guidance Center, she immediately went to sign up for it.

One of the major obstacles that Yamashiro faced during the training was an insecurity about her education level and ability to learn new things. Yamashiro had graduated from junior high school 12 years before starting the maid training course and during those 12 years had not done any type of studying or formal training. She felt embarrassed by what she considered her "unlearnedness" and on her third day of class even considered quitting the course because she thought that she would not be able to learn the necessary English during the training.[491]

However, with the support of the chief of the center, her teachers and classmates, Yamashiro was able to push through these difficulties. She came to enjoy her training and learned a great deal of practical skills that would help her in the workplace. After graduating Yamashiro found a job as a housemaid on Naha Air Base. The skills that she learned through her training allowed her to quickly find a position and she had more confidence in herself because she was familiar with the skills necessary to work as a maid efficiently and effectively. M6 and Yamashiro, along with many of the other women who completed maid training courses, effectively used the knowledge they learned in training courses to become more proficient employees.

The Acquisition of New Skills

Maid vocational training also allowed women to learn about skills and technologies that were new to women in Okinawa. Like most Okinawan women who worked as maids, when M6 started her job as a maid, she did not have electricity in her home. She had never used an electric washing machine or refrigerator before. She slept on the ground on a futon and was not familiar with using a bed. She also had very little familiarity with English and lacked confidence in using it. However, during her approximately three weeks of training she became acquainted with all these skills. After completing the class, she could operate an electric washing machine and understood how to use the refrigerator. She knew how frequently sheets needed to be changed and how to make a bed. She also learned enough English to help her communicate with her employer and complete her tasks in a timely manner. Her training allowed her to be confident in her work and provided her with a skill and knowledge set that was still rare in Okinawa at the time.[492]

In fact, Setsuko Oyakawa, who worked for USCAR to train women to work as maids, thought that many of her students saw vocational training and the ensuing work as a maid as a type of training for when they had their own families. They could learn what was considered the

"advanced American style" of housework and then apply what they learned when they had their own families in the future.[493] Therefore vocational training for maids can be understood as a key tool for introducing a variety of new and advanced homemaking related practices to the women on Okinawa. Through the wide variety of formal and informal vocational training opportunities many women were introduced to and able to apply new skill sets and technologies in their lives that were not common in Okinawa at the time. This allowed them to not only be successful at their jobs, but also be leaders in understanding and utilizing these advancements in their own homes.

Advancing the Position of Maids in Society

In Okinawa many people held negative opinions regarding the position of a maid. Tomiko Miyagi, who completed the GRI sponsored maid training course and later worked as a maid on Naha Air Base, felt that many people in her mother's generation still saw maids in the same way as they did shortly after the end of World War II. For these people, working as a maid for American military-related-personnel was still considered servitude and at times could be dangerous due to close contact with the military population. It was because of these opinions that Miyagi had not started working as a maid after completing junior high school. She had long been interested in working as a maid but felt that her family would disapprove of her job choice. She explained, "I couldn't easily decide to quit my job and I wasn't sure of how people in my family would think of the job of a maid. Also, if I said I was actually going to work as a maid, my mother and other relatives would be mad, saying 'you are a woman (so you don't need to work)' and 'you are going to ruin our reputation,' so I didn't take up my friend's job offer [for a position as maid]."[494] Miyagi's family considered the profession of a maid to be a low class job that was not an appropriate occupation.

However, Miyagi knew, due to her vocational training and work experiences, that these were antiquated ideas. A great deal of knowledge and skill were necessary to be an effective maid and vocational training was a particularly effective way to transmit this information efficiently. Miyagi felt that the Labor Department needed to promote more information regarding the current status of maids and how the job had changed since the end of the war to further combat the old-fashioned view of maids. Through continued promotion of formal training programs, the Labor Department could show how the role of maids had changed and further advance maids' position in society. Vocational training was a key tool in changing societal perceptions of the job of a maid.

Setsuko Oyakawa, who trained women to work as maids for USCAR, felt similarly about the power of vocational training for maids. In 1956, reflecting on her years of teaching, Oyakawa noticed that from about 1953 there was a difference in the way people thought about maids, and she thought that this might have to do with the numerous training programs that were available for maids. The pre-war image of a woman working as a servant had disappeared. Instead, the women who were employed as maids were seen as working individuals. Through the study of American style housekeeping skills, these women were viewed as more than just simple servants and instead were considered industrious employees who helped to support their families. The wide variety of training opportunities available for maids served as an example of the complexities of the job and helped to improve its overall image to the Okinawan public.[495] Vocational training helped change the way that Okinawans viewed maids. Instead of being a low-class servant who was forced to wait on her master, maids who worked for Americans were seen as working members of society who in fact had a great deal of knowledge regarding America and their advanced technologies.

A Stepping Stone for Other Professions

For many women, particularly those in the 1940s and 1950s, working as a maid was also a stepping stone towards other career options. They were able to take the skills and techniques that they learned through both formal and informal training programs and transfer these skills to other jobs. This allowed maids to create improved job opportunities for themselves. They could apply what they learned as maids to other professions to find jobs with improved benefits and better pay.

Through her job as a maid, Kiku Teruya, who started working in 1948, was able to learn some English and information about American culture and technologies. During her time as a maid, one of her employers wanted her to be able to answer the phone while working, so she attended an English conversation school to improve her English-speaking abilities. Teruya worked in various maid positions until around 1957. However, after hearing that employees of the various on-base clubs received better pay than maids, she quit her job and applied to work as a waitress. Teruya was hired in part due to the skills that she learned working as a maid. She could communicate in English well enough to talk to patrons at the club and understood many aspects of American culture due to an extended period of working in American homes. She had learned many of the basic skills necessary for working on the American military bases through her job as a maid and had the confidence in herself to try for a new, higher paying position. Teruya eventually worked her way up to the position of chief bartender of the Futenma Officer's Club, the first female chief bartender on the military bases.[496]

M2 also used her experience as a maid as a stepping stone to other military base career options. M2 started working as a commuting maid in 1948 in the Awase Housing Area. She chose the job of a maid due to the lack of other employment opportunities for women. However, working as a maid was not to M2's liking. The pay was low, and she had to do physical labor all day long.[497] After three years of working as a maid, she received a tip from one of her maid co-

workers of better paying job opportunities at the Post Exchange (PX), a store for military service members and their families. M2 took the employment examination and passed so she was able to work at the PX on Camp McTureous in Gushikawa Village (currently Uruma City) and was later transferred to a larger PX. Working as a maid provided her with information on new military base job opportunities and it also helped her to pass the exam. While working as a maid M2 had to use English and became familiar with many of the technologies and ways of thinking in the American home. These skills were useful to find employment in other job sectors on the American military bases. After working at the PX for several years, she was hired to work at the American Express bank on the military base where she worked for 31 years until she retired.[498] It was through her first job as a maid that she gained the basic skills necessary to work on the American bases and found the opportunity to move positions that better suited her nature and abilities.

Fujiko Nakanishi was able to utilize her time as a maid to propel herself into a new career as a business owner. Nakanishi had worked as a maid for approximately seven years but quit working once she got married. However, she felt that her family needed more money, particularly after the birth of her first child. As she had done copious loads of laundry as a maid and worked as a laundress in the past, Nakanishi decided to go into the laundry business around 1952. She credits the success of her laundry business to the irons that she received from her former employer, "I received two electric irons as presents from the family I used to work for as a maid when they were about to return to the United States. It is thanks to these irons that I was able to open my shop."[499] Nakanishi worked hard in her business and took in laundry from both Okinawans and Americans. She was successful in her business and as of November 2001, when her oral history was recorded, her shop was still in business.

Kazuko Nakamoto also became a business owner due to opportunities she created through her position as a maid. While working for a family in the Makiminato Housing Area in

the 1950s, Nakamoto heard her employer complain that she was not satisfied with the clothing options available for children due to their expensive prices. Upon hearing this statement Nakamoto took the initiative to tell her employer that she could sew clothing. Her employer immediately requested Nakamoto make something for her daughter. Nakamoto prepared a dress, and her employer was thrilled by it. She immediately requested that Nakamoto make a party dress for her and told others about Nakamoto's sewing skills, which led to further requests for party dresses from other American women. Nakamoto was able to create a successful side-business sewing while working as a live-in maid because of her knowledge of American culture gained through working as a maid. Nakamoto understood what type of dresses American women liked to wear because she saw them firsthand. She noted, "Since the wives don't do housework, they bring over sandwiches or potato salad and throw afternoon tea parties…At home everyone wears t-shirts and pants. When they go out, gathered skirts are in fashion. I sewed them out of silk or poplin."[500] As she worked at the tea parties thrown by Officers' wives and other high-ranking Americans, she understood what types of fashion were in vogue and the fabric types that American women preferred. Nakamoto's job as a maid provided her with an opportunity to create her sewing business and the insight to understand the needs and desires of her customers, which helped to make her business even more popular. The money from her side business not only helped Nakamoto to have more money to support her family, but also allowed her to go to night school to complete high school.

Okinawa women working as maids for American military-related-personnel during the period of American control used both formal and informal training opportunities to empower themselves. Through training they developed both technical and English language skills, which allowed them to become more proficient at their jobs and learn a variety of skills that were new to women in Okinawa. Maids were able to utilize these skills to improve the general view of maids in Okinawa from that of a servant to a working woman who helped to economically

support their family. Beyond this, many maids were also able to transfer the skills they mastered as maids to other professions, which created even better economic and professional opportunities for their futures. They were not only limited to working as maids but with their improved skill sets were able to switch professions and start businesses. These women utilized vocational training to better their lives.

CHAPTER 5

MAIDS AS LEADERS IN RYUKYUAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL EXCHANGE

This chapter focuses on how maids were leaders in the cross-cultural exchange process with their American employers. Due to their jobs, Okinawan maids came in close contact with American culture and ideas. Using the framework of a contact zone, chapter five highlights the unique role of maids in Okinawa regarding cultural exchange. The first part of the chapter will explore how through transculturation, Okinawan maids selected and blended facets of American culture to their own lives while also actively rejecting other parts of it. Through this process maids became comparatively knowledgeable regarding American culture and were often admired by their Okinawan peers for this knowledge. The second part of the chapter explores how maids, who were viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, played a leading role in both humanizing Okinawans to the American population and enriching Americans' understanding of the history and culture of Okinawa. Maids became cultural ambassadors for Okinawa and the knowledge they imparted on their former employers still shapes the way that many American former residents of Okinawa view the islands to this day, demonstrating the knowledge and power held by maids.

Okinawa as a Contact Zone

Mary Louise Pratt, a leading cultural critic and scholar, defines the term contact zone as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today."[501] As cultural studies professors Jane Haggis, Susanne Schech, and Sophia Rainbird elaborate in their paper *From Refugee to Settlement Case*

Worker: Cultural Brokers in the Contact Zone and the Border Work of Identity, Pratt's purpose in creating the contact zone model was to "reconceptualize colonialism as a space of cross-cultural interaction and agency rather than as a static picture of domination and incorporation."[502] Despite unequal positions, cross cultural exchange frequently takes place in contact zones. Pratt further expands upon her idea using South African apartheid as an example of a contact zone. White westerners often simply think of apartheid as the segregation of the white and black populations. The suburbs of the rich whites are contrasted with images of Soweto or other government sanctioned black residential areas. Yet, Pratt argues that the reality of apartheid, and all other contact zones, are much more complex. She states that the understanding of apartheid changes, "if you think of apartheid as referring to particular forms of relatedness of whites and blacks, as a system in which they are not at all separate, but continually in each other's presence and contact, in workplaces, businesses, in dealings with the state, through religious organisations, surveillance procedures, through writing of many kinds."[503] White and black populations in South African apartheid, like all of those people living in contact zones, were not simply living parallel lives but in fact were frequently in contact through a variety of relationships that varied from the intimate to the inhumane and exploitative.

Katsunori Yamazato, an Okinawan scholar of American culture, in his preface to the book *Okinawa and Hawaii: Islands as Contact Zones*, "Post War Okinawa as a Contact Zone," argues that Okinawa during the period of American control can also be thought of as a contact zone. While not traditionally understood as a colonizing power in the sense of European nations' colonization of Africa and Asia, Yamazato argues that by using the rhetoric of the Cold War, the American military government warped the process of democracy in Okinawa, making the American military and in turn the American government a type of colonizing force.[504] During the period of American control, the military government created and enforced legislation that shaped all aspects of Okinawans' lives, often removing democratic options and autonomy from the

Okinawan population. For example, during the "land struggles," which started in 1956, the American military, as a symbol of the American government, confiscated private land from Okinawans without proper due process or compensation. These actions disrupted the process of democracy in Okinawa and are a demonstration of how America can be recognized as a colonizing force in Okinawa between the years of 1945 and 1972. Based upon this history, the relationship between the American and Okinawan populations can be understood in the context of "highly asymmetrical relations of power," and it becomes clearer that these two groups "me[e]t, clash[ed] and grapple[d] with each other"[505] in a contact zone.

Okinawan women working as maids for American military-related-personnel found themselves in the middle of this contact zone in Okinawa. Due to the nature of their job, these women were forced into American homes and needed to work within the confines of American culture to be successful in their employment. There they "me[e]t, clash[ed] and grapple[d]"[506] with a wide variety of American objects and ideas, along with the English language. Through their employment maids blended aspects of American culture into their own lives through a process of transculturation.

Pratt describes the theory of transculturation, first developed by Fernando Ortiz, a Cuban sociologist in the 1940s, as "processes whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture."[507] She further explained, "While subordinate peoples do not usually control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what gets absorbed into their own and what it gets used for."[508] Maids, in the contact zone of Okinawa, exposed to a wide variety of material goods, ideas and influences from Americans, accepted, and adapted some of them into their own culture. Alternatively, they rejected other facets of American culture deeming their Okinawan ways to be better. The first section of this chapter will focus on the process of transculturation for Okinawan maids who worked for American military-related-employers,

demonstrating how maids became comparatively knowledgeable regarding American culture and were often admired by their Okinawan peers for this knowledge.

Oral History as a Tool for Understanding the Transculturalization Process

To understand this transculturalization process I have chosen to use the voices of Okinawan maids, as recorded through oral history interviews, as my main resource. I have chosen oral history as my methodology because oral history interviews can provide powerful perspectives that are often ignored through typical primary source resources such as governmental documents and newspapers. The process of interviewing and recording the words of a narrator can provide information to reframe the history of the time. Although the narrators' experiences do not encompass the experiences of every single maid, they do provide a voice and specific examples demonstrating how Okinawan women were capable of personal agency, the ability to choose or take an action in regards to their employment as a maid.

