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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

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Restricted

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 137

EVENT: Meetings of Steward Division Employees in protest of Employment cut.  
TIME: July 9 - July 12.

On Friday afternoon, July 9, a meeting of the Dining Hall chefs and the kitchen coordinators and supervisors was held in Block 22. The meeting was called by two of the supervisors, Mr. Hiraki and Mr. Kamei, who wanted the chefs to back the supervisors in their demand that their jobs not be discontinued. Several members of the Stewards office division attended the meeting. None of the Caucasian personnel were informed or invited to this meeting. Mr. Wilder, chief steward, when told of the meeting attended without an invitation.

Mr. Hiraki and Mr. Kamei took charge of the meeting and attempted to convince the chefs that the supervisors were indispensable in maintaining relations between the chefs and the Steward's office. Only one chef, Joe Sugiura, actively came to the defense of the supervisors although the rest either concurred or remained neutral in the resolution that was adopted to the effect that Mr. Roy Akiyama, storekeeper of Block 39, was asked to head a delegation to approach Mr. Beeson with respect to terminating the supervisors.

According to Mr. Wilder, the supervisors have caused more trouble than they are worth. They have never functioned as intended and have only created additional misunderstanding and trouble. They were originally set up to handle complaints between kitchen crews and steward's office but have failed almost completely in this task.

The two supervisors who called the meeting, Mr. Hiraki and Mr. Kamei, had approached Mr. Wilder earlier in the week and had tendered their resignation saying that they did not want to be involved and responsible for the anticipated cut that was coming on July 15. However, they took it upon themselves to call this meeting of

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the chef's group to get support for the supervisors. Mr. Wilder so informed the chefs at the Block 22 meeting and the majority evidently did not know that the two organizers had already resigned. Possibly, however, since Mr. Wilder did not accept the resignations, the men felt that they were still part of the Steward's organization.

Mr. Wilder intends to call a meeting of the supervisors Saturday morning, July 10 and will then accept the resignations of these two leaders. The other supervisors will in all probability be terminated before the July 15.

While I was talking to Mr. Wilder, Roy Akiyama came in the office and importantly strode toward the desk. He abruptly broke into the conversation and said, "Is it true that you are going to terminate the supervisors?" Mr. Wilder said, "In all probability that will eventually come." Akiyama turned and went off and returned immediately to say very impolitely, "Are you terminating these supervisors on your own decision? Is this your own decision?" Wilder said, "Yes." Akiyama then turned and went off without saying another word.

Wilder then told me that Akiyama had come to see him about two weeks ago and had talked about how to best cut down the steward's division. Mr. Wilder could not agree with Akiyama's scheme and told him so. Akiyama then told Mr. Wilder that no one around the project would listen to his advice but that if they were smart, they would. He then told Mr. Wilder that once Phil Shafer had thrown him out of his office, but later came and apologized to him. Wilder told Akiyama that he didn't get himself into positions where he later had to apologize. Akiyama, then, said that if he wanted to, he could make plenty of trouble around the project.

Mr. Akiyama and the two supervisors, Mr. Kamei and Mr. Hiraki met with Mr. Beeson, Employment Officer, Saturday morning, July 10. They were told at this meeting that their demands that the supervisors be retained could not be met. The group was quite disgruntled. The supervisors then changed their tactics. Another meeting of the steward's group was held and after prolonged discussion, the group decided that they couldn't function properly with as large a cut as was proposed. They, then, worked out several alternate proposals which they proposed to submit to the Project Director. The

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first proposal was that the cut be reduced to half. The spokesman, Mr. Akiyama, supposedly said that this was an impractical and almost ridiculous suggestion and would not be accepted by the administration. Finally a compromise was worked out (see Field Report No. 135) in which the quota proposed by this steward's group was approximately 70 more than that set by the Administration. A delegation was appointed to meet with Mr. Stafford on Tuesday morning, July 13, to discuss this proposal.

(JdY)

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COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Japanese Relocation Papers W-2  
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MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

Employment

Field Report No. 143

EVENT: Farm Field Crew Walkout.  
TIME: July 15 - 17, 1943

On July 15, the labor force quota which was set at 2,900 for Minidoka was put into effect. This had meant a reduction of approximately 1,200 workers in less than two weeks time. The agriculture division was exception to the cut in that its quota was not reduced but rather increased.

In line with Myers' telegram an enforcement of the 8-hour day was established and to enable workers to meet this schedule a system of truck transportation was worked out for the employees. Stations have been set up at which workers are picked up and discharged.

The farm crew which has been agitating for higher wages, complaining of long hours, heat, lack of drinking water, lack of toilet facilities for mixed workers, did not meet this regulation of 8-hour day with favor. The field crew has been accustomed to knock off work at 11:00 in the morning at which time the farm truck came to pick them up. Similarly the crew knocked off at 4:30 at night. They thus contended that if they were forced to work until 11:45 or 12:00 the truck couldn't possibly get them to their blocks in time for lunch. In reality, good scheduling would accomplish this. On July 14, the field crews decided that they would not work under those conditions. On July 15, only a handful of the field crews turned out for work. The pig farm workers, poultry farm workers, irrigation workers job but many of the field crews did not show up. The agriculture head took no notice of this walkout with the exception of instructing his timekeepers not to give anyone time who was not on the job. There is a regulation to the effect that if a person is absent three consecutive days without excuse he is terminated. On the morning of the third day, the majority of field workers were back on the job. The agriculture division made sure proper scheduling of trucks was set up but made no other concessions in the way of shortening hours for this particular group.

The agriculture division is reconciled to a large turnover in employees and the fact that so many people are now seeking jobs and are willing to take farm jobs, soon made the recalcitrant workers back track.

(JdY)

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MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 153

EVENT: Attitude on reduction in Employment  
TIME: July 30, 1943.

As a whole they do not like the reduction, but some people are rather happy as they did not want to work but were obliged to work and now they can pursue their own hobbies such as painting, fishing, etc.