By looking at history through the words of former maids themselves, one can come to understand that these women, although typically viewed as powerless under the U.S. rule and their American employers, actually practiced agency in their workplaces. They made choices regarding the American culture that surrounded them, their employers, the work they did, and what they taught their employers about Okinawa. Oral history creates a method to record the personal voices and insight that is frequently missing from historical texts and allows the women who worked as maids themselves to become part of the history process while demonstrating the practice of agency in their lives. Through the use of oral history, these women are not simply written about, but instead are active participants in teaching the public about their experiences and providing a voice to an otherwise blank historical record.

Transculturalization of American Culture by Okinawan Maids

Material Goods

One of the first ways that American culture spread to Okinawans after the Battle of Okinawa was through material goods. The utter destruction of Okinawa due to the war left most Okinawans with few basic supplies for survival. Goods provided by the American military government were extremely important in helping Okinawans to rebuild their lives, particularly in the years directly after the Battle of Okinawa. Throughout the period of American control, the American population in Okinawa was significantly materially richer, so American objects were, in general, seen as superior and desirable for the Okinawan public.

With the physically close relationship between Okinawan maids and their American employers, the transfer of material goods between individuals occurred frequently and for extended periods. Maids, particularly those working as live-in maids for American families, would often receive presents from their employers. M3, who worked as both a live-in and commuting maid from around 1947, when she was 17 years old, until around 1960, regularly received presents from her employers. One of her most memorable presents was a watch for Christmas. On Christmas morning M3 went to the tree with her employers to open presents. At first M3 was disappointed by what she saw under the tree. The children had very large presents, but hers was very small. M3 was jealous of the size of the children's' presents and felt upset. However, when M3 opened her box, she was both surprised and incredibly pleased as she had received a watch. All the jealousy she had instantaneously disappeared, and she felt delighted by the watch that had come in the smallest of packages. At that time in Okinawa most people did not have watches, so being able to have one was a great luxury for her. Over her many years of working, she received at least three watches, including one that had diamonds in it. M3's employers also frequently offered to buy her family household appliances such as a washing

machine or refrigerator. However, as M3's home did not have electricity yet, she had to turn down all these presents.[509] M3 received a wide variety of goods through her job as a maid.

Over the years M3 also received a great number of hand-me-downs from her employers, which she shared with her children. She considered her daughter's early years "luxurious" because of the clothes and other gifts she received from her employers. M3's children were the best dressed in the neighborhood, even better than the family of the teacher who lived nearby. She remembered the teacher telling her that he was embarrassed because his children were still running around barefoot, while her children had shoes. M3 also received fabric from her American employers and had access to American catalogs through her job, so she had her daughter's clothes sewed in an American style. Her daughter still recalls how her clothes were different from everyone else around her. She wore large bows and other styles that were not common in Okinawa at the time.[510] M3's family also readily accepted American material goods into their lives.

M7, who worked as a live-in maid for four different families during an approximately ten-year period between 1959 and 1969, could also still vividly recall the items she received from her employers. When M7 got married in 1968, her employer gave her an electric rice cooker, which at that time was still a rarity in Okinawa. Even after quitting her job, due to the birth of her first child, M7's former employer gave her baby clothes as presents. M7 also often received presents from her employers when they returned to the U.S. as they could not take home all their goods with them. Most memorably she recalled receiving both a parakeet and a large fan from her second employer. While she took the parakeet to her family's home, she realized that she could not use the large electric fan in her house because they did not have the electricity necessary to power the fan. She ended up giving the fan to her church so that others would be able to use it. Even though she gave it away, M7 still remembers how the fan was very

powerful and could spin, as opposed to the Okinawan fans at the time that did not turn or produce mighty gusts of wind.[511]

The sharing of goods received from American employers was not limited to M6 and M7. Many women working as maids generously passed along presents to family members. While discussing the items that M7 had acquired from her employers, a woman sitting nearby jumped into the conversation and noted that while she had never worked as a maid, one of her relatives had. This relative received many pieces of furniture when her employer returned to the U.S., so the relative shared them with many family members. The woman had been given a kitchen table and was still using it to this day. During another interview, a younger woman listening in commented on how she also received American clothes from her aunt who worked as a maid. When her aunt's employer's children outgrew their clothes, her aunt would be given them and then pass them along to all the children in her family. She remarked that children who had women working as maids in their family were lucky because they had access to fashionable American clothing at a time when this was difficult for the average Okinawa family. The benefit of material goods went beyond the women who worked as maids and was shared with family members.

Due to the lack of material goods in post-war Okinawa, particularly in the 1940s and early 1950s, maids actively accepted American goods into their lives. However, beyond simply being seen as supplementing a lack of articles, these items tended to be viewed as superior to Okinawan goods. Having access to American products led many Okinawan people to see maids as superior in a way. Not only did they know how to use many American products that were not readily available to the general Okinawan public at the time, but they also owned many more of these items than the average Okinawan and, at times, were able to distribute them to relatives and friends. Through their proximity to American material goods, many people often associated maids with a type of sophistication that was not accessible to the average Okinawan woman.

Additionally, through the acquisition of these goods, the women and to a certain extent, their families, became more familiar with American products and culture. Through clothes and furniture, they could see how fashions and tastes differed between the countries and adapt pieces to fit into their lives. Through appliances, such as the fan that M7 received, they could see how the technologies of Okinawa and America differed and assimilate technologies that worked for them into their lives. The acquisition of American goods furthered the process of adapting certain aspects of American culture into Okinawan lives.

Food

In addition to material goods, in the earliest years after the Battle of Okinawa, there were also severe food shortages in Okinawa. Therefore, working on a military base was a primary way to ensure that you and, at times, your family were able to have enough food to eat. Natalie Sundberg recalled when her family moved to Okinawa in 1946, maids' salaries were paid for by the Air Force, but it was each American family's responsibility to, not only, provide meals for their maids but to also send food home with them on the weekend to contribute additional support for their families.[512] M2, who started working as a maid in 1948 in the Awase Family Housing area noted that it was the kindness of her sister's former employer (her sister also worked as a maid prior to catching tuberculosis) that helped her family survive a rough period. M2 lived with her mother, father, and younger sister, but because of illness she was the only one working at that time. Her paycheck alone could not support her entire family, but her sister's former employer gave the M2 family about 20 canned goods twice a month, which freed up some of M2's salary for other expenses. M2 recalled this time as a very difficult one for herself, as she had to single handedly support her family. However, she also remembered her sister's employer with warmth stating that they were "very kind" and that they "really helped her family."[513] During these early years of American control, maids were introduced to a wide

variety of American foods. However, as there were great shortages of food, this situation was less of an introduction to new cuisines and flavors, but instead simply having enough nourishment for survival.

It is in later years, when Okinawan society had recovered from many of the post-war shortages that there became more of an active exchange of food from American employers to Okinawan maids instead of simply eating for survival. However, exchange did not take place in every household. M6, who worked as a commuting maid for four different families intermittently between 1958 and 1965 rarely ate the same foods as her employers. She attributed this to being a commuting maid instead of a live-in maid. She was, however, given free range of the refrigerator and pantry while working and made her lunch from these products while she worked every day. She used American ingredients to create the Okinawan foods that she usually ate. M4, who worked as a live-in maid for five different families between the years of 1955 and 1959, also recalled that at times she did not eat the same foods as her employers. One of her employers recognized that M4 preferred rice so she prepared a rice cooker and rice for M4 so she could eat it whenever she wanted.

However, many maids were exposed to and had a knowledge of a wide variety of American foods and cuisines through their job. M6 can still remember what her employers generally ate on a day-to-day basis. She described how Americans typically eat a smaller lunch such as a sandwich or soup and then have heavy dinners with lots of meat and potatoes.[514] M4 frequently joined her employer's family for meals. In fact, she recalled that one of the best parts of her job was that she always had delicious food to eat. One of her employers enjoyed making pies, so M4 frequently ate apple pie, which she still has a taste for to this day. She also remembered eating a turkey at Christmas. Yet, it was not the flavor of the turkey that she recollected, but instead it was that the turkey took all day to cook and that it cost five dollars. At

that time M4 was receiving about $20 a month in salary, so she was shocked at what she considered the exorbitant price of the turkey, as it cost 25% of her monthly pay.[515]

M7 also became acquainted with a wide variety of foods while working as a live-in maid. Most memorable for her was her introduction to pizza. The wife of her second employer loved pizza and made it once a week. As M7 ate with her employer every night, she had the same foods as them. Prior to working at this home, M7 had never seen pizza before. Even though the first restaurants serving pizza in Japan opened in the 1950s in Tokyo, during the 1950s and 1960s pizza was very much a luxury food only for Americans and rich Japanese. It was an unknown food for the average Japanese or Okinawan person at the time. The first pizza chains, Shakey's and Pizza Hut did not open until 1973, so it was only after this date that pizza became somewhat familiar to people living in Japan.[516] Therefore when M7 first tried pizza in the early 1960s, she had no idea what it was and did not enjoy eating it. However, after being served pizza week after week she slowly became used to it and even began to like it. She still loves pizza to this day and whenever she sees it, she is reminded of her former employer who introduced her to the food.[517] Through their jobs as maids, both M4 and M7 were introduced to luxury foods that were not available to the average Okinawan at the time. Although both women came from poor homes, they had unexpected experiences with rare and extravagant foods as maids.

Maids also encountered American foods when they were asked to assist with the preparation of or cook American dishes on their own. M4's job responsibilities included making breakfast for the family and preparing lunches for the children every day. Breakfast consisted of eggs, bacon, and toast along with coffee for the adults and milk for the children. Lunch for the children was typically a sandwich and some fruit. When she had to babysit the children at night, she often cooked American dishes for them such as spaghetti or steak. These were all new foods to her as both before and after her employment on base most of M4's diet consisted of sweet potatoes and a soup made of *kandaba*, the leaves and stems of the sweet potato. She welcomed

this change and readily learned how to cook American style, even if she could not repeat these recipes after she quit being a maid due to a lack of ingredients. Although she greatly enjoyed the food, economic barriers prevented her from replicating them at home for her own family.[518]

This was true for many maids. Both M6 and M3 commented on how they never made American foods at home for their families even though they were familiar with the preparation of it. Beyond economic reasons, M6 also noted that she did not cook American style at home because she lived with elderly Okinawan relatives. She felt that they would not like the taste of American foods and instead preferred to eat Okinawan dishes. She determined that these different flavors would be too disparate for her relatives. Therefore, she stuck to preparing more traditional meals that they were familiar with.[519]

Yet, there was one food that many maids hated to prepare, soup. When asked about food preparation in a group interview, all three former maids there, M1, M4, and M5, exclaimed their disgust with helping with this dish. When asked to explain why they did not enjoy making soup, the women explained that it involved a lot of cutting of vegetables and took a long time, as the soup had to simmer on the stove for an extended period. While at first this does not seem like this are particularly burdensome tasks there may be other background reasons that led to this feeling. First, if the soup was continually simmering on the stove, it may have prevented them from finishing their work. They may have had to periodically check on the soup, which prevented them from actively cleaning and they may not have been able to clean the kitchen due to the potential for contaminating the soup with cleaning solutions. Additionally, soup may have reminded them of the kandaba soup, made from the leaves and stems of the sweet potato, that they grew up eating. Even though the ingredients in the soup were different, soup may not have fit the ideal they had of American dishes. Subliminally soup may have taken them back to their pre-maid days where there was much food insecurity, so they may not have enjoyed preparing or eating any type of meal that could remind them of the past.

After the early post-war days in Okinawa when obtaining food was a matter of survival, food became another aspect of American culture that Okinawan maids encountered and absorbed to varying degrees. While making these foods at their own homes was often cost prohibitive, maids frequently had a solid understanding of American food culture and had tried a wide variety of typical American dishes, far earlier than the average Okinawan or Japanese person. They had knowledge regarding American eating habits and food for special occasions, such as Thanksgiving or Christmas and still enjoy some of these dishes to this day. As food is an important part of cultural identity, many Okinawan maids were at the forefront of understanding this aspect of American culture.

Language

Okinawan maids working in American homes were expected to communicate with their employers in English. While a few employers may have tried to learn some Japanese or an Okinawan language, English was generally the language used in the workplace. By looking at the U.S. military issued labor cards of Okinawan women who worked as maids, one can better understand the importance of English in the workplace. One woman was fired from her first maid position on Kadena Air Base in 1958 due to her "refusal to even try to speak or understand English."[520] Another was fired in 1959 because she did not have "enough English to take care of the children."[521] An inability to communicate in English could result in a job loss.

Most women working as maids started their employment with very few English language skills. As M4, who was born in 1931, explained, she had only attended elementary school and did not have a chance to study any English. Although she was interested in furthering her education, she did not have the opportunity because after graduating from elementary school she was expected to help around the house, which postponed her education. Later the war came, which brought a definitive end to her formal studies. However, through working as a maid she

was able to learn some English. In M4's case, it was the children of her employers that were her most effective teachers. When M4 babysat the children at night, they taught her how to write English letters. Although she had seen English letters before, M4 could not spell words using them. Through practice with the children, she became able to write and spell words such as Okinawa.[522] She can still to this day read signs that have English on them thanks to the children's lessons.[523] M6, also started working as a maid with very little English. M6's education, like M4's, had been cut short due to the Battle of Okinawa. While she was only a first grader when the Battle took place, due to all the upheavals that she faced after the war, she was unable to graduate from elementary school. However, even with a lack of formal education, M6 was able to become quite skilled at understanding spoken English through her job.[524] M7 also recalled how it was due to the kindness of her first employer, Tammy Kay, that she could understand English. According to M7, Tammy Kay was a very talkative and amiable woman, who taught her many things. She spoke slowly and used gestures to help M7 become more confident with her language skills. When Tammy Kay and her family left after three years, M7 felt that she could generally understand most of the conversational English that was necessary for her job.[525]

Even fifty years after their experiences working as maids, many of the women continued to use English words and phrases throughout their interviews. Most of the women used the phrase "go home" to describe when their employers returned to the U.S. They freely used English jargon related to the military, such as "commissary," "civilian," and "BOQ" (Bachelor's Officers Quarters), that even some English native speakers would not be familiar with. English was also frequently used to describe terms for job related skills such as "bed making" and to "babysit." During M6's interview she described how she would occasionally return to her employer's house in the evening with her own children to "babysit" her employer's children. Her college educated son, who was listening in to the interview, tried to correct her, suggesting that

she should be using the word "babysitter." However, M6 had used the correct form of the verb. Her years of working in an American home had imprinted the proper form of the word into her brain. For most maids, certain words and phrases were such a part of their jobs as maids that even a half century or more after leaving their employment they still use the English terms to describe these aspects of their jobs. Even without extensive formal language training, many of these women had a solid grasp of the English language.