The main reason they do not like the reduction is that the WRA requested them to work and boomed the number of employees and suddenly reduced the employment. The director here cited an allegory "It is better to cut a cat's tail by one chop than by three chops," but the residents think "It is a useless operation of a swelling he made which could be reduced back in three months as instructed from Washington, D.C." They now know the fact that many people had already got new jobs after the reduction which made them puzzle about the policy of authorities here.

Though they don't like the policy they admit at the same time that there was too much waste in labor and that young people have acquired a wrong idea of what labor is. A foreman of a group of cannery workers told me that the young boys complain too much and do not realize what working for wages means.

Generally speaking they realize that there was a surplus of workers but they do not like the changing policy. They complain very much that there is unfairness in cutting employment.

As this reduction of employment was done so quick that though investigation was not made and there seems to be some cases in which really needed employees were discharged.

(KW)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

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Field Report No. 148

EVENT: Report on Dress Customs *and Hair Styles*  
TIME: August 1, 1943

Instead of pajamas and gowns in which to sleep in, the majority of Issei men and women wear Japanese style night dress. Otherwise, Japanese style dress is not worn in the apartment. Generally, geta are not worn in the apartment because it makes too much noise. They are mostly worn for bathroom purposes, but if worn at any other time it is because geta are cooler than slippers and because they can stand more rough treatment. It has also been noticed that people with severe athlete's foot wear them to expose their feet to the air.

Issei women very often carry gaily colored parasols which are importations from Japan. Umbrellas are generally considered as a protection against rain but parasol is a protection (shade) from the sun. These parasols are much more attractive than umbrellas, and since most women dislike to wear hats this means of protection is used. The Niseis don't use parasols as much as the Issei because they consider it too much bother to carry one. The use of parasols is a carry-over custom but a practical one as well.

Hair styles

The majority of older Issei do not cut their hair, but the younger Issei (up to and around 45 years old) do so. The

hair is combed usually straight back with a roll at the neck, high or low as desired to the individual.

98% of the women with cut hair have permanent waves. The more "stylish" women arrange their hair pompadour in front and back also combed straight up high and arranged in rolls or ringlets. More ordinarily hair is arranged in ringlets or cluster of curls, all around. These types of hair arrangement applies to Issei and Nisei alike. Younger Nisei often have "pig tails" or braids, with ribbons of various colors to match their dresses. Braids are cooler in the summer and look very neat.

(M. S. W.)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

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living arrangements

Field Report No. 159

EVENT: The report on Laundry room and washroom of Block 19

Aug 1 - 93

Laundry room:

The busiest hour for the laundry room is between 8:30 P.M. to 11:00 A.M. This is because most of the block residents with to finish washing before noon so that they have more time in afternoon. There are two tubs for dish-washing exclusively. There is no tub specially for diapers because there are few babies living in Block 19.

Many interesting conversations take place in the laundry room, practically touching all the subject which happened in the center. It is always the same persons who do the talking and complaining about something.

In winter time, the laundry room was used as a sort of social gathering place, and such games as "Go" or "Shogi" and occasionally card games were played. This gradually disappeared after warm weather came. There is no social of any kind taking place in the laundry room at the present.

Latrines:

The rush hour for latrines is from 8:00 to 9:00 A.M. There are ten latrines all together and these seem to be enough to accomodate all the block residents. The same applies to women's latrine. Daily cleaning takes place around 9:30 A.M. right after the rush hour, although women's latrine's cleaning

takes place in the afternoon.

Showers:

The rush hour for shower is usually from 9:00 to 10:30 P.M. that is just before residents go to bed. This was especially true in winter time, but now due to the hot weather, many take showers in the early part of evening and sometime even in daytime. This is true for women also. The average time which requires to take shower is from seven minutes to about ten minutes. Women about ten to fifteen minutes, but when they take tub-bath, longer time is necessary.

There was "furo" that is Japanese style of bath installed in many blocks of the center, but after about one month, they were taken out on account of the complaint from the health department. Many residents feel the complaints of the health department was unjust. Many residents were resentful for the removal, because they thought "furo" was not the cause of spread of contagious disease in the center last winter. Many women do wear bathrobe on their way to shower room, but I never saw "kimono".