Through their jobs, maids also gained insight regarding the English language. Both M4 and M5 commented on how parents, particularly military officers, were quite strict with their children regarding language. Officer's children were corrected if they responded to their parents with the term "Okay," as this was considered a term for enlisted service members. Instead, they needed to always respond with a "Yes, sir" to their father and a "Yes, mam" to their mother. Through watching the interactions between parents and their children, these women were able to understand the nuances of formal and informal replies. M5 still remembers how she was told by her employer to avoid certain words such as "No sweat" because he considered them to be rude. She tried her best not to use these words when she spoke to employers, even if she heard them being used by other American military-related-personnel.[526] M3 recalled how her employers scolded their children when they called M3 "The maid." M3's employers asked their children, "Is she your maid?" and the children replied "No." The employers insisted that the children called M3 be called by her name as it was more polite. M3 felt her employers respected her because of the way they corrected their children.[527] Beyond simply knowing the language, maids also understood some of the cultural context involved in using English words appropriately.

Through an examination of language usage one can also understand how maids internalized the importance of the military ranking system. Although many maids could not remember the names of their employers, they could still recite their ranks. The English words for various ranks such as "colonel," and "lieutenant," frequently appeared throughout the interviews

of maids. M4 recalled that she had worked for a colonel but could not remember the name of the rank of another one of her employers. However, due to the number of times that she had ironed his uniform she could still recall how many stripes he had on the patch on his arm, which identified his rank of a master sergeant. These former maids were also very aware of what the ranks meant. M7 first worked for a colonel and then worked for a lieutenant. She still remembered that the rank of a colonel was higher than that of a lieutenant. When M3 described her employers, she could not remember their exact rank but was sure they were high level officers. She specifically noted they were not mid-level officers.[528]

However, beyond simply remembering the ranking systems, maids frequently internalized the stereotypes that Americans held regarding the rank system. M5 stated that it was better to work for officers as they were more sophisticated people and treated their maids better. She noted, "The high-ranking people were smart, so they were very nice people." She also avoided using certain English words because they were deemed to be low class, and words that enlisted service members used, not officers. M2 also believed similarly that officers tended to be nicer to their maids. In describing the employer of her sister (who also worked as a maid), she stated, "The American couple that my sister worked for were of a kind of good rank, so they were very kind."[529] M3 also mentioned multiple times throughout her interview how enlisted military members were "scary" and were not good to work for so that is why she actively sought out working for officers.[530] To these women, military rank was an easy way for them to judge how they would be treated by their employer. Even though there were good and bad employers of every rank in the military, maids unconsciously accepted the prevailing ideas in the military community that officers were sophisticated and kind whereas enlisted service members were uncouth and rough in their treatment towards maids.

The English language was an important tool for maids in their jobs. By learning English maids became more capable in their jobs and stronger employees. However, beyond the practical

benefits of learning English, maids simultaneously learned more about American culture. They had insights regarding Americans that were not readily understandable to those without close contact with the American population.

Religion

Due to the close physical relationships between maids and their employers, the cultural exchange between the two groups often went deeper than material goods, food, or language. Religion was one way in which American culture was, at times, passed from employer to maid. In Okinawa, most people practice a form of ancestor worship, specific to the islands. Although it has been influenced by religions commonly found on mainland Japan, such as Buddhism and Shintoism, it is a religion unique to Okinawa. Some of the larger religious events in Okinawa include *Shimi* (*Seimeisai*) and *Kyūōbon* (*Ōbon*). Shimi usually takes place in April and involves families gathering at the tomb of their ancestors, to clean it, share offerings with the dead and then to have a picnic with their family at the tomb. Kyūōbon, which usually takes place in August, is a three-day celebration welcoming back ancestors to the human world. Offerings are left for the dead on the *butsudan*, the family altar found in the home, and family will gather at the butsudan to communicate with their deceased relatives. These practices are incredibly different from the Christian practices that most Americans brought to Okinawa between 1945 and 1972. Belief in an omnipresent, omnipotent God, weekly church services and the reading of the Bible were all ways in which Christianity differed from the Okinawan religion. Changing from an Okinawan ancestor worship religion to Christianity represented an enormous shift in ways of thinking and cultural values.

Although not an exceedingly common practice, some Okinawan women, through introductions based upon their position as maids, became Christians. A September 20, 1957, article in the 313th Air Division's *Vanguard* newspaper highlighted the work of Air Force

chaplains in spreading Christianity and Judaism throughout Okinawa. The article also noted how it was not only the work of the chaplains, but also the efforts of military members and dependents that allowed for a wide variety of religious clubs to flourish on the Air Force bases. A list of the most prominent religious clubs included a mention of "the Okinawan Maids Sunday School."[531] It is unclear as to whether these maids attended Sunday school based upon their own choice or because of the encouragement of their employers. However, as there was a Sunday school option created specifically for Okinawan maids and it was listed as one of the more prominent clubs, it can be assumed that during the period of American control many Okinawan maids were introduced to Christianity through their employers and practiced the religion to some extent while working as a maid.

M7 is one of the maids who was introduced to Christianity through her employer and became Catholic. M7 was aware of Christianity prior to working as a maid. There was a Catholic church by her house in Ishikawa (currently Uruma City) and occasionally she visited the church for special events. However, she did not consider herself a Christian at that time. Her true introduction to Christianity came through her employers. By chance her first employers were practicing Catholics, and they encouraged her to go to mass with them. Mass was entirely in English at the military base church, so at first M7 had no idea what was being said, particularly in the sermon. Nonetheless she continued to attend church with her employers and felt more of a pull towards the religion. By the time that her first employers were to return to America, M7 had decided to become a Catholic. She attended a Japanese speaking Catholic church when she went to church on her own, but as she was always employed by Catholic Americans on the base, so she also joined them for mass when she did not have Sunday off.

To become Catholic, M7 had to complete a variety of steps, which separated her from the general Okinawan public. She had to complete rites such as Baptism, Confirmation and First Communion, which involved not only ceremonies in her church, but also education about

Catholicism, a period of reflection upon her choice and a formal rejection of her previous religious beliefs. This was a significant change for M7 as it separated her from most Okinawans. She no longer worshiped her ancestors, as most Okinawans do, and could not actively participate in the religious festivals of Okinawa as she had in the past. She instead prayed to God and was expected to take part in a variety of Catholic related events such as weekly mass and celebrations of both Easter and Christmas. There were now days to fast, such as Good Friday, to remember the sacrifice of Jesus, and Sundays became a day to spend in church honoring God and Jesus. This was a significant change in M7's cultural habits that she wholeheartedly accepted. She is still a practicing Catholic and attends church weekly in Okinawa, demonstrating the power of M7's conversion to Catholicism. It was not only an introduction to a different way of thinking but instead has shaped her belief system for over fifty years.

Notions of Cleanliness

Working in an American home also changed the way some maids thought about the proper way to keep and clean a home. M6 still cleans parts of her home in the American style that she learned through maid school and her time working as a maid. Even though she is in her 80s, she still removes all her knickknacks from the shelf by her window to individually dust them and clean out the shelf as a semi-regular part of her cleaning regiment, which was an expectation in her job. Until recently she took out all the silverware she had, much of it received from the Americans that she worked for and cleaned all the pieces on a yearly basis. She also uses bleach as a disinfectant like she learned to while working as a maid.[532] These tasks have become ingrained in her cleaning practices and demonstrate how M6's notions of cleanliness changed due to her position as a maid.

M4's experience is another example of how incredibly influenced she was by the American homes she worked in during the 1950s. M4's home was pristine for the interview.

Everything was in its proper place and all the floors were gleaming. During the interview she noticed a tiny speck of dust on the floor. Until she was able to pick up the piece of dirt, she kept fidgeting with her foot, attempting to move it closer to her so she could reach it. She seemed as if she could finally calm down only once the mess had been cleaned. In fact, M4 herself stated that she still is excellent at cleaning to this day and cannot relax when things are dirty. Her experiences as a professional cleaner still shaped the way that she kept her home over 60 years later.

Yet, more than just being someone who continues to value a clean home, M4's ideas were strongly a product of her time working as a maid. M4 noted that it was particularly hard for her to revert to living in an Okinawan home after she had spent about four years in an American one because her ideas about household appliances, conveniences and cleanliness had shifted greatly. She, in fact, compared the return to Okinawan daily life to hell. Not only did she no longer have access to the delicious foods that she had become used to, but she had lost the ability to use many of the appliances and conveniences that she was accustomed to. She no longer had access to an indoor flush toilet but had to use a pit toilet located outside of the house. M4 kept coming back to this point, referring to the toilet as a *potton* toilet, in reference to the sound that excrement makes when it hits the bottom of the pit. This, naturally, was an exceedingly hard transition for her to make. M4 also had to return to using a wood stove to cook when she had used an electric stove and oven in her American home. In fact, her Okinawan home did not even have electricity, so other conveniences she had become accustomed to, such as an air conditioner and fan for hot summer days, were not accessible to her anymore. Her daily indoor baths, using water electronically heated, were also no longer a possibility. Instead, she had to first get the water for her bath from a well located outside the home, then take a bath outside of the house using a bucket. If she wanted a warm bath, it would involve another step of her taking the well water into the house and warming it on the wood stove before again taking it outside to bathe

herself. All her washing had to be done at the well, too, because her family did not have running water in the home. This was in stark contrast to the indoor washing machine that M4 used daily to wash her employer's clothes. Although it was not fully mechanicalized and involved manually using a wringer to get rid of the excess water, this process was still much less labor intensive and significantly more efficient than the process M4 had to go through at her own home. A large part of M4's work as a maid included the daily chore washing and ironing of clothing and sheets. Yet, M4 was unable to wash the futons that her family used at home. She felt these futons were very dirty because they were not washable. She had internalized the idea that freshly washed and pressed sheets were the cleanest and best option but had no way to complete these tasks given the technologies readily available to the Okinawan people at that time.[533]

The knowledge of and experience with American household appliances and housekeeping in an American home shifted M4's understanding of homemaking. Like many maids with similar experiences, she saw she fully understood the burdens faced by Okinawan housewives and longed for the many conveniences she had previously used while working in American homes. She understood how the cleaning methods and technology available in American homes were improvements and could help Okinawan women. Therefore, she longed for the day when she could start using these tools again.

Home Design

When M4 built her own home, she incorporated many aspects of American homes into it. This is because, in some ways, the American home of the 1950s represented the peak of luxury for her. Although she had to work extremely hard as a maid, she had access to goods and tools through her job that as a housewife in Okinawa, she could not use. These made the burden of her employment seem less in comparison to the hardships that she faced as a housewife during the late 1950s and 1960s in Okinawa. Therefore, it can be understood that her interior design

aesthetic was influenced by the American homes she worked in as a maid. Dividing her living room and kitchen, M4 had an open bookshelf displaying pieces of Okinawan pottery and her walls had decorations hanging on them as is often seen in American homes. Her front room where we sat for the interview felt spacious and it was much larger than the typical entry room of an Okinawan home. The ceilings were high and helped to make the rooms of her house feel very open. During the interview we sat on an incredibly large sofa set that could have easily fit over ten people. The living room setup would not have felt out of place in America. M4 replicated some of the aspects she liked from American homes, based upon her experiences as a maid, when she built her own house.

M3 also used aspects of American design when building her own home. When walking into her home, one immediately encountered a mix of American and Okinawan culture. Upon entering, the first thing visitors see are the tatami mats and the family's butsudan. Yet, hidden in the home design were various American touches. The ceilings were much higher than a typical Okinawa home making for a spacious feel and the kitchen was much larger with more storage space than usually found in an Okinawan home. The kitchen cabinets were full of dishes and utensils M3 received from her employers. Her daughter commented that when she was growing up, at home she felt as if she was living in the United States because they did not use chopsticks but instead forks and knives. Additionally, when the family built their house, they had a western-style toilet installed in the home instead of a Japanese-style toilet. M3's daughter noted that she did not know how to use a Japanese-style toilet when she started school in the 1960s, as most of her time had been spent in the family home or in American homes with her mother while she worked as a maid. She was frightened by Japanese-style toilets and refused to use them at school. Finally, when she was in the sixth grade, her school got a western-style toilet in the library, and it was only then that she could feel comfortable using the restroom at school.

Many former maids actively applied aspects of American homes that they admired when building their own homes in Okinawa. Their homes represent a combination of some of the best and most useful aspects of both American and Okinawan house building styles.

Ways of Thinking

Maids' perspectives were also influenced by their work in American homes. Many maids recognized that American culture differed from Okinawan culture in that it was important to clearly state your opinion. M1 explained that when asked a question Americans will clearly say yes or no, while Okinawans will give vague replies. This difference was difficult for some maids to deal with as they were occasionally put in situations at work where they were expected to explicitly express their opinion. American employers often felt frustrated by what they considered ambiguous answers and expected their maids to provide clear replies to questions directed at them. It was through these experiences some maids became able to openly state their ideas. M4 recalled that because she worked for Americans, she can state her feelings and beliefs clearly and express her mind. She does not give vague statements and instead says what she means. M4, who was 90 years old at the time of her interview, credits this ability to helping her live a long life. She does not hold in things and therefore feels little regret about not speaking up.

Maids were also often influenced by the relationships they saw between their employers. When working in a family home, especially as a live-in maid, maids were privy to intimate details of the family's life. They saw how husbands and wives treated each other and could compare this to their own experiences in their homes. When asked about some of the major differences they saw between Okinawan and American homes in a survey of maid's experiences organized by the Okinawa Shi Kyōdo Hakubutsukan (Okinawa City Folk Museum), many of the respondents described the American husband-wife relationship as a major difference. F, who started working as a live-in maid in 1961, noted how she saw that her employers, a husband, and

wife, got along well with each other. When she went shopping, she consulted him about what she would buy. When he got home from work, he would help her around the house. This was not the norm in Okinawan homes at the time. C, who started working as a live-in maid in 1967, also commented on the way that American husbands and wives got along so well. She additionally noted that on Saturday and Sunday the husband cooked dinner, which was not typical in Okinawa. B, who worked as a commuting maid starting in 1955, described how she felt that American men cherished their wives much more than Okinawan men. Three additional women in the survey also remarked that they were envious of the relationships of Americans.[534] Seeing these types of relationships led many maids to covet what they saw as a fairer an American-style marriage.

These feelings were not only held by maids, but also by other women at the time. Naoko Minatogawa who worked for the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) training women for jobs such as maids, bartenders, and waitresses, also felt that Okinawan women learning more about American homes and the relationships between husbands and wives could help to make Okinawan home life more democratic. Both husband and wife could share the responsibilities of the home and make sure to have open communication when making choices about the home and family.[535] Minatogawa believed this style of marriage would be more beneficial to Okinawan women.

Being in close contact with Americans allowed maids to watch and understand the cultural characteristics of Americans. From these experiences maids were able to identify aspects that they admired and through a process of transculturation actively absorb certain aspects of American culture. Due to a continued exposure to a wide variety of American influences including material goods, language, food, religion, notions of cleanliness, house design and ways of thinking, maids possessed a significant knowledge set regarding American customs and culture.

Clashing and Grappling with American Culture

Rejection of American Culture

However, not all aspects of American culture were deemed superior by Okinawan maids. Many of these women actively went through a process of rejecting certain behaviors and ways of thinking. All ideas and actions were not thought of as superior simply because they came from America. Instead, maids used their own judgment to determine what parts of American culture they wanted to incorporate into their lives and what parts they felt were superior in Okinawan culture.

One way in which Okinawan maids frequently disagreed with their employer was about the discipline of children. During the period of American control of Okinawa, many Americans often used corporal punishment on their children. Alternatively, Okinawans rarely hit or beat their children when they did something wrong. Maids seeing the discipline of a child in an American house for the first time were often surprised by the harshness of the punishment. Of the 24 maids interviewed in a survey conducted by the Okinawa Shi Kyōdo Hakubutsukan (Okinawa City Folk Museum), 16 of the former maids recalled how discipline of children was quite strict in American homes at the time. The way that fathers often took their children to their bedrooms to be whipped with a belt or spanked was particularly shocking. Some maids also felt surprised by the way that children were expected to take responsibility for themselves from a young age, such as by sleeping alone at night or fessing up to their mistakes, and by the way they were punished if they did not meet these expectations. Very few maids incorporated these behaviors when raising their own children. Only one of the 24 maids in the survey noted that she used this style of discipline with her own children. Most instead seemed shocked by the harshness of the children's punishment.[536] In a separate interview, former maid M4 commented,

"To hit a precious child that hard makes me wonder if they felt their child was precious."[537] Okinawan maids often felt that the discipline techniques of their American employers were too harsh and avoided adopting these behaviors in their lives.

Another aspect of American culture that Okinawan maids grappled with was the behavior of their employers, particularly the wives. Some maids felt that American women were lazy because they did very little during the day. M6 contrasted the busyness of her job with the actions of her employers. While at work she was on her feet from 8 am and even shortened her lunch break so that she could get her work done faster. When asked what her employers did all day, she bluntly explained that they don't do anything. "They just play. They only go shopping. They go shopping and then they sit down and watch tv."[538] M1 also saw American women as lazy noting that many lie down all day and do nothing.[539] Many maids felt that American women should be doing something more productive during the day. They viewed them as idle and slothful and could not understand how they wasted the day away.

M1 also considered American wives to be selfish at times. She saw the way that many wives would go out at night and have fun when their husbands were deployed to Vietnam and considered this behavior to be unacceptable. She recalled that one of her first employers got a divorce due to this issue. While the husband was deployed, the wife frequently went out to dances at the Officer's Mess Hall and to the beach. She even took M1 along with her at times. While M1 refused to dance at the parties because she was married and had three children, the wife enjoyed dancing and frequented these events. Once her husband returned, he found out about these activities and the two ended up divorcing. Although M1 felt sorry for the wife, as she considered the husband to be too proud and rather unfriendly because he never greeted people and always simply read the newspaper, she felt that the wife had also made selfish choices. She should not have been having so much fun without her husband.[540] M1, along with other maids, judged and rejected certain behaviors of their American employers.

Personal Agency during Employment

Memories of World War II also shaped the way that some maids worked. Prior to and during the war, Americans and Okinawans were enemies. The end of the war did not signify a complete end to these feelings. Especially as the Battle of Okinawa drastically altered every aspect of Okinawa, many Okinawan women who worked as maids carried these memories into their jobs. M1 was 17 years old during the Battle of Okinawa. From a young age, she had been taught to mistrust and hate Americans. At her school in Nakagusuku Village, she recalled practicing attacking straw models of Americans with bamboo poles as part of her educational activities. Later, during the Battle of Okinawa, M1 had a particularly devastating experience. She, with her family, moved from Nakagusuku Village southward to Kyan Misaki (currently in Itoman City), but they were not able to escape the Battle. M1, a petite woman less than 150 centimeters tall, who was only 17 at the time, carried her injured father on her back for three days while the family evacuated southward. She eventually had to leave him. By the end of the battle, M1 had lost both her parents and her siblings. After the war she viewed Americans with animosity as they were the cause of incalculable tragedies. Yet, due to economic circumstances M1 was thrust into working as a maid for her enemies.

These experiences greatly shaped the way M1 viewed her employers. Particularly after the war M1 felt hostility to all Americans, including her employers. She felt that she would not personally surrender to the Americans and that even though Japan lost the war, she and in turn, all Japanese people, still had value. They were not simply losers. She did not allow her life to be defined by Japan's loss in the war. Additionally, M1 naturally felt bitterness and indignation towards the American people as they were the cause of the death of so many of her family members and the devastation of the life that she lived pre-war. She lost her adolescence and was

forced to become an adult without the support of her parents at too young of an age due to the war.

M1 couldn't trust her employers and looked at their actions suspiciously. One day M1's employer started measuring the distance between her shoulders and M1 immediately became upset. She couldn't communicate well with her employer in English and memories of the war and the death of her parents and siblings came flooding back to her. She thought, "These damned Americans" and was repulsed by her employer's actions as she assumed that her employer was going to harm her.[541] Sensing M1's distress, the wife of her employer went to the house next door to bring over their maid to translate for M1. The neighbor maid told her that her employer simply wanted to know approximately what size M1 was because had a daughter of a similar age. He was wondering if M1 would fit some of the daughter's hand-me-down clothing. M1 realized that she was not in danger and apologized for her reaction. She also accepted the clothing with appreciation. However, these types of experiences caused M1 to re-evaluate her work as a maid. The combination of extreme mistrust and anger towards Americans, along with an inability to effectively communicate with her employers led M1 to choose to exclusively work for couples where the husband was American, and the wife was Japanese. Since in her work she primarily dealt with wives, she felt much more comfortable and had much more agency in this type of situation.

Working for a Japanese employer brought along its own set of complexities and was therefore at that time not a particularly popular subsection of American military-related-personnel to work for. Japanese wives were seen as stricter and unwilling to ignore mistakes. If a maid made an error while working in an English-speaking American home, they were often easily forgiven. Maids were assumed to have not understood the directions properly or were thought to have been unfamiliar with the skill. However, with a Japanese speaking employer, since they could communicate in the Japanese language, the Okinawan maid was expected to

follow all directions precisely and if a mistake was made immediately confess. Maids working for Japanese employers were also expected to use formal Japanese when speaking to their employer, so they needed to be quite careful with their language. They also had to use Japanese customs, and M1 recalled how she needed to make a deep bow to her employer. However, for M1, these difficulties did not matter. She actively sought out employment in the homes of Japanese women married to American men because she could effectively communicate with them and not have to work in constant reminder of the pain caused by and her hostility towards Americans.[542] She asserted control over her working situation.

Other maids demonstrated agency over work-related choices by quitting when they found problems with their employment. M6 quit working as a maid for a family living on Sukiran after only one and a half months of employment in 1961. While her formal military records state the reason for leaving this position as, "Due to home condition,"[543] M6 explained that she got a bad feeling from the husband. One day, while the wife was out shopping, M6 was left alone with the husband and the children in the house. The husband started going around to all the doors and locking them. M6 could understand locking the front door, but she could not understand why he would need to lock other doors such as the bathroom door. She asked him why he was doing it and he said it was to prevent burglars from entering the home. M6 knew this was a lie. She saw this odd behavior and felt very uncomfortable due to it. In her maid training course, she was taught that if the household situation was upsetting for any reason she should quit. She took this suggestion to heart and resigned from the household in Sukiran. A month and a half later M6 was able to find another employer in the Awase Family Housing area that was much more to her liking. She worked for this family for four years and three months and only quit when she became pregnant with her second child.[544]

M5 also had similar memories of quitting jobs when she did not get along with her employers. M5 noted, starting in the late 1950s through the 1960s, there were so many American

families who wanted a maid, especially a live-in maid, that maids had some control over their workplaces. They did not need to remain in a difficult household and instead could quit their job and quickly find a new one. Finding a new job was as simple as stopping by the labor office in front of Kadena Air Base's Gate 2 in Koza (currently Okinawa City). Prospective maids could ask for a new position and they would be given other options.[545] In fact, Americans even made up a term to use for maids who shifted from job to job in hopes of bettering their salary and working conditions, calling these maids "butterflies."[546] This was considered an insult for Okinawan women working as maids but, in fact, was quite hypocritical in that many American employers would fire their maids for little to no reason. However, it can be understood that as the derogatory term "butterfly" existed and was commonly used by American employers to describe certain maids, that many Okinawan women must have had enough power in their employment that they could quit working in situations that were not beneficial to themselves. They had some control of their employment and could make changes when necessary.

Maids also expressed agency through their work in determining that their way of housekeeping was superior to the one suggested by their employer. In a story included in Marian Chapple Merritt's book, *Is Like Typhoon*, one day an employer asked her maid to defrost the refrigerator at night because it took three hours to finish the task. However, the maid did not wait until night and started defrosting it immediately using a screwdriver and a knife to chip away at the ice. When asked what she was doing she said, "Okusan say three hours. I say thirty minutes."[547] and continued to defrost the refrigerator in her own way, even though it was not done in the requested manner. Even when faced with a non-familiar technology such as a refrigerator or a new task such as defrosting the refrigerator, the maid used her previous experiences to shape her choices. She actively ignored her employer's words and had the confidence to use her own method.

A maid identified as I, who worked as a maid for various families for almost three years in the early to mid 1950s, also demonstrated agency in her workplace through teaching her employer how to cook rice. When I started working, she noticed the way that Americans cooked rice was incorrect. Americans would not first wash the rice but simply put the rice in a pot with water to boil it. Mid-boil they would then take the rice off the stove, pour out the extra water, wash the rice and then return it to the stove and let the remaining water boil off. I was shocked by this decided and to tell her employer that the way she cooked rice was incorrect. I advised her employer, "If you do this [cook rice in this manner], your rice won't taste good."[548] However, beyond simply correcting her, which would have taken a lot of courage in itself, I also eventually taught her employer how to cook rice in the proper manner to make it taste better. She had the confidence to correct her employer's errors and also teach her how to improve her rice cooking skills.

These examples show how maids were not always simply passive employees who did exactly what their employers requested. Instead, at times maids practiced decision making to choose what they deemed were the most effective methods. Even though Okinawan maids were viewed as holding a lower status than their American employers they still had the agency to make choices regarding their work, even choices that went against their employers' requests or point out mistakes made by their employers.

Maids as Seen as an Admirable Position

Through the process of transculturation maids became comparatively knowledgeable regarding American culture and this was seen as separating maids from their Okinawan peers. An example of this perceived difference can be seen in a passage from Tatsuhiro Ōshiro's novel, *Cocktail Party*. Although a piece of fiction, the story is reflective of the attitudes of Okinawans

during the period of American control. In the opening pages of the book the unnamed protagonist shares a previous experience he had with the military bases on Okinawa. After sneaking into the military base, the protagonist finds himself completely lost. He begins to panic because of the situation and asks one of the Okinawan maids that he encounters working there for directions on how to leave the base. In this passage the protagonist's anxiety is contrasted with the stoicism of the maid regarding being on base. The protagonist explains, "She showed me the way impassively. Her placid, self-possessed air gave the impression she was someone who belonged here and made me feel a vast distance between us."[549] Although both characters are Okinawa, the woman's job as a maid for Americans separates her from the rest of the Okinawan population. She knew American culture and belonged on the base in a way that the protagonist, and other non-maid Okinawans did not. From this passage one can begin to understand how among their Okinawan peers, Okinawan maids were viewed as being in a special situation. Due to their knowledge, comfort with and assimilation of aspects of American culture through the transculturation process maids were seen as possessing the power to belong on the military bases.

This assimilation of American culture led many Okinawans to admire maids' knowledge and working situations. When interviewing former maid M7, her best friend listened in and occasionally contributed to the conversation. M7's friend noted how, in a way, she was envious of M7's experiences as a maid. She considered working as a maid like a homestay where M7 was able to learn about cultures different from Japan. She stated, "You could see many things. After all, behaviors at the homes [of the Americans] and so on were different from the Japanese, right?"[550] While M7's friend went to Tokyo for university, she felt that M7 had a better experience due to her living and working for American families as a maid. While she did acknowledge that there were aspects of M7's job that were difficult, overall, she saw it as a positive and enviable experience. She told M7, "The job was tough, but you learned a lot and

you can speak English."[551] To M7's friend, these aspects of the work made all the difficulties worthwhile. It is in this way that many Okinawans admired maids' working experiences and saw the job as an enviable position. This lifted the status of a maid among their peers as they were seen as possessing unique understanding and knowledge from their job. Transculturation and the knowledge gained through this process gave maids power and influence among their Okinawan peers.

In the contact zone of Okinawa, maids frequently "me[e]t, clash[ed] and grapple[d]"[552] with a wide variety of American objects and ideas, along with the English language, through their employment. Through the process of transculturation, they blended aspects of American culture into their own lives. As they were exposed to a wide variety of ideas and influences from Americans, many maids accepted some of these perspectives and adapted them to fit into their own lives and culture. Alternatively, they rejected other aspects of American culture deeming their Okinawan ways to be better and found ways to express their agency throughout their employment. Through the process of transculturation, maids used personal agency to choose parts of American culture to both accept and reject, creating their own unique Okinawa maid sub-culture. Due to this process maids were comparatively knowledgeable regarding American culture and were often admired by Okinawan peers for this knowledge.