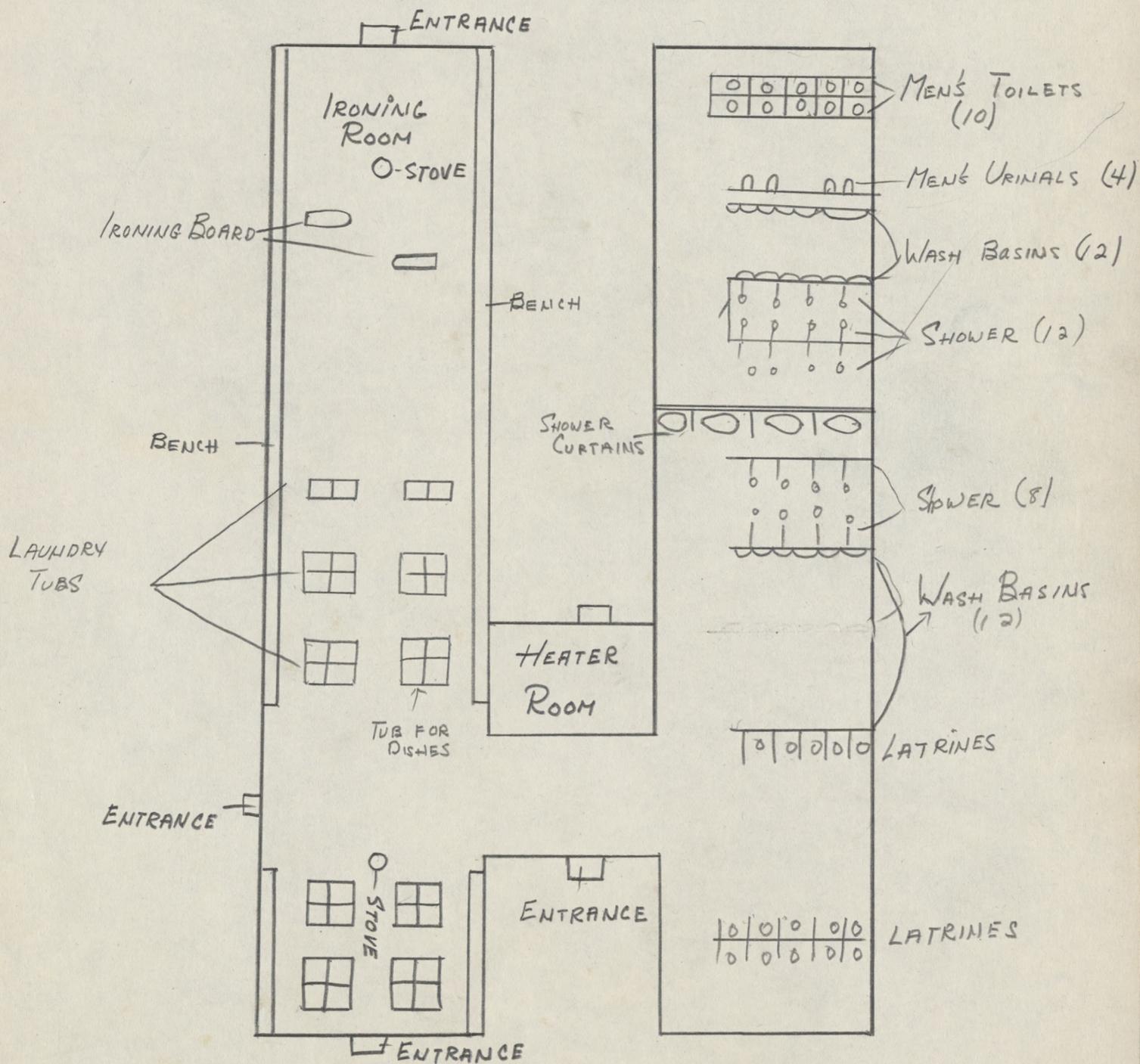
Boiler room:

During the winter time, group of men, maybe five or six, get together and played "Go" or "Shogi". Many interesting conversations took place in the boiler room. It is the warmest place in the block; consequently, when weather is bad, people have tendency to congregate and talk about everything which happens under sun. Upon arrival of warm weather, only person who stays in the

boiler room is boiler man. If laundry room served as social hall for women in winter time, boiler room is a social gathering place for men (it is rather small place but comfortable.)

(DK)

# THE DIAGRAM OF LAUNDRY AND WASH ROOM



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

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MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 160

EVENT: Agricultural division meeting to discuss complaints of Farm Workers  
PLACE: Project Director's office  
TIME: August 5, 1943

- Present:
- H. L. Stafford, Project Director
  - A. S. Davidson, Assistant Project Director in charge of operations
  - C. H. Powers, Washington office
  - J. W. Briggs, Assistant farm superintendent
  - W. E. Rawlings, farm supervisor
  - R. Sprinkel, administrative officer
  - C. T. Takahashi, representing Central Services (motor transportation)
  - Senta Nii, in charge of irrigation
  - G. Kamaya, farm foreman
  - Y. Urakawa, Fair Labor Board
  - Noboru Suyama
  - S. Hara, agricultural division timekeeper

The labor situation of the agricultural division has from the beginning been a difficult problem to handle. When the general overall employment reduction went into effect July 15, a system of transporting workers to their jobs was also initiated. This was done to facilitate an 8-hour day. The farm workers at this time complained that this transportation schedule created hardships for them and part of the farm crew stayed away from work two days in protest.

Since then complaints have continued. During the week of August 1-7, a group of women farm workers stayed off the job for several days. Their complaints were based on lack of toilet privacy, lack of drinking water, transportation schedule, misunderstandings with new Caucasian supervisors, etc. One of the complaints raised by the workers is that the new Caucasian supervisors tend to be very abrupt with them, and often offend the workers.

An agricultural division meeting was called on August 5 to attempt to iron out some of these difficulties. Following is a transcribed account of this meeting.

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Mr. Stafford: I guess I organized this meeting this morning so we will get this record set up. I am on the receptive end so who wants to start this discussion?

Mr. Kamaya: Mr. Davidson knows that I am just trying to help you. I can see that there is a misunderstanding, growing and it will explode if we aren't careful. We don't want to get hurt. We must keep the thing running smooth, iron out the misunderstanding. I suggest that we lay the whole thing on the table and get Mr. Stafford's advice. I think that when we hold things back that it sometimes causes misunderstanding.

Mr. Takahashi: Japanese are funny people, they work by feeling. I believe that the changing of the schedule of work has lead to misunderstanding. When they don't understand things are likely to blow up and that is what we don't want.

Mr. Stafford: What statements do you want to make now concerning the causes for this disgruntlement amongst the people? What do you think is wrong?

Mr. Kamaya: The changing of the schedule of the workers. Some of the workers work longer than 8 hours a day and others don't work but  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours but they get the same pay. It isn't fair. I want to treat the boys fairly. One or two of the boys go out early every morning and return late, but not many of them.

Mr. Stafford: When did this begin? Was it on July 15?

Mr. Kamaya: Yes.

Mr. Stafford: Clarifying that then, you claim that most of the people worked  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours and were credited for 8 hours.

Mr. Kamaya: I told Mr. Davidson about it. He knows that I have been around nearly every night.

Mr. Davidson: I know that you have been working late.

Mr. Kamaya: I know who is working and who isn't working. I know what everybody does better than anybody.

Mr. Stafford: That is a pretty clear assertion.

Mr. Kamaya: There are about 45 boys in the irrigation putting in about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours. One or two put in 9 or 10 hours.

Mr. Stafford: If a man works 10 hours, what do you put down for his time?

Mr. Kamaya: Ten hours.

Mr. Stafford: Who has been checking with you on this timekeeping, Mr. Davidson?

Mr. Davidson: The system that we have used is that a foreman will be responsible for the men under him. He gives the time to the timekeeper. The field timekeepers bring their records into the office and I have been checking with the foremen and timekeepers. They claim that we have treated some people differently than others. On July 15 we had a meeting and told the foremen that we would start working an 8-hour day. Some of the men would put down 8 hours even though they worked  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours. The timekeepers feel that people haven't worked 8 hours as is shown on the time sheets. The foremen have the impression that we are going along as before. I instructed the timekeepers to keep the time accurately when over or under 8 hours, but they have not been accurate.

Mr. Stafford: You made the statement that the timekeeping has not been accurate.

Mr. Davidson: It is my impression that since the 15th they have been lax in recording actual hours worked in the field. I said to the foremen that we would have to work this thing out. We have to adjust the agriculture division to the schedule this project is attempting to carry out. I have asked them to work it out and to adjust the working hours of the men under them. I left it up to them as to the hours that they wanted to work. I asked them to adjust this and as time goes on, it isn't adjusted. The only way we can get this done is to make a payroll adjustment at

> p. 4 missing

Mr. Kamaya: You are putting in new bosses all the time, Mr. Briggs and Mr. Rawlings. That has been causing a lot of the trouble.

Mr. Davidson: We have to have supervision. There is a great deal of work to do and I think that you have attempted to do too much of it yourself.

Mr. Kamaya: I tell you, my kid wanted to go out but everybody doesn't work in the fields and I brought my kid out to do the plowing and discing. We tell the people that they have to work 8 hours a day but we can't keep the people interested any more.

Mr. Davidson: Our problem is to get this farm to work as the rest of the project. We are giving you leeway in adjusting the hours of a working day.

Mr. Takahashi: You tell them they must work 8 hours. If you would ask them to get the work done they would do the job. You should not measure work by hours, but by the amount of work to be done. They will work for money but not for 5 cents an hour. You can't tell them what to do, you have to ask them to please do it.

Mr. Davidson: If the farm workers walk off the job by 3 P.M., the other workers think that they should quit too.

Mr. Takahashi: If the other workers are busy, they won't see that others are leaving.

Mr. Kamaya: I want to get the job done. The people say that the sun is too hot and and that the dust makes it terrible to work. There is a lot of difference in working inside and out in the hot sun. There is also this water thing. Can't we have drinking water? The workers jump on me about it. And too after everything gets ready to be harvested, you bring in a lot of new people to give instructions.

Mr. Davidson: We have to remember that this farm is a part of the project. We are trying to conform to certain regulations. You have been a good driver, Mr. Kamaya.

Mr. Stafford: Let's kind of clarify this situation. First you have charge of the vegetables and the planting, Mr. Kamaya. Second you have taken on the irrigation because the others didn't do it after supper.

Mr. Davidson: May I interrupt? The irrigation should be done by Mr. Nii and his men. Mr. Nii and Mr. Kamaya see eye to eye and get along together, but that same thing has caused us to lose one foreman because he couldn't see things like Mr. Kamaya. Can't we get the men to see that the water is their responsibility and if it gets away it is their fault? You can't spread yourself all over this farm. There is too much work for one man. Can't we have a foreman under you to look after this field, another in the next field and so on? He could set the water for the night and it would run pretty well until morning.

Mr. Nii: One man can't see to the whole thing. It might be possible to delegate a foreman and spread the responsibility.

Mr. Kamaya: The people don't watch the water, they leave and start to shut the water off. I tell them to leave it running because I am going to watch it. People won't work shifts.

Mr. Davidson: Do they understand that they are expected to watch out for the water all night, or do they feel that you will do it for them?

Mr. Nii: We haven't asked them to do it.

Mr. Stafford: Mr. Kamaya has named a number of things that I want to get lined up here. First of all, he has charge of the planting and of the vegetables. What is Mr. Kamaya's responsibility? He stated what he wanted to do. How does he fit into the organization in the way of accepted responsibilities? It is my understanding that he will do the planting and cultivating of the crops. We have an irrigation crew, but it doesn't function, so Mr. Kamaya has taken care of part of the water. People are complaining that the sun is too hot and that the dust is too bad. They don't like to work after supper. Mr. Kamaya has said that there is disgruntlement and complaints about there being no drinking water. Mr. Kamaya says that they will work for 5 cents an hour and think of 50 cents. They are working on their feelings. Mr. Kamaya has said that they have too many bosses, that he doesn't agree with Mr. Briggs' idea about irrigation. That is the way I understood his statement. It has also been stated that the timekeepers from July 15 credited the irrigation crew with 8 hours when they worked only 6½ hours, and the farmers were credited with time that they actually worked. The people don't like to work nights. All right, I would like to ask a question. It was understood that after July 15 we were going on an 8-hour basis; however, it is conceded that practically nobody, borrowing a few, worked over 6½ hours. I am not clear on who worked 6½ hours. Somebody worked more than 6½ hours. Can you get together and report how many of the irrigators worked 6½ hours and how many worked 8 hours? I think it is important to clear that up first for payroll purposes. Can you agree as to how many out of the 50 irrigation workers put in 6½ hours and were credited with 8 hours?

Mr. Nii: There were about 45.

Mr. Davidson: Didn't you state that some worked 9 and 10 hours?

Mr. Nii: The majority worked 6½ hours and were credited with 8 hours, and there were only one or two who worked longer.

Mr. Briggs: May I interrupt at this point?

Mr. Stafford: Of course.