Maids as Okinawan Cultural Ambassadors

When reflecting upon the contact zone of Okinawa, much emphasis is usually placed upon how Americans influenced Okinawans. However, while on a smaller scale, this process of influence also took place from Okinawans to Americans. Maids, who were viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, took a leading role in this process. In general, most Americans living in Okinawa between the years of 1945 and 1972, had little knowledge of the Okinawan people and

their beliefs, culture, or history. Maids were often some of the only contact Americans had with the local community. Therefore, these experiences between American employers and their Okinawan maids played an overwhelmingly large role in shaping Americans' understanding and interpretation of Okinawa and its culture. Through these relationships maids played a key part in both humanizing Okinawans to the American population and enhancing American's understanding of the culture and history of Okinawa. Maids became cultural ambassadors for Okinawa and the information they shared with their former employers still shapes the ways that many former American residents of Okinawa view the island to this day. As the Mayor of Okinawa City noted in a 1960 speech at the first Koza Maid School graduation ceremony, "You stand at the forefront of Ryukyu-American friendship. Therefore, through your work with sincerity, I would like you to assume this important duty."[553] The knowledge they shared demonstrates the agency and often-ignored power they held as maids.

Maids as a Humanizing Force

For most American military-related-personnel residing in Okinawa between the years of 1945 and 1972, their lives revolved around the American military bases. Many lived on the bases and for those who did not, they lived in American off-base communities surrounded by American neighbors. Most had very little contact with the local Okinawan population. J.B. is a perfect example of this typical situation. J.B. moved to Okinawa at the age of 10 in 1961 and lived on Camp Chinen, a CIA logistics base in southern Okinawa, until 1963. He recalled that for most of the families living at Camp Chinen "that our major contact with Okinawans was with our maids, gardeners and the staffs of the movie theatre and the bowling alley."[554] While he believes that the isolation of his base in part played a role in the lack of interaction with the local Okinawan community, he feels that this reaction was also a result of the era. As it was only 15

years after the end of World War II and many of the men who lived on the base had fought in the war, there just was not any desire to know more about the Okinawan culture and history that surrounded them. There were still lingering feelings of distrust and anger towards Japan, so his family, along with many of his neighbors, primarily stayed on Camp Chinen, in their American oasis. When they did leave the base, it was mainly to visit other bases such as Camp Sukiran (Foster) for the commissary or school, the Harborview Club, an Officers Club in Naha for dinner, or Okuma, a military controlled beach and recreation facility. While he now views these actions as "a huge missed opportunity," at that time, "it did not seem odd" to interact so little with the Okinawan community.[555] Therefore, his family's interactions with their maid, Kiyoko, played an inordinately large role in their understanding of Okinawa's culture.

Okinawan women working as maids were therefore frequently the only extended contact an American had with an Okinawan person. In turn, their relationship frequently played a significant role in shaping these Americans' opinions about and humanizing the Okinawan population. Through these relationships, their maids and to some respect, all Okinawan people, were no longer just foreigners who spoke a different language and had different customs. Instead, these Americans were able to understand their maids as humans with the same feelings that unite all of mankind.

Maids frequently spent a lot of time with the children of their employers, so often there was a distinct bond between these two groups. Joselle Gilvezan was a young child when she lived in Okinawa between 1965 and 1968. Gilvezan felt she had a special relationship with her family's maid, Sachiko. Sachiko had a cleft lip and was difficult to understand at times, but this did not bother Gilvezan or her sister. The two of them spent so much time with Sachiko that they were always able to comprehend her words and let people know what she said. When the family left Okinawa, they kept in touch with Sachiko for many years until one day their letter was returned.[556] Gilvezan was able to see beyond her maid's disability and accepted her. She did not

simply dismiss Sachiko as someone who had a disfigured face but took the time to communicate with her enough that she could understand Sachiko when she spoke. She had love for Sachiko and saw beyond her foreignness and her disability.

N.Y. also had a very close relationship with her maid, Chioko. N.Y. was born in Okinawa and lived at Camp Chinen until it closed in 1975 when she was 13 years old. Chioko played a significant role in Yamada's life. N.Y. never felt much affection from her parents but was able to find the outward signs of love she craved from her relationship with Chioko. N.Y. explained,

> I don't have many specific memories, it is more like snapshots in time. Chioko brings a flood of warm feelings, of being loved. My parents weren't the affectionate type, the only person I remember giving me hugs and always being happy to see me was Chioko. If I saw her at a friend's house, I remember running up to her to get hugged. To this day, I think of her and wonder what happened to her and wish I could have told her how much she meant to me and that I never forgot her.[557]

Chioko was able to provide the affection and attention that N.Y. craved. Chioko was more than just a woman who cleaned the family's house or even babysat the children. She instead provided the love and care that N.Y. needed as a child. Chioko played an extraordinarily large role in creating a secure childhood for N.Y.

American adult employers at times also formed relationships with their Okinawan maids beyond that of an employer and employee. P.C. had a friendly relationship with her maid, Tomiko. P.C. recalled that her favorite memories of Tomiko were when they frequently sat together on the countertops of P.C's kitchen eating the fried rice that Tomiko had made from leftovers in the refrigerator. P.C. would then teach Tomiko English words and in return Tomiko would teach P.C. Japanese words. However, it was a tragedy that further strengthened their relationship. In 1972 P.C.'s husband died in an airplane accident. P.C. had no relations in Okinawa other than her deceased husband, and it took about a week before her father could arrive in Okinawa. Tomiko, who only worked for P.C. three days a week, came every day during

that week to take care of P.C. and assist in any way possible. To this day Christiansen still feels thankful for the support of Tomiko during that time, noting that "I will always cherish her friendship."[558] Both women were able to see each other beyond their roles of employee and employer. Tomiko, who likely faced tragedy in her own life due to the Battle of Okinawa, stepped into the role of a family member to support P.C. during one of the worst times in her life. P.C. could also see the generosity and thoughtfulness of Tomiko's actions and still holds dear her actions and friendship to this day. An unthinkable event in P.C.'s life demonstrated the bond these two women shared.

Due to age differences between Okinawan maids and their American employers, there were also times when mother-daughter-like relationships developed between female employers and their young maids. An example of this was shared by J.B., who was only 10 when his family moved to Camp Chinen in 1961. Upon moving to Okinawa, the family hired a maid, Kiyoko, who was around 16 years old at the time. J.B.'s mother was 50 years old, so there were aspects of their interactions that appeared more like a mother-daughter relationship than an employee-employer relationship. Prior to working at J.B.'s home, Kiyoko had worked as a maid but had quit the profession to attend beauty school and become a hairdresser. However, due to her mother's death and the costs associated with the tomb, Kiyoko was forced to withdraw from her course and work as a maid again. When J.B.'s mother learned about this situation, she discussed it with her husband, and they arranged to pay for Kiyoko's beauty school coursework. Kiyoko worked a few days a week in J.B.'s home and attended beauty school on the other days. Kiyoko's beauty school learning was not limited to the classroom as Kiyoko frequently tested the new skills she learned, such as dying and cutting hair, on J.B.'s mother. J.B.'s mother truly cared for Kiyoko and was very happy to be able to support Kiyoko in reaching her dreams. By the time J.B.'s family left Okinawa, Kiyoko was able to graduate from beauty school and find work as a hairdresser. She no longer had to work as a maid and had the skill set to pursue her

passion.[559] J.B.'s mother was able to see Kiyoko as more than just her young maid. She took the time to understand Kiyoko's past and found a way to support Kiyoko in reaching her goals. J.B.'s mother's support extended beyond purely financial as she also let Kiyoko practice cutting and dyeing her hair. J.B.'s mother's relationship with Kiyoko allowed her to see Kiyoko as a human, not just as an Okinawan maid, with tragedies in the past and goals for the future, like any other American would have.

Experiences with maids helped Americans realize that, overall, they were not so different from the Okinawan people. Just like people all around the world, Okinawans suffered from losses and hardships but were also able to provide comfort and support when they saw others in times of troubles. These close relationships allowed American employers to see their Okinawan employees as humans with individual personalities, goals, and aspirations. In a situation in which otherwise many Americans may not have had any contact with the Okinawan people, maids, through their positions in American homes, helped Americans become more open to the Okinawan people and in turn aspects of Okinawan culture.

The Introduction of Okinawan Culture to Americans by their Maids

Food

Food was one of the first ways in which Okinawan culture found its way into American homes. While most maids did not cook as part of their job responsibilities, the sharing of food often was one of the easiest and most natural ways to share both Okinawan and American culture, particularly for those families who had live-in maids or maids that visited their homes daily. M3 worked as a maid for around 13 years between approximately 1947 and 1960. Due to her long experience as a maid, she frequently cooked for the families that she worked for. While most of the time she cooked American style foods, she did introduce Okinawa soba to her

employers. She made the soup stock from tuna and then bought Okinawa soba noodles to cook at her employer's home. With pride, M3 recalled how her employer became so excited when he walked into the door and smelled the soup cooking. He exclaimed "Today M3 made soba, yay!" while clapping his hands in joy.[560] M3 played a pivotal role in introducing Okinawan food to her employers. While a description of a tuna-based noodle soup may not have been particularly appetizing to an American at the time, the delicious smells that wafted through the home while it was cooking led her employers to try a new food and opened their hearts further to Okinawa and its culture.

Since the food traditions of Okinawans and Americans were quite different, some maids would cook their own meals for lunch instead of eating the American style food that was often provided by their employers. However, many of these maids were kind enough to share this food with their employers, particularly with the children, introducing them to new foods and flavors. Linda Gravitt, who lived on Kadena Air Base between 1963 and 1965 recalled that her family's maid, Sachiko, prepared her own lunch every day, sometimes bringing her own ingredients and other times using leftovers that were in the refrigerator. Gravitt fondly recalled that anytime that she was home while Sachiko ate lunch, Sachiko was kind enough to share some with her. Gravitt's favorite was fried rice, which she describes as "the best I ever had."[561] Sachiko opened Gravitt's eyes to a variety of cuisines outside the typical American palate.

This fried rice, which was often called Okinawan fried rice by the American population, is one of the most common food memories held by Americans from this era. L.J. lived in Okinawa from age 10 to 12, between 1962-1964, due to her father's contracting position with the Air Force. She remembers her family's relationship with their maid, F. Zukeran, in quite positive terms and highlighted the sharing of food between her family and Zukeran's family as a special memory she had of Okinawa. Although Zukeran did not cook for the family, she did teach some Okinawan style recipes to L.J.'s mother. L.J.'s absolute favorite dish taught by Zukeran was

Okinawan fried rice, which she still cooks to this day. She also noted that because "the fried rice is so special, I actually put a picture of it and the recipe on our Okinawan site[562] and had hundreds and hundreds of hits of people who missed it."[563] L.J.'s recipe consists of cold rice, eggs, spam, scallions, peanut oil, and soy sauce. The combination of new flavors, such as soy sauce and white sticky rice, which were not widely used as ingredients for Caucasian Americans at the time, and more familiar flavors such as eggs and scallions, used in a very different manner from traditional Caucasian American cooking styles, made for a both exotic and delectable meal. Zukeran's recipe is still cherished by L.J. to this day.

Another common food memory of those Americans who lived in Okinawa between 1945 and 1972 was sukiyaki. Susan Sparling, who came to Okinawa as a child military dependent twice, both in the 1950s and again from 1963 to 1965 recalled that her family primarily learned about Okinawan and Japanese dishes from their maids. While their maids did not share many traditional Okinawa dishes, "because what we had tried wasn't to our taste as children," they did teach Sparling's mother some Japanese style dishes, a family favorite being sukiyaki.[564] Another respondent, J.B. also remembered how his family's maid, Kiyoko, taught his mother how to make sukiyaki as a thank you for paying for her beauty school fees in 1963. Kiyoko's introduction of Japanese food, primarily sukiyaki, was his only experience with Japanese cuisine during his time in Okinawa. J.B. noted that his family did not eat at off base restaurants, and he recalls that there were "no local restaurants that American families went to" in his area, so Kiyoko's "cooking was the Japanese food I ate when I was there."[565] His maid, Kiyoko, along with many other maids, played a central role in introducing Okinawan and Japanese style foods and preparation methods to the American population in Okinawa.

Although these introductions were limited, and focused primarily on a few specific dishes, maids played an important role in introducing Japanese and Okinawan flavors to an American audience. When these Americans returned to the U.S., they continued to cook these

foods, helping to spread the popularization of Japanese foods beyond the Japanese American communities in the U.S. Sukiyaki, in fact, became the de facto "Japanese meal" in the 1960s, when many Caucasians who had spent time in Japan and Okinawa after the war, began to patronize Japanese restaurants asking specifically for this dish.[566] Additionally, many who lived in Okinawa during the period of American control, to this day, still frequent Asian grocery stores to find the proper ingredients, such as Japanese style rice or vegetables not regularly offered in American grocery stores, in order to cook these dishes and relive some of the happier memories of their time in Okinawa. This is all due to the introductions of these foods by the maids who worked for American military-related-personnel.

Language

Language was another primary method of cultural exchange between American employers and Okinawan maids. Most Americans came to Okinawa with absolutely no knowledge of the Japanese or Okinawan languages.[567] Therefore, the close contact between maids and their employers, especially for those maids who worked in family homes, was often the first and most extended contact these Americans had with these languages. Consequently, maids played a key role in sharing Japanese and Okinawan languages with Americans. As J.P., who lived in Okinawa between June 1971 and August 1973, recalled, "My Japanese was zero and her [our maid's] English was limited" so sometimes communication between the maid and the employer could be a challenge.[568]

As a result, maids working in American homes often were involved in language exchanges, with the teaching of English by the American and in return the teaching of Japanese or an Okinawan language by the Okinawan. P.C. moved to Okinawa with her husband in the early 1970s due to his job in the military as a flight navigator and she and her maid often shared language with each other. Her favorite memory of her maid, Tomiko, involved Tomiko making

fried rice with "whatever leftovers she found in our refrigerator." The two would then "sit up on the countertops, in my kitchen, and face each other. I taught her English words, and she taught me Japanese."[569] Marian Chapple Merritt, the founder of the Okinawa Maid School discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, and her family also wanted to know more about the languages in Okinawa. Although English was the default language at their home, at times, the Merritt family even requested to their maids that everyone speak to each other in *Uchināguchi*, the Okinawan language spoken primarily in the southern half of Okinawa, so that the family could practice the language.[570] Maids frequently were the primary source for sharing and teaching about Japanese and Okinawan languages with Americans.

Young American children, who often spent the most time with their maids, were frequently the most influenced by these language exchanges. Susan Sparling, who as a child lived in Okinawa on two separate occasions, remembered the sharing of languages between herself and her maids. She described, "Our maids taught us Japanese and we shared English. We'd each work on the two languages and enjoy the differences. It was great to see Japanese words and to be able to ask what they meant, and vice versa. I was always impressed that each person would continually practice their kanji to become more proficient in Japanese as well…such mutual admiration."[571] For some children, due to the amount of time they spent with their maid, Japanese or an Okinawan language became their primary language instead of English. Betty Jane Blalcok recalled, "Our Susieko was a good mother to our children. She had my oldest, Suzanne, speaking Okinawan, and I could not always understand what she wanted."[572] Blalcok's daughter, Suzanne Mooradian, also commented that as she was between the ages of 1-2 years when she lived in Okinawa she doesn't remember much, but she can still remember a song starting with the lyrics "Moshi moshi ano ne," along with her "manners and how to count."[573] The "moshi ano ne" song appears to have been frequently taught to American children by their maids as others also added that they too had memories of learning this song

from their maid. Due to the extended amount of time spent together, maids played an extraordinarily large role shaping children's introductions to the languages of Okinawa.

This language exchange sometimes extended beyond the maid-employer relationship, and included the family members of maids, particularly their children. Amy Stephenson, who lived in Okinawa between the years of 1968 and 1970 often spent the night at her maid, Kyoko's, home and played with her daughters using a combination of English and Japanese. Kyoko's daughters would, in turn, occasionally come to Stephenson's home and Stephenson's mother would babysit them, and they would attend base events, such as the Kadena carnival together.[574] Another example of this can be seen in L.J.'s experiences. F. Zukeran, the maid who worked for Joyce's family, was a widow with five children and lived very close to Joyce's home. Zukeran's oldest daughter, Masako, who was close in age to L.J., would often come over to L.J.'s home and they would play together. L.J. shared American language and culture through American tv shows and in turn Masako shared various aspects of Japanese language and culture. L.J. reminisced, "Her oldest daughter Masako would come over and play with me and she loved watching the American TV shows that were broadcast on the military channel. We got to see the Ed Sullivan show with the Beatles. Masako taught me Origami, how to use a Soroban, and to speak Japanese."[575] These encounters and language exchanges were made possible by the relationships that maids formed with their employers.

Through these language exchanges, led by maids, many Americans were able to broaden their understanding of the world around them. Although very few of these Americans can still use the language they were taught, this exchange provided an opportunity for them to learn more about Okinawa and view their maids in a new light. While conversations in English between a maid and her employer would give the employer, a native English speaker, the upper hand in conversation, the teaching of Japanese or an Okinawan language made the maid the topic expert, providing her with more power and authority. Even though her English may not have been

perfect, through Japanese or Okinawan language lessons, Americans were able to view their maids on a more equal footing and see that they were intelligent people able to communicate effectively in their own language. These language lessons could be brought back to the U.S. in that they gave these Americans more of a sense of empathy and compassion towards immigrants and those whose native language was not English. They understood the difficulty of learning a second language firsthand and could see the value of the person beyond their struggles with expressing themselves clearly in the English language.

History and Culture

American military-related-personnel lived in Okinawa, but there was a huge disconnect between their world and the world of the Okinawans. Americans could not speak the language and knew little of the history or culture of Okinawa. Even though they lived in Okinawa, they really lived in an American oasis in Okinawa, complete with most of the comforts and norms they found in the U.S. However, some Americans were curious about Okinawan culture and history that surrounded them, and Okinawan maids would frequently become the source for answers. For example, in the Christmas 1958 edition of the *Spark and Quill*, a magazine published by the U.S. Naval Security Group Activity (USNSGA) on Marine Corps Air Station Futenma, an unnamed author of an article on the history and common practices associated with Okinawan tombs used his maid as a source of information to research the topic. Describing her as "the handiest source of information," she provided firsthand knowledge regarding which family members would be interred in a tomb and the practice of washing the bones of the dead.[576] Her explanations were passed on to other Americans through the magazine, which spread her teachings far and wide.

This sharing of knowledge could go beyond a simple collection of facts and instead change Americans' perceptions of Okinawa's history and culture. Chuck Barrows lived in

Okinawa between 1951 and 1953 and his family employed three maids while living on Kadena Air Base. One of the maids, Tomiko, who was around 25 at the time of her employment, spoke English quite well and shared her memories of the Battle of Okinawa with Barrows, who was a child at that time. Nearly 70 years later, he still remembers her descriptions of how, "there were gray ships everywhere, more ships that we had ever seen."[577] These descriptions of the Battle of Okinawa would have been in stark contrast to the way Americans learned about and understood the Battle. Her stories placed the Okinawan experience in a much more central role than the way that American history told stories of the same event and helped Barrows to realize how devastating the war was to the Okinawan civilians on the island.

Maids also played a role in forcing Americans to face their own cultural biases. During *Kyūōbon* season, an annual holiday which commemorates deceased ancestors, Marian Chapple Merritt asked her maid what her personal beliefs were regarding the spirits of her departed relatives. This discussion led to an exchange on the burial practices of Okinawans. Merritt expressed her aversion to the Okinawan practice of leaving corpses in tombs and cleaning them afterwards, but Chiyoko, her maid, let her know that she felt American burial practices were instead foul. She wrote, "Thinking about the cleaning of the bones, I said to the maid that I thought their manner of disposing of the bodies was not so good and she said with a shudder, "Oh, Okusan, in America I hear you just dig a hole and put your people in it. I think that is very horrible." When I stopped to think of it, I had to agree that she had a good point there."[578] Through this discussion with her maid Merritt is able to see her own biases when discussing burial traditions. All practices related to death have a "horrible" aspect to them and it is because Merritt could talk about them with Chiyoko that she was able to understand the frightful aspects of this American tradition. Through this discussion, Chiyoko was instrumental in getting Merritt to look at her own culture objectively and showing her the similarities between both cultures.

Experiencing Okinawa

Maids also played a significant role in getting Americans out of the military bases and in experiencing a more authentic version of Okinawa. By inviting employers to personal events or their homes for a variety of reasons, maids played a key part in creating a deeper understanding of Okinawan traditions and culture for Americans. One of the most common reasons for an invitation to an Okinawan home was the celebration of a maid's marriage. Peggy Wickless, who lived in Okinawa between 1967 and 1970, remembered that her mother and their maid, Chiyoko, had a very close relationship, such that her mother was invited to Chiyoko's wedding.[579] Cynde Sears, who lived in Okinawa between the ages of 3 and 8 from 1960 to 1965, recalled that her entire family was invited to her maid, Misako's, home to celebrate Misako's wedding. As she was very young at the time, she didn't remember many details about the wedding itself, but she still remembers the shape of the home and the fact that the family kept chickens and pigs.[580]

M6's employer also attended her wedding. It was actually M6's employer, who initiated the conversation about the wedding. When she heard that M6 would be getting married, she asked her if she could be a guest. Her employer had been very curious about wedding traditions in Okinawa, so M6 provided her with the opportunity to experience this aspect of Okinawan culture. M6's employer, along with her employer's friend and the friend's maid attended the wedding. The friend's maid was quite skilled at English, so she acted as a cultural interpreter for the two American women during the event.[581]

In looking at a formal picture from M6's wedding one can understand that the two American women took pains to assimilate to Okinawan culture. Prior to the women attending the wedding M6 had been concerned about how the women would sit. There were no chairs at the celebration, and everyone was expected to sit on tatami mats. However, upon looking at the photograph, one can see that both American women sat in the *seiza* (kneeling) position, the formal way of sitting on the ground in Okinawa. M6 is sure that neither of the women had

previously had experience sitting in seiza, but they were able to recognize the cultural norms of Okinawa and adapt to them. Additionally, instead of the bright colors that Americans typically wore to weddings, both women wore more sedate colors, with the employer's friend even wearing a black dress. In America it is rare to wear black to a wedding, as it is seen as a color for funerals, so she must have consulted with an Okinawan, most likely her maid (who also attended the wedding) to determine the proper type of dress for this event. The dresses were also quite conservative, covering the arms and cleavage, showing that, again, the women were aware of the cultural differences in dress and respected them. Finally, looking at the photograph both the American women are not smiling. In an American wedding photograph, all attendees would be encouraged to have a large smile on their face, but these two women actively chose not to smile for the camera and match the expressions of the women around them. M6's wedding provided the American women an opportunity to experience Okinawan culture and with advice from the other maid, adjust their behaviors to better match the societal norms of Okinawa.

M4, who worked as a live-in maid in the 1950s, also invited her employers to a family celebration, her father's 85 birthday party. This provided the American family with an opportunity to become more familiar with Okinawan culture. Although M4 was not surprised that they attended the event, as she felt it was not uncommon for employers to visit the homes of their maids for dinners or special events at this time, she was amazed by the fact that her employers, who included a husband, wife and two sons, one in high school and the other in junior high school, ate the food that was served at the party. All the food was traditional Okinawan style food, which M4 had assumed the family would not enjoy, yet they willingly ate everything offered to them. As a birthday present for her father, M4's employers brought a large carton of cigarettes and a lot of candy to share with everyone.[582] Through this opportunity created by M4, the American family was able to learn more about birthday celebrations in

Okinawa along with related food traditions. They became more knowledgeable about Okinawa because of M4's introduction.

In other instances, maids had their employers over to their homes simply out of friendship. M3, who worked as a maid for approximately 13 years, had at least three of her employers over to eat dinner during her time working as a maid.[583] Through these kind gestures, her employers were able to learn much more about Okinawan culture. They sat on the floor and were surrounded by the sliding doors common in Okinawan homes. They ate Okinawan dishes and used dishware typically found in an Okinawan home. They met M3's family and came to further comprehend aspects of Okinawa home life. They could better understand Okinawa based upon these experiences graciously offered by M3, their maid. As M3 was the only Okinawan that many of her employers had any type of extended relationship with, she played an important role in sharing Okinawa.

Children were also frequently taken home with their maids, where they had homestay experiences. Margie Peaster lived in Okinawa between the years of 1961 and 1970. Her father was originally in the Army but retired and became a missionary in Okinawa. Her family employed several maids, and she was able to spend time in many of their homes. She described, "When I went to their villages, we rode the bus. That was an experience in itself. The villages were the traditional Okinawan home with the step up and the sliding doors, of course all of natural materials. Shoes off was a given as we entered. I miss the miso soup, sesame seeds and rock candy. All of the family treated me wonderful even though I couldn't speak their language."[584] These visits provided American children with firsthand cultural, food, and language exchange opportunities that they most likely would not have had except for the introduction by their family's maid. It opened their eyes to the world around them and helped them to realize that although Okinawan culture was different from their own, there was value to it.

Although maids were typically viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, through the sharing of knowledge, many maids held power in their relationships with their American employers. Maids were viewed as experts in Okinawan language, culture, and history by their American employers, making Americans willing to follow their maids' directions and teachings about Okinawa. Instead of simply being ladies who cleaned, Americans recognized that their maids knew more about Okinawa than them and sought out their maids to learn more, giving maids power through their expert knowledge on Okinawa. The communication between maids and their employers along with the information passed on by maids significantly influenced Americans' perceptions of Okinawan people and understanding of Okinawa and its culture.

Maids played an incredibly important role in cultural exchange between Americans and Okinawans. With many Americans rarely leaving the military bases and having little contact with the average Okinawan, maids were frequently one of the few groups of people who had close contact with the American military-related-population between the years of 1945-1972. This close contact led to the transmission of Okinawan culture from Okinawan maid to their American employers, making the position of a maid in Okinawa a much more encompassing job than simply one who cleans houses. She often became the face of Okinawa, humanizing the Okinawan population, and represented both the good and bad parts of Okinawa to the Americans that employed her. She also taught her American employers about Okinawa's history and culture, greatly enriching their understanding of the islands. For a position frequently viewed as subservient to U.S. rule, maids actually shared a great amount of knowledge and were powerful in their roles as cultural ambassadors. The maids of Okinawa were truly pioneers in spreading knowledge about Okinawa and its history and culture to the people of America.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Much of the history of post-war Okinawa has focused on the politics of the relationships between Okinawa, the U.S. and Japan. Formal agreements, labor union actions, protests, strikes, and governmental actions dominate the history of American controlled Okinawa. While understanding these events is incredibly important to comprehending the greater historical movements of the period, this political focus leaves gaps in the history, particularly when looking at the experiences of the average Okinawan. The history of Okinawan maids is a prime example of this void. During the 27 years of American control of Okinawa, tens of thousands of women worked as maids, yet their story largely went untold. Most people are aware that women worked as maids for American military-related-personnel, and they are viewed as an almost ubiquitous part of military bases in post-war Okinawa. However, little research has focused on these maids' experiences. Therefore, this study is important because it helps to not only fill that gap in scholarship and shed light upon not only the struggles maids faced but also share the ways that Okinawan maids found to empower themselves and have personal agency in their workplaces.

Through an analysis of the experiences of the Okinawan women who worked as maids for American military-related-personnel between 1945 and 1972, this dissertation has demonstrated that maids were not simply victims of their circumstances. While maids did face a wide variety of hardships in their work, these struggles do not fully define their experience. Beyond the difficulties, maids found ways to empower themselves through educational and cross-cultural opportunities, improving their lives. They were strong and utilized available resources to make the best they could out of a tough situation.

As discussed in chapter three, Okinawan maids did experience a wide variety of hardships in their jobs. Unprotected by workers' rights legislation, maids' working conditions were subject to their employers' whim. This frequently resulted in low salaries, long working hours, and a lack of other common workers' rights such as sick or vacation leave. Maids had no job security and could be fired for no reason at all. They were sexualized by their employers and some even faced bodily harm in their workplaces. There was little to envy in the working conditions of Okinawa's maids.

However, these experiences alone do not encapsulate the entirety of Okinawa's maids' experiences. As shown in chapter four, maids utilized the wide variety of formal and informal training opportunities available to improve their lives. Through training Okinawan women became more proficient at their work. They mastered skills that were unfamiliar to most Okinawans at the time, improving their job capabilities and introducing new skill sets and technologies to Okinawan homes. This knowledge and practice of new skills helped to improve the overall image of a maid in Okinawa, from that of a servant to instead a woman with a particular expertise working hard to support her family. Finally, Okinawan women were able to utilize and transfer the skills they learned as maids into better paying professions. Maids empowered themselves through educational training to create better and brighter futures.