Mr. Briggs: I can see where George has a point in stating that possibly I am creating a lot of new policies. I reminded him a number of times of the 8-hour schedule. I suggested to Mr. Nii that we might make his irrigation crew more efficient if he would indicate those on his crew who were not efficient in the field. His list showed that at least two, or possibly three, would be more efficient somewhere else. There was one man whom he could not locate but later found him making flumes and head gates. All the rest were checked to have worked the full 8 hours. I passed this information on to the timekeepers as coming from Mr. Nii and they worked on that basis. I have one or two other points that I would like to mention. Coming on the job the 15th, I found a lot of things that indicated a lack of understanding. I understood that Mr. Kamaya was in full charge of the crop reproduction on the project. I understood also that from the 15th we were inaugurating a program of efficiency and economy.

Mr. Stafford: Keep in mind that nobody is on trial. We are trying to clarify the whole situation. I realize that just coming on the scene here that there

are probably a lot of things that have caused conjection and misunderstanding. Do you have anything else, Mr. Briggs? Mr. Kamaya expresses an objection to Mr. Briggs, whether he intends to or not. What is Mr. Briggs' title?

Mr. Davidson: He is the assistant farm superintendent.

Mr. Stafford: Are there any other factors or problems that can be brought up here? Mr. Kamaya has given us a whole train load of them. I want to get them all out where we can see them. Mr. Nii, have you got any other observations on this agriculture situation? It is agreed that about 45 people out of the 50 irrigators were credited with 8 hours from July 15 to the end of the month who only worked  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours. The other five worked anywhere from 8 hours to 15 hours.

Mr. Nii: That is right.

Mr. Stafford: I don't know how the allotments are figured. The workers get \$16.00 a month plus their clothing allowance. What do the clothing allowances come to?

Mr. Sprinkel: It depends on the members in each family. I comes to \$3.75 for the worker but drops down for each dependent. It averages about \$3.00 per head.

Mr. Kamaya: The workers won't work for 5 cents an hour. I can't tell them to do the work, I have to ask them to please do it.

Mr. Davidson: At 5 cents an hour, it would only come to \$10.40 a month, instead of \$16.00.

Mr. Sprinkel: The rate of pay actually figures 8.3 cents an hour.

Mr. Stafford: As far as that is concerned, the policy of WRA is this: Anybody who wants to go outside, with a few exceptions, may go and work for normal wages. We have people who don't choose to go outside and work and who don't choose to do anything here on the project either. If we are going to get the kind of food that we would like to have during this war situation, we are going to have to produce it here. Now I see several things that have to be straightened up. In the first place, I think there should be a more efficiently divided load of responsibility. We all appreciate your point of view, Mr. Kamaya, of trying to raise a crop. I can readily understand that when everybody drops their shovels you can visualize losing your crop. It is getting to be a pretty big layout for one man's supervision. You object to Mr. Briggs as a supervisor. The thing is that we have probably put the cart before the horse. We had to get along at first with what help we could get and then gradually we have filled in the personnel. Our only alternative would be to lay the whole responsibility on you and then you would back out. It wouldn't be fair to you if we shoved the whole burden onto you. I think it can be said, with few exceptions and you are one of them, that Japanese people are willing to cooperate but are not willing to accept a tremendous load of responsibility. You are an exception and there are others. Mr. Nii is also an exception. We have people out here who object to the dust. We have had to put Caucasians on several jobs simply because we couldn't get Japanese to do it. We put Mr. Briggs in as a supervisor and I meant to introduce Mr. Rawlings as the agriculturist who has just recently come to our project. The idea of too many bosses I think can be clarified by getting a clear-cut division of responsibilities. There are no compulsions here. It is quite conceivable that nobody has to work. The relocation policy recently

announced provided for normal employment outside in connection with relocation. Now it has been said, and it was said last spring, that perhaps the mess hall feeding didn't work out well enough. So we got this midday snack worked out. With the project being on rationing, I don't know whether these snacks are satisfactory or not. At least we have tried to recognize the condition and have done something about it. There just is no excuse for not having drinking water out there in the field for the workers. That is an administrative matter. So far as I know the midday sandwich or snack has been delivered. We have put all emphasis on the 8 hours and the people object to it. It seems to me that these people will have to face the issue, whether they are going to work here or are going outside to do work. The idea of thinking in terms of outside wages on the inside of the project just doesn't make sense. If these people are going to stay here and work they will have to comply with regulations. If we have people who can't stand the heat, why can't we give them part-time work with part-time pay? They will still get the full clothing allowance. That would be recognizing some peoples' inability to work 8 hours. It is not our intention to overwork anybody here. By the things brought out in this argument this morning, I think it is time that we got them ironed out. I don't think that you should stay out in the field until 10:30, Mr. Kamaya. Some way or other, I am pretty sure that you and some of these other people around town can get lined up with the division of authority. We have a lot of people here who haven't chosen to give us any help whatsoever on the farm. Now I think that a situation of this sort can be made just as bad or just as good as we want to make it. I was out in the field the other day and saw the men walk off the job at 11:00 o'clock. I am thoroughly disgusted about hearing the fact that they have no drinking water. I would have to have drinking water if I was working out there. If the people want to strike on the basis of working 8 hours maybe we can put them to working 4 hours with half pay. If I had my way, their clothing allowance would be cut in half, too. This would defeat the relocation program, but it might be done in an emergency. My idea is that these people are here until such time as they can be relocated. We don't ask anyone to stay here. If we asked people to stay, it would be different sort of a situation. We can eat rice next winter and we can eat rice this summer, we don't have to have vegetables. We have a lot of people here who are being temperamental. Mr. Kamaya is temperamental. We have other people who are temperamental in the other direction. They are going to talk 5 cents an hour. They are going to be disgruntled. They aren't going to look at the bright side of anything. Now in making the payroll out, Mr. Sprinkel, make it out according to the hours actually worked.

Mr. Sprinkel: The time sheets show 8 hours instead of 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> hours.