Furthermore, through their employment as maids, these Okinawan women were leaders in cultural exchange between Americans and Okinawans. As presented in chapter five, maids in the contact zone of Okinawa, through the process of transculturalization, utilized personal agency to actively absorb parts of American culture into their own lives while transforming or outright rejecting other aspects of the culture. Through this process maids became comparatively knowledgeable regarding American culture and were often admired by their Okinawan peers for this knowledge. Alternatively, and often ignored, maids also played an extremely important role in sharing Okinawan culture with American employers. As maids they were one of the few

Okinawans that most Americans met, maids were frequently a source of knowledge about Okinawa for their American employers. Due to these relationships, maids played a significant part in humanizing the Okinawan population and sharing information about Okinawan with Americans. Through these encounters, Americans became more open to learning about and experiencing Okinawa. Okinawan maids, who were viewed as subservient to the U.S. rule, played a significant role in actively sharing Okinawan history, language, and culture with Americans, demonstrating the often-unrecognized power they held in their relationships with their American employers.

Maids can be seen as a symbol of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Okinawan women in American controlled Okinawa. They were not only victims of poor paying jobs and violence but instead became contributing members of society who by practicing personal agency found ways to empower themselves even in difficult situations. They utilized education and cultural exchange to overcome the obstacles that came with their job and re-frame the image of women working as maids in Okinawa. Their stories deserve to be recorded in Okinawa's post-war history as an example of the strength of Okinawan women.

However, beyond their ingenuity and resourcefulness, most striking to me in speaking to former maids has been the bravery and strength of these women. Their situation must have been terrifying. They had to work in the homes of their former enemies, completing the manual labor that Americans didn't want to do themselves. They had to work using the English language and use tools and technologies that they had never seen before. There was no office or person to protect them and instead these women had to depend on their wit and will alone to succeed. There were so many barriers to success, yet without complaint these women did their jobs. They found ways to learn the skills necessary for their job and succeed in a foreign world. When they tell their stories there is not any hostility or anger. They acknowledge the numerous difficulties they faced but are also able to share aspects of their work that they found beneficial. They did

not have hatred towards Americans and could objectively look at each of their employers and see the good and bad in each one of them. These women were placed in a frightening position but persevered. Although the women I interviewed were in their 80s and 90s, I could still feel their inner strength radiating out and I hope that I can persevere through difficulties in my life in the same way they did.

As the years go by more and more of the women who worked as maids pass away and more of the history of this fascinating period disappears. As there are still only a few texts that examine the history of maids in Okinawa, there is still much room for research. I hope that others can continue to interview maids to preserve their stories. I am a native speaker of English and while I have a high level of Japanese, I believe that the research would benefit from further interviews with maids by a Japanese native speaker who also has a strong knowledge of a *shima kutuba*, an Okinawan language. When I listened to my interview tapes, I realized how, at times, due to gaps in my Japanese, I missed perfect opportunities to ask more questions and learn more about these women's experiences. Additionally, many of the women felt more comfortable speaking in a shima kutuba and would switch between shima kutuba and Japanese freely. However, as I cannot understand any shima kutuba, I missed out on valuable insights and chances to ask follow-up questions. Improved language proficiency on my part could have created even more dynamic interviews.

I also wonder how being a white American shaped my interviews. All the women were incredibly gracious to me and shared numerous insights regarding their experiences as maids. However, I sometimes questioned if they held back on sharing some of the more difficult experiences with their employers because of me. Even though they knew I was married to an Okinawan and not associated with the military, I wondered if my face was too powerful of a reminder of the past; that they felt I would get angry if they shared negative aspects of their experiences as maids or with Americans. I know every single one of those women faced a wide

variety of hardships while working as a maid, but many of them easily swept over those memories and instead focused on the positive and entertaining aspects of their jobs. Therefore, I hope that in the near future this interview process can be continued by an Okinawan woman familiar with a shima kutuba so that we can record an even richer history of this period.

Time is not on our side for this research. Unfortunately, my research opportunities were hampered by COVID-19 and the restrictions associated with them. As most former maids are in their 80s and 90s, after April of 2020, it was incredibly difficult to find and conduct interviews with them. Right before the shutdown I had secured a meeting with three women who had worked as maids. It was set to take place the first week of April in 2020. Unfortunately, this interview had to be canceled and I was never able to revisit the opportunity. After April of 2020, many of the channels that I would have typically gone through to locate maids were shut down for extended periods of time, which significantly slowed down the interview process. Additionally, after society started to re-open, when I was able to identify a former maid, I still felt wary to meet with them. I wanted my interview subjects to feel comfortable meeting with me and not pressured into an interview if they were concerned about COVID-19. I also wanted to ensure they were healthy and did not want to possibly give them COVID-19 through meeting. It was incredibly difficult to balance this need for interviews with the safety and practical aspects associated with them.

I sincerely hope that research into the Okinawan women who worked as maids during the period of American control continues. Learning more about this history and the stories of these women, will allow future generations to not only see the bravery of this generation but also how they persevered working in an unknown world. Maids' experiences shed light on not only labor and cultural history of post-war Okinawa but can also let us see the extraordinary characters, lives and histories of these women hidden in what seems like the ordinary.

[1] Based upon a survey of the local newspapers, *Okinawa Times*, *Uruma Shimpō* and *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, between 1950 and 1972.
[2] Okinawa Base Command, *Information Pamphlet for Dependents* (Okinawa: n.p., 1946), 3.
[3] First Air Division, *Sweatin' Okinawa* (Okinawa: n.p., 1948), 4.
[4] The "contact zone" is a concept developed by Mary Louise Pratt which is defined as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today." Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 34, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25595469.
[5] The theory of transculturation was first developed by Fernando Ortiz, a Cuban sociologist in the 1940s. Pratt describes it as a process in which subordinated groups accept parts of and create culture based upon the dominant group. Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," 36.
[6] Tomohisa Saso, "Beigun Tōchika Okinawa Meido Kenkyū," *Nihon Oraru Hisutori Kenkyū* 16 (December 2020): 127-128, 143-144.
[7] Saso, "Beigun Tōchika Okinawa Meido Kenkyū," 128, 144-145.
[8] Arnold G. Fisch, Jr., *Military Government in the Ryukyu Islands*, *1945-1950* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987), 15-16, https://history.army.mil/html/books/030/30-11-1/CMH_Pub_30-11-1.pdf.
[9] Fisch, *Military Government,* 3.
[10] Masahide Ota, *This was the Battle of Okinawa* (Haebaru, Okinawa: Naha Shuppan Sha, 1981), 82-83.
[11] Fisch, *Military Government*, 16.
[12] Instrument of Surrender, September 2, 1945, Instruments of Japan Surrender, September 1945-September 1945, The U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C., https://catalog.archives.gov/id/1752336.
[13] Fisch, *Military Government*, 74-75.
[14] Organization and Operating Procedure for Military Government, Okinawa, September 9, 1945, Naval Military Government Directive 1945 No.1 – No. 83, RDAE000001, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/RDAP000001/index.html?title=海軍軍政府指令%2FNaval%20Military%20Government%20Directive%201945年%E3%80%80第001号～第083号&page=19.
[15] "Okinawa Sen Q&A, Q2," Heiwa Gakushū, Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, accessed April 22, 2020, http://www.peace-museum.okinawa.jp/heiwagakusyu/kyozai/qa/q2.html.
[16] "Okinawa Sen Q&A, Q3," Heiwa Gakushū, Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, accessed April 27, 2020, http://www.peace-museum.okinawa.jp/heiwagakusyu/kyozai/qa/q3.html.
[17] Fisch, *Military Government*, 50.
[18] Fisch, 47, 50.
[19] Okinawa Ginowan Shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ginowan Sengo no Hajimari (dai 2 han)* (Ginowan, Okinawa: Okinawa Ken Ginowan Shi Kyōiku Iinkai Bunkaka, 2016), 9.
[20] Fisch, *Military Government*, 53.
[21] Okinawa Ginowan Shi, *Ginowan Sengo no Hajimari*, 6.
[22] Fisch, *Military Government*, 53-54.
[23] Fisch, 52.
[24] Directive Number 27, October 18, 1945, Naval Military Government Directive 1945 No. 1 – No. 83, RDAE000001, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/RDAP000001/index.html?title=海軍軍政府指令%2FNaval%20Military%20Government%20Directive%201945年%E3%80%80第001号～第083号&page=76.
[25] Daniel D. Karasik, "Okinawa: A Problem in Administration and Reconstruction," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (May 1948): 257, https://doi.org/10.2307/2048847.
[26] Karasik, "Okinawa: A Problem in Administration," 257.
[27] "Kokusei Chōsa," Okinawa Ken Kikakubu Tōkeika Jinkō Shakai Tōkeihan, accessed May 25, 2021, https://www.pref.okinawa.jp/toukeika/pc/chp/chp_index.html.
[28] Public Welfare, July-November 1946, Summation of United States Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Part IV Social, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD, https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/ext/dw/22210530RX1/PDF/22210530RX1.pdf.
[29] Fisch, *Military Government*, 91.
[30] Fisch, 126.
[31] Minoru Hiroyama, "Sengo no Hanagata Shokugyō toshite no "Meido" ni tsuite," *Ayamiya* 4 (March 1996): 1.
[32] Okinawa Ginowan Shi, *Ginowan Sengo no Hajimari*, 10.
[33] Letter from Deputy Commander of the U.S. Naval Military Government, 1946, Summation No. 1 1945-1946, 0000025271, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[34] Fisch, *Military Government*, 78-79.

[35] U.S. Naval Military Government, "Report of Military Government Activities for Period from 1 April 1945 to 1 July 1946," in *Okinawa Ken Shi*, ed. Okinawa Ken Bunka Shinkōkai (Naha: Okinawa Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2000), 9:28-29.
[36] U.S. Naval Military Government, "Report of Military Government Activities," 29.
[37] Relief for the Naha People Residing Within Ginoza District – A Petition for, n.d., Tai Beikoku Minseifu Ōfuku Bunsho 1946 Nen Jyuryō Bunsho, RDAE006003,
Okinawa Prefectural Archives,
https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/R00165446B/index.html?title=対米国民政府往復文書%201946年%20受領文書%20&page=275.
[38] Relief for the Naha People, Tai Beikoku Minseifu, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[39] Atsushi Toriyama, "Fukkō e no Maishin," in *Sengo wo Tadoru*, ed. Naha Shi Reikishi Hakubutsukan (Naha: Ryukyu Shinpōsha, 2007), 3:93.
[40] Toriyama, "Fukkō e no Maishin," 94.
[41] Directive Number 34, October 26, 1945, Naval Military Government Directive 1945 No. 1 – No. 83, RDAE000001, Okinawa Prefectural Archives,
https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/RDAP000001/index.html?title=海軍軍政府指令%2FNaval%20Military%20Government%20Directive%201945年%E3%80%80第001号～第083号&page=85.
[42] Directive Number 69, December 1945, Naval Military Government Directive 1945 No. 1 – No. 83, RDAE000001, Okinawa Prefectural Archives,
https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/RDAP000001/index.html?title=海軍軍政府指令%2FNaval%20Military%20Government%20Directive%201945年%E3%80%80第001号～第083号&page=140.
[43] Hiroyama, "Sengo no Hanagata Shokugyō," 1-2.
[44] "Toriyama, "Fukkō e no Maishin," 94.
[45] Okinawa Ken Shōkō Rōdōbu, ed., *Okinawa Ken Rōdō Shi (1945-1955)* (Tokyo: Okinawa Prefecture, 2005), 1:646.
[46] Toriyama, "Fukkō e no Maishin," 93.
[47] Kikō Tomoyose, "Kanzume Shūsekijo no Hanchō," in *Naha Shi Shi Shiryōhen Dai 3 Maki 8, Shimin no Senji Sengo Taikenki 2*, ed. Naha Shi Kikakubu Shishi Henshūshitsu (Naha: Akatsuki Insatsusha, 1981), 8:100-101. Translation by author.
[48] Atsushi Toriyama, *Okinawa/Kichi Shakai no Kigen to Sōkoku: 1945-1956* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2013), 113.
[49] "Tsuki Duki Geraku Suru Kansho," Uruma Shimpō, December 23, 1949.
[50] Naha Shi Sōmubu Jyosei Shitsu, ed., *Naha Onna no Ashiato, Naha Jyoseishi (Sengo Hen)* (Naha: Ryūkyū Shimpō Sha Jigyōkyoku Shuppanbu, 2001), 70.
[51] Eishō Miyagi, *Okinawa Jyosei Shi* (Naha: Okinawa Times Sha, 1973), 267-274.
[52] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., *Naha Onna no Ashiato,* 72.
[53] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., 78.
[54] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., 78.
[55] U.S. Naval Military Government, "Report of Military Government Activities," 29.
[56] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., *Naha Onna no Ashiato,* 79.
[57] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., 80.
[58] Military Government Directive Number 48, Registration of Okinawan Labor, November 17, 1947, Military Government Directive, 1947, No. 1-No. 55, RDAE000009, Okinawa Prefectural Archives,
https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/RDAP000005/index.html?title=軍政府指令%2FMilitary%20Government%20Directive%201947年%E3%80%80第001号～第055号&page=556.
[59] Commander-in-Chief Far East, "Summation of United States Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, September-October 1947, Part III Economic" in *Okinawa Ken Shi*, ed. Okinawa Ken Bunka Shinkōkai (Naha: Okinawa Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2000), 9:409.; Commander-in-Chief Far East, "Summation of United States Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, November-December 1947, Part III Economic," in *Okinawa Ken Shi*, ed. Okinawa Ken Bunka Shinkōkai (Naha: Okinawa Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2000), 9:469.
[60] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., *Naha Onna no Ashiato,* 300-301.
[61] Takako Shimabukuro, "Beirikugun de Taipesuto no Yosei," in *Shomin ga Tsuduru Okinawa Sengo Seikatsushi*, ed. Okinawa Times Sha (Naha: Okinawa Times Sha, 1998), 89-90.
[62] Mitsuo Shimabukuro, "Gunsagyo wa Hawai," in *Shomin ga Tsuduru Okinawa Sengo Seikatsushi*, ed. Okinawa Times Sha (Naha: Okinawa Times Sha, 1998), 93.
[63] Letter to George L. P. Weaver, May 25, 1956, General Administrative Files, 1956 Labor (Conditions, Unions, Strikes, etc.), 0000000779, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[64] USCAR Labor Force Survey, June-July 1960, USCAR Labor Force Survey, 1960: Domestic, 0000069137, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.