Mr. Stafford: I want them credited with the time that they worked. That should straighten this thing out and it seems to be the only way. We can't pad any payrolls. I don't want to hear any more about this matter of there being no water out in the fields. I don't care if we have to buy some special outfit to furnish water. Keep in mind that we have instructed the people to work 8 hours but that nobody works 8 hours. Some people feel that they can't stand 8 hours out there in the field. The only thing that I can see is to let them work 4 hours.

Mr. Kamaya: The men like to come in and clean up before dinner. If they don't leave the field until 11:50, when they get in and cleaned up it is nearly time to go back to the field.

Mr. Stafford: I don't want to bring you in on this, Mr. Powers, but from an outside point of view what is your opinion? As I have said before, we have no

intention of abusing anybody or of subjecting these people to impossible situations. An 8-hour day is according to regulation. We might haul these people both ways but that wouldn't be 8 hours in the field. I would rather go on a schedule of hauling the people both ways and try to work it out than to have to put the people on a half-time basis and double up. We got into this thing in the first place by trying to conserve on equipment and tires. It appears that when the trucks start out from the fields they don't get the people home in time to clean up for dinner. If the workers walk home, they stop work at 11:00 o'clock.

Mr. Davidson: The distance is one thing. There is a considerable variance in the distance from the administrative buildings to the mess halls than from the fields to the mess halls. The farm people get home much later. I don't know how much time they need. The drivers have a tendency of delivering the people to their doorstep instead of stopping at stations.

Mr. Stafford: The schedule was to pick the workers up from a certain spot within various neighborhoods and bring them back to these same stations. This was a compromise. If the drivers aren't adhering to this plan, we ought to know about it. The station to station pick up was the best plan that we could figure out. Either we will have to haul the people both directions or else we will have to give them a 4-hour shift, which would contradict the conception of relocation. The fewest people employed here is our objection because of the manpower situation on the outside. I am not entirely in sympathy with all of these arguments, but they are primarily founded on the lack of understanding.

Mr. Powers: I have listened with a great deal of interest to this discussion this morning and I have observed that there is a great deal of chaff mixed in with the kernels. There are some real problems to be solved. There is no doubt about that. I think you have been extremely lenient in summing it up. The proposal of putting on two shifts of 4 hours would defeat the relocation policy or at least retard it. Then, too, we are faced with a critical manpower problem. My interpretation of the 8-hour day is that the people on the job will produce 8 hours of work. I think we are making mountains out of mole hills. We can't pick up all the people at the same moment and deliver them to the mess halls at the same time. We can't make that an issue, it can't be done. The problem of putting on two shifts is a serious one and should be done as a last resort.

Mr. Stafford: I know that defeats entirely the policy of relocation. On the other hand, look at this comparison. We have no way of adjusting wages and it puts us in a very tight position. Take the girls in the offices. Once in a while we have a dust storm and everybody gets dirty. The girls step out across the hall and then when they get down to their block they are ready to go right in and eat. The farmers are sometimes out in a dust storm all morning. Of course, they want to clean up before dinner. My solution to this situation would be to have a big mobile field kitchen and then the farmers wouldn't have to come in to the mess halls, This is, of course, out of the question. We can't seem to get people out in the field early in the morning. We can't expect them to walk to the field. What provokes me just a little is that these people will drop their shovels and start back at 11:00. I don't know whether it is a protest against the fact that they can't get home and get their lunch on time.

Mr. Powers: I think you have a point there. These two men, Mr. Kamaya and Mr. Nii, have been carrying more than their load. It may be that we can get the workers to put in 8 hours but not between the hours of 8 to 5.

Mr. Davidson: Some of the drivers are making two trips. Obviously one trip gets the people home fairly early but the other trip makes the people late in getting home. By this time the drivers have missed their own lunch time.

Mr. Stafford: We can feed those drivers at mess hall #22. I think that we have got that thing ironed out. We have designated mess hall #22 for emergency feeding.

Mr. Davidson: The drivers begin to pick the workers up at 11:15 and all the workers stop work and wait.

Mr. Stafford: This is a protest against the 8 hours or against lunch conditions.

Mr. Takahashi: Can't you set a definite time to leave the field? I think that it is the time rather than the meals. Everybody should agree on a certain time to pick up workers.

Mr. Davidson: Everybody did agree on it. Everyone was informed that the truck would pick them up at 11:45 and take them to their homes.

Mr. Takahashi: Couldn't you make it 11:30?

Mr. Davidson: I think that we should leave that up to the transportation people. They should allow enough time to get these people home on time.

Mr. Stafford: What time do the people get out on the fields in the mornings?

Mr. Davidson: About 9 o'clock.

Mr. Kamaya: Some of them get there about 8:30 but those who have to go farther out don't get there until 9 o'clock.

Mr. Davidson: Some of them are getting on the job before 9 o'clock but it is 9:00 before they do any work.

Mr. Stafford: Here is one way to look at this. If the people don't want to work 8 hours but want to work  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours, why not pay them for  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours?

Mr. Davidson: That is what the argument is about.

Mr. Stafford: There is no argument. Eight hours is regulation. They aren't going to work  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours and get paid for 8 hours. That is all there is to that.

Mr. Nii: I have a compromising plan. It is just a personal idea. It is to keep the project system as it is and in order to make up for the 8 hours a day have the workers work all day Saturdays.

Mr. Stafford: It has been my observation that folks like to be off on Saturday afternoons. We started by everybody being off and it would just be another change in custom.

Mr. Nii: On the other hand, we are in violation of the war situation by laying off on Saturdays.

Mr. Sprinkel: Do you think that suggestion would work?

Mr. Nii: I think it would. We could put in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day and work 6 full days.

Mr. Kamaya: I think that the foreman would work 8 hours, but I feel that the traveling time should be included in the 8 hours.

Mr. Stafford: I can't see how we can do other than pick these workers up and take them to work and bring them back. But again you run right smack into the mess hall situation. You upset some other organization somewhere. If we got  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours of production out of 8 hours it wouldn't be too bad. When you get in the back of one of those trucks there isn't much difference between working and riding in them.

Mr. Powers: Did you ride any buses or street cars in Washington, Mr. Stafford?

Mr. Stafford: No, I found that I had to walk most of the time back there. I understand that this is the normal situation outside. But the argument here again is that the people on the outside are doing jobs and getting normal wages. The regulations prescribe 8 hours of work and compensation of either \$16.00 or \$19.00 a month plus the clothing allowance.

Mr. Rawlings: Would it be possible to look at this thing on the weekly basis instead of on a daily basis? Have the workers put in as near to 8 hours a day as possible including the transportation time and at the end of the week give them credit for the actual hours put in and pay them on that basis plus an adjustment of the clothing allowance. We could eventually sift out those who didn't fit the job and try to get workers who are willing to put in a full week's work. If we could get the actual time that they work and compute the total time worked at the end of the week, we could fit the job a lot better than if we tried to get a standard 8-hour day in every day.

Mr. Stafford: How about that? You are thinking about irrigation.

Mr. Rawlings: You cannot work on the farm by the clock entirely. If there is a job to be done the workers should stay on the job until it is finished rather than working 8 hours and then quit whether or not the job is finished. The pay would be on the basis of the hours put in and also the clothing allowance if possible.

Mr. Davidson: Even if a man puts in a half day he still gets the full clothing allowance.

Mr. Sprinkel: I think that we can get authority to adjust that.

Mr. Stafford: What Mr. Rawlings proposes is that we make the week the unit, instead of the day, and try to fit these people to the job. The daily hours would be kept and reconciled with a weekly total. Would that help to make the men more adjusted to their jobs?

Mr. Kamaya: Would that time include the transportation time?

Mr. Rawlings: Yes, that would include the transportation time.

Mr. Stafford: We would make the week the unit instead of the day. The primary purpose would be to fit the man to the job. We have been padding and juggling payrolls and this would stop it. A fellow would get the benefit of a long day against a short day.

Mr. Kamaya: That would be all right.

- Mr. Davidson: Probably a few would take to that and build up their time. If they are going to work, we would have to pay them and we can't pay over \$16.00 a month. Others wouldn't put in enough time and as soon as they got less than \$16.00 they would start objecting.
- Mr. Rawlings: They would have to put in more hours then. If they want to get \$16.00 pay, they will have to work the full time. Anybody would like to have a job that they could work half time and still draw full pay.
- Mr. Takahashi: If that was clearly understood, I believe, that it would work. It all depends on the way it is understood by the workers as to what they will do and why they will do it.
- Mr. Stafford: If this weekly unit will help us to adjust the men to the job, I see nothing wrong with that at all. But when it comes to anybody putting up an argument against regulations they might as well get it out of their system. There is no compulsion for them to stay here. We have people who will not reconcile themselves to the idea of relocating. They are simply temperamental. Well, what about this weekly thing, will it work?
- Mr. Kamaya: I think so.
- Mr. Stafford: There is one other point that I would like to get cleared up. If you have got some people out there that never did work and don't intend to work, fire them. Who is going to do it?
- Mr. Kamaya: Some people will not fit one job but will be good on something else. Some of them are just learning. You just can't fire them.
- Mr. Stafford: I am not talking about those fellows. I am referring to the trouble makers.
- Mr. Kamaya: Oh, that is different. Trouble makers should be taken off the job.
- Mr. Stafford: You can break in some young fellows who will work out. I am talking about the fellow who is afraid to draw a breath. We have had them on every job since we have been here. We will have to have coordination between you and Mr. Briggs. Get so you can see eye to eye.
- Mr. Rawlings: There is one reservation that I want to make. I want to reserve the right to terminate anybody if the records show that he isn't doing the job. If there is one who only works from 15 to 20 hours a week, he would be the first to go off the payroll when the work gets slack.
- Mr. Stafford: Nobody has any objection to that.
- Mr. Rawlings: It should be understood.
- Mr. Stafford: It is as far as I am concerned. Let's have some more discussion on this idea of using the week as a unit. Does everybody agree to that?
- Mr. Sprinkel: Would that apply specifically to the farmer, or would it apply to everybody on the center?
- Mr. Stafford: Mr. Sprinkel raises a point. How about that? Somewhere we have finally got around to the fact that this center doesn't open up at 8:00 o'clock and close at 5:00. Sometimes things just come up. We have worked out this

special mess hall element and now we can get people fed in an emergency any time of day. This project won't all run by the clock. I don't know but what this would be a solution to a lot of problems. I think the point should be discussed pretty generally here. Take Central Services, when some man out there gets busy and tied up he may put in 8, 10, 12 or more hours. This time could be reconciled at the end of the week.

Mr. Sprinkel: Why not reconcile it at the end of the month. The payroll is made monthly and it would be more practical to settle by the month rather than by the week. The time could be kept by the division head and reconciled weekly and then the real final settlement made at the end of the month.

Mr. Stafford: That would be agreeable to me.

Mr. Davidson: I proposed this kind of a deal two months ago. I suggested that irrigators work as long as they had the water, maybe 10 to 12 hours a day and then after the water was shut off they could lie around for a few days.

Mr. Stafford: What we are apparently doing now is to facilitate your idea through Mr. Rawlings' plan.

Mr. Sprinkel: If a man works more than 188 hours a month, he has to take compensatory time if he doesn't want to lose credit for the overtime.

Mr. Davidson: He has to take the time within a 30-day period from the day that the time was accumulated. Mr. Kamaya is working 10 hours a day most of the time now. He doesn't take any time off. Suppose we pay him next winter when he can take the time off.

Mr. Stafford: Mr. Kamaya wouldn't lay off for thirty days. He doesn't trust you guys.

Mr. Davidson: But there is a time when he won't have much to do and why couldn't we keep him on the payroll for say a month?

Mr. Rawlings: We are going to have something for him to do this winter. He can sort potatoes.

Mr. Sprinkel: The regulations say that he must take his compensatory time within 30 days after the day the time was accumulated or lose the time.