[65] United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book September 1965* (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1965), 6-4.; United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book October 1970* (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1970), 6-4.
[66] Miyagi, *Okinawa Jyosei Shi*, 287.
[67] Miyagi, 288.
[68] Naha Shi Sōmubu, ed., *Naha Onna no Ashiato,* 79.
[69] Kenji Mizuta, "Nihon Shokuminchika no Taipei ni okeru Okinawa Shusshin Jyochū," *Shisen* 98 (July 2003): 39, http://hdl.handle.net/10112/00024957.
[70] Mizuta, "Nihon Shokuminchi," 45.
[71] Mizuta, 44.
[72] Mizuta, 43-44.
[73] Mizuta, 49.
[74] U.S. Const. amend. XIII § 1.
[75] Allyson Sherman Grossman, "Women in Domestic Work: Yesterday and Today," *Monthly Labor Review* 103, no. 8 (August 1980): 18.
[76] Grossman, "Women in Domestic Work," 17-18.
[77] Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 89.
[78] Grossman, "Women in Domestic Work," 17-18.
[79] George J. Stigler, *Domestic Servants in the United States, 1900-1940* (Massachusetts: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1946), 3-4, https://econpapers.repec.org/RePEc:nbr:nberbk:stig46-1.
[80] Isabel Wilkerson, "The Long-Lasting Legacy of the Great Migration," *Smithsonian Magazine*, September 2016, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/long-lasting-legacy-great-migration-180960118/.
[81] Stigler, *Domestic Servants in the United States*, 6.
[82] Grossman, "Women in Domestic Work," 18.
[83] Marian Chapple Merritt, *Is Like Typhoon: Okinawa and the Far East* (Tokyo: World News and Publishing Co., 1954), 47.
[84] While some maids did the laundry of their employers, in many cases, there were laundromat counters in each bachelor's quarters. Maids would gather the laundry of each employer and bring the laundry down to the laundromat counter. The laundromat employees would then take the laundry to their cleaning factor to be washed, dried, and pressed. Yoshiko Uema, "Kuriiningu Uketsuke," in *Kichi de Hataraku: Gunsagyōin no Sengo*, ed. Okinawa Times Chūbu Shisha Henshūbu (Naha: Okinawa Times Sha, 2013), 115.
[85] Matsukawa Haruko Yori Jijyō Kikitori, November 30, 1969, Gun Kankei Rishokusha (Meido tō) Jittai Chōsa Hōkokusho, 1970, 0000075042, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[86] "Officers and 1st Three Graders May Bring Families to Pacific," *The Daily Okinawan*, February 1, 1946, 1, https://mickmc.tripod.com/do-01Feb46.html.
[87] M2, in discussion with the author, February 2, 2020.
[88] Fort Buckner Women's Club, *Isle Tell* (Okinawa: n.p., 1966).
[89] Motoki Maehara, "Hausubooi kara Yusōki Seibishi," in *Kichi de Hataraku: Gunsagyōin no Sengo*, ed. Okinawa Times Chūbu Shisha Henshūbu (Naha: Okinawa Times Sha, 2013), 64-65.
[90] Directive Number 136, March 22, 1946, Naval Military Government Directive 1946 No. 84 - No. 156, RDAE000003, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data01/RDAP000002/index.html?title=海軍軍政府指令%2FNaval%20Military%20Government%20Directive%201946年%E3%80%80第084号～第156号&page=156.
[91] M7, in discussion with the author, March 1, 2020.
[92] Onaga Kimiyo Jiden Kankō Kai, ed., *Subarashi Kikana Jinsei: Onaga Kimiyo Jiden* (Naha: Onaga Kimiyo Jiden Kankō Kai, 1985), 181.
[93] Shin Ogasawara, "Ichikawa Fusae: Shōgai wo Danjyo Byōdō tō no Jitsugen ni Kaketa Fusen Undōka, Seijika," *Aichi Gakuin Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō*, no. 38 (March 2009): 13, https://agu.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=3587&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=55.
[94] For laundering a piece of clothing, Nakanishi received either one Camel or Lucky cigarette, which she then turned over to her parents, for her father to smoke and her mother to sell. According to Nakanishi, at this time one American made cigarette would sell for approximately 20 yen.
[95] Fujiko Nakanishi, "Hausumeido, Kuriningu Gyō," in *Shiroma Aza Shi Dai 2 Maki Shiroma no Rekishi*, ed. Shiroma Aza Shi Henshū Iinkai (Urasoe, Okinawa: Urasoe Shi Shiroma Jichikai, 2003), 474.
[96] Chihō Jichi Gyōsei Shihō Kenkyū Okinawa Ken Shūkai Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Chihō Jichi Gyōsei Shihō Kenkyū Hōkoku Shoshū Dai 1 Kai* (Okinawa: Chihō Jichi Gyōsei Shihō Kenkyū Okinawa Ken Shūkai Jikkō Iinkai, 1970), 56.
[97] M7, March 1, 2020.

[98] Chihō Jichi Gyōsei ed., *Chihō Jichi Gyōsei*, 56.
[99] M1, in discussion with the author, November 7, 2019.
[100] M5, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2019.
[101] "Teiki Kenkō Shindan mo Uku," *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, July 26, 1957, evening edition, 2.
[102] Although it did depend on where and when you were working as to the frequency of the use of base passes. M2 remembers that she received a base pass while working as a maid at the Awase Housing Area (modern day Hiyagon, Okinawa City) between approximately 1948 and 1951, but that there was little need to use it. There was no fence surrounding the housing area and people could come in and out as they pleased. She entered daily with a group of other young women who commuted to their jobs as maids. M2, March 1, 2020.
[103] "Teiki Kenkou Shindan," *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, 2.
[104] *The American Way of Housekeeping* (Tokyo: Far Eastern Literary Agency & Publishing House, 1948), 68.
[105] Instructions for Obtaining a Kadena AB Base Pass, n.d., Meido Tō no Rōdō Jitai Chōsa ni Kansuru Shorui 1969 Nen, 0000075021, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[106] Fort Buckner Women's Club, *Isle Tell*.
[107] Directive Number 136, Naval Military Government Directive 1946, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[108] USCAR Labor Force Survey Domestic Employees, July-August 1959, USCAR Labor Force Survey, 1959: Domestic; Appropriated Funds; Non-Appropriated Funds, JFIB (Licenses); Concessionaires; Contractors, 0000069137, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[109] USCAR Labor Force Survey, July-August 1959, USCAR Labor Force Survey, 1959, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.; USCAR Labor Force Survey, June-July 1960, USCAR Labor Force Survey, 1960, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.; USCAR Labor Force Survey, Domestics, October 1961, Programming Statistic Files, 1961: USCAR Labor Force Survey (Domestic), 000006909, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[110] Letter to George L. P. Weaver, General Administrative Files, 1956, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.; United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book November 1959* (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1959), 83.; United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book November 1962* (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1962), 112.; United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book September 1963* (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1963), 6-5.; U.S. Civil Administration, *Facts Book September 1965*, 6-4.; United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book October 1970* (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1970), 6-4.; United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, Ryukyu Islands Facts Book December 1971 (n.p.: In-House Reproduction, 1971), 7-3.
[111] Per the *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book September 1963* in 1959 there were 13,432 maids, in 1960 there were 15,103 maids and in 1961 there were 7,608 maids. Looking specifically at the 1960 numbers, when looking at the archival data for the Labor Force Surveys for maids in 1960, there were two sets of data from the Department of the Air Force showing that the Air Force employed both 1,102 maids and 2,208 maids in 1960. Both documents show exactly the same classifying information to include the date, employer, telephone number, name of person providing information, business location, and mailing address supplied. However, each sheet presents a different number of maids currently employed. The authors of the *Facts Book* chose to use both sets of data in their calculation of total maids. However, I have chosen to use only one number as it seems likely this was an accidental duplication of information. I believe that the 2,208 number was correct as it is more similar to the number of maids employed on Kadena Air Base in 1959 (2,811). Therefore, I have concluded that 13, 931 maids were employed during 1960.
[112] Natalie Sundberg, in discussion with the author, February 11, 2021.
[113] First Air Division, *Sweatin' Okinawa* (Okinawa: n.p., 1948), 4.
[114] Sundberg, February 11, 2021.
[115] Okinawa Ken Shōkō Rōdōbu, ed., *Okinawa Ken Rōdō Shi*, 657.
[116] Okinawa Ken Shōkō Rōdōbu, ed., 657. The book references an article from the May 23, 1954, edition of the *Okinawa Times*. However, there is no information on the title of the article, the page number or if the article came from the morning or evening edition. I have searched for this article in the May 23, 1954 edition of the *Okinawa Times* but have not been able to locate it. Therefore, I have quoted the book.
[117] Okinawa Ken Shōkō Rōdōbu, ed., 657.
[118] The exchange rate between B yen and dollars was as follows: April – August 1945: 10 B yen = $1; September 1945 – February 1947: 15 B yen = $1; March 1947 – April 1950: 50 B yen = $1; April 1950 – September 1958: 120 B yen = $1, 120 B yen = 360 yen. Masanao Yamauchi, *Sengo Okinawa Tsuka Hensen Shi* (Okinawa: Ryūkyū Shimpō Sha, 2004), 4.
[119] "Kyūryō ga Yasui," *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, December 10, 1957, evening edition, 3.
[120] Ruth Ann Keyso, *Women of Okinawa: Nine Voices from a Garrison Island* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 13.
[121] Keyso, *Women of Okinawa*, 13.
[122] "Meido mo Kyūjin Nan," *Okinawa Times*, October 26, 1961, morning edition, 6.

[123] "Meido mo Kyūjin," *Okinawa Times*, 6.
[124] "Naritegainai Meido," *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, September 7, 1961, morning edition, 6.
[125] A full-time employee was defined as someone who worked more than 34 hours a week.
[126] A part-time employee was defined as someone who worked 34 hours or less a week.
[127] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, ed., *Gun Kankei Meido no Jittai Chōsa Hōkoku 1970 Nen 4 Gatsu* (Okinawa: Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnen Ka, 1970), 9.
[128] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, *Gun Kankei Meido no Jittai*, 18.
[129] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, 20.
[130] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, 20.
[131] Gun Koyōin Kaado [Military Employee Card] Labor Card, 1946-1966, Gun Koyōin Kaado [Military Employee Card] Labor Card, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, http://www2.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/opa/OPA401_RESULT_SIMPLE.aspx?srs_cd=0000003163&type=2.
[132] In order to determine my sample size, I used sample size calculator used here: https://www.qualtrics.com/au/experience-management/research/determine-sample-size/?rid=ip&prevsite=uk&newsite=au&geo=JP&geomatch=au. I estimated that 12,000 women worked as maids each year between the years of 1946 and 1966, for a total of 240,000 people. Using a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 5%, the calculator determined that I need a sample size of 384. To locate 384 labor card records for maids, I used a standard interval to pick labor cards to look at. I would continue looking at the cards until I was able to find three labor cards from former maids. I would then move to my next interval and continue to search for three more labor cards. I continued this process until I had located 384 former maid labor cards.
[133] Looking at smaller age brackets, the average age for starting as a maid was 22.4 years old between 1947 and 1949, 22.1 years old between 1950 and 1954 and 21.4 years old between 1955 and 1959.
[134] Shokugyō Shidō (Katei Meido) Jisshi in Tsuite, 1956, Katei Meido Jisshi ni Tsuite 1956 Nen, R00092077B, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data02/R00092077B/index.html?title=家庭メイド実施について%201956 年; Dai 6 Kai Kateika (Meido) Shokugyō Hodō Shūryōsha Meido, 1957-1958, Kaseika (Meido) Shokugyō Hodō Shūryōsha Meibo Dai 06 Kai, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, https://www3.archives.pref.okinawa.jp/RDA/data02/R00093780B/index.html?title=家政科（メイド）職業補導修了者名簿%20 第 06 回.
[135] Saso, "Beigun Tōchika Okinawa Meido Kenkyū," 130.; Chōken Fukuhara, "Meido no Kikitori Chōsa no Matome," *Ayamiya* 4 (March 1996): 22-28.; M7, March 1, 2020; M2, February 2, 2020; Sundberg, February 11, 2021.
[136] Toshiyoshi Izumi, "Rōdō Jijyō to Shūgyō no Tebiki," *Hataraku Hitobito* 3 (July 1952): 22.; Okinawa Ken Shōkō Rōdōbu, ed., *Okinawa Ken Rōdō Shi*, 657.
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[142] "Atarashi Tsuma no Za Tsukuru," *Okinawa Times*, September 10, 1956, morning edition, 4.
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[144] Saso, "Beigun Tōchika Okinawa," 130; M2, February 20, 2020.
[145] Bunkyōkyoku Kenkyū Chōsaka, *Gakkō Kihon Chōsa Hōkokusho 1957 Nendo* (Okinawa: Bunkyōkyoku Kenkyū Chōsaka, 1958), 65.
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[150] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, ed., *Gun Kankei Meido no Jitta*i, 7-8.
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[154] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, 29.
[155] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, 8.
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[163] Ryūkyū Seifu Rōdōkyoku Fujin Shōnenka, 8. 41.4% of divorced maids, 27.3% of widowed maids, and 16.9% of married maids had previously tried a different job.
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[347] After the layoffs, the Women's and Children's Division of the GRI's Labor Department surveyed the maids that had lost their jobs on MCAF. 22 of these women answered the survey. When asked what the reason for their layoff answers was varied from dissolution (解散) (3 responses), reduction in force (1), to save money on water and electricity (2), our jobs were given to someone else (laundry center) (4), to don't know the reason for sure (2). An additional 10 respondents left this question blank. Beigun Koyōin Kaikosha Jittai Chōsahyō, January 1970, Gun Kankei Rishokusha (Meido tō) Jittai Chōsa Hōkokusho, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[348] Butai Hōmon Chōsahyō, December 12, 1969, Gun Kankei Rishokusha (Meido tō) Jittai Chōsa Hōkokusho, 0000075042, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
[349] Butai Hōmon Chōsahyō, Gun Kankei Rishokusha, Okinawa Prefectural Archives.
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[351] Nishino, November 27, 2022.
[352] "Hannin wa Meedo," *Okinawa Times*, December 23, 1950, morning edition, 2.
[353] "Meido no Nusumi," *Okinawa Times*, March 23, 1951, morning edition, 2.
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[360] Kamiyama, "Beigun Seika ni okeru Meido no Tatakai," 104.
[361] Kamiyama, 104.
[362] China recalled that because of the survey maids' wages were raised to at least 2,000 B yen ($16.67) per month and maids were given the right to take off four days a month. However, there is no record that this survey was actually completed. Kamiyama, 104.
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[370] Frost, 117.
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[390] Saki, *Shōgen Kiroku Okinawa*, 219.
[391] Tomohisa Saso, "Beigun Tōchika Okinawa Meido Kenkyū," *Nihon Oraru Hisutori Kenkyū* 16 (December 2020): 131-134.
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