Mr. Stafford: I want to raise a question. How about this drinking water situation?

Mr. Davidson: We have water bags and drinking fountains.

Mr. Kamaya: We don't have time to carry water.

Mr. Stafford: Have we got sufficient water facilities on this project? Have we got facilities to keep these crews supplied with drinking water?

Mr. Davidson: The fountains have gone on the bum.

Mr. Kamaya: The water gate spilled on the trip out to the fields. I would like to have a keg with a faucet on it. That would hold the water and there would be some left by the time we get out to the field.

Mr. Stafford: I don't see why we can't get a bunch of kegs and cover them with burlap to soak them up on the outside. Let's see if we can't get rid of this situation. It is ridiculous. Do you see anything wrong with getting kegs to carry water, Mr. Powers?

- Mr. Powers: I think the equipment would be available but the sanitation might present some problems. You don't have a sanitarian, do you?
- Mr. Stafford: No, we don't. I am going to recommend that we get hold of procurement and have them get us 15 kegs. Now what else do we have here? I take it that we are in the notion of going on the longer unit.
- Mr. Davidson: We ought to be specific to the Central Services about this matter of transportation. When will they pick the workers up? We had better say definitely on that.
- Mr. Takahashi: We will pick them up at 7:50 in the morning, pick them up in the field at 11:30, pick them up at 12:45 from the stations, and pick them up in the field at 4:15 in the afternoon.
- Mr. Stafford: The timekeepers should understand that people are going to be paid for the hours worked. Whether they work 6, 8, or 10 hours, they are to put it down. Who is going to replace the man who takes compensatory time?
- Mr. Davidson: Every division is faced with the same trouble.
- Mr. Sprinkel: He doesn't have to have time off.
- Mr. Takahashi: Some of my people have been working every Saturday and even 7 days a week.
- Man from Placement: When you try to work this week unit in with every division you are going to run into trouble. Who is going to take the cook's place when he takes compensatory time? There just isn't anybody.
- Mr. Stafford: We primarily talked about this applying to agriculture.
- Mr. Sprinkel: We can't give a person compensatory time after he leaves the project on relocation.
- Mr. Stafford: That is contrary to getting the job done and also to relocation. What if a man saves a crop by working overtime and then gets an opportunity to relocate? Why should we penalize him?
- Mr. Powers: The man could stay until his compensatory time was taken.
- Mr. Stafford: That would defeat the program of relocation.
- Mr. Sprinkel: A government employee gets annual leave if he has it coming to him at the termination of a job. He can go out and get a job with some private concern and still receive salary from the government just as long as he isn't working for another government agency.
- Mr. Powers: Why don't you take this matter up directly with Washington? Why can't leave regulations apply to these people?
- Mr. Stafford: Make a note of that, Mr. Sprinkel, and we will write to the Director. Now are there any more points to bring out?
- Mr. Kamaya: We need some wire for stringing up the beans.

Mr. Sprinkel: We have bailing wire over in the warehouse. If you aren't going to do any bailing why not use that?

Mr. Kamaya: That would work.

Mr. Stafford: It seems to me that we had better get this meeting documented and ready for signature for purposes of clarification.

(J. d. Y.)

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 167

EVENT: Report on Resident attitudes toward Segregation  
TIME: Week of August 5-12, 1943

The residents here, as a whole, are indifferent and self-possessed about the question of segregation. The chief reason for this is, perhaps only a small percentage of the total population is affected by the program.

Many segregants feel that applying for repatriation doesn't mean disloyalty to this country. Some wish to go back to Japan on account of personal or business reasons. In fact, there is no deep motive behind their choice. Many segregants accept segregation as a matter of fact, and very seldom is heard their complaints concerning this program. They know that it is practically impossible for them to go back to Japan for the duration at the rate in which exchange program is carried on at the present. Since they know that climate and physical accommodations at Tule Lake is not bad, they have no fear in going there. The residents here who are on the removal list have tendency not to talk about their status, so it is very difficult to know who are supposed to be going to Tule Lake Center.

There are several rumors going around concerning about segregation, relocation and housing program at the present time:

1. All Kibeis have to go
2. If we don't relocate or refuse the relocation, we will be regarded as disloyal elements.
3. The interview for segregation has already begun. Everyone will be questioned as to his intentions.
4. Tule Lake people will be placed in one section of the Minidoka Center in eastern part of the Minidoka Center.

(TDK)

Attitudes on Segregation

Although the repatriates dislike to leave friends, relatives and the place where they have lived for a year and have begun in a way to like, the great majority have resigned themselves to the inevitable.

Since they have been assured that the Segregation Center is not a place of punishment and that conditions are to be almost as they are here, that Tule Lake's weather is even more favorable than it is here, the segregated do not dread the segregation program as they did at first.

Some people who have no intention of relocating prefer to go to Tule Lake, inasmuch as they will not be persuaded to relocate there.

Many of the segregated group doubt very much whether they will have a chance to go to Japan. A fewer number are in hopes of getting the next chance to return. There are some families where the parents have signed for repatriation and the older children resent this, because the children would like to continue their higher education but will be unable to leave camp if placed in the segregation center. In these cases the parents refuse to leave the children behind and the children although unwillingly, are planning to accompany the parents.

There are a group of people who think that Repatriation was urged, to determined loyalty, rather than with intention of returning these persons to Japan before the war is over, and that State Lists are "made up."

There are some families where the aged grandfather or grandmother have signed for repatriation, and feel that exceptions should be made so that these aged would not have to go to the segregation center because they are not active, but these people are not planning to accompany the aged to a segregation center.

(MSW)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 179

SUBJECT: Preliminary notes on private enterprises in Minidoka  
DATE: August 31, 1943

There are some private enterprises being carried on in the Minidoka Center.

Perhaps the typical ones are the following:

1. Dressmaking
2. Fish Sales
3. Agency for newspaper
4. Musical instruments and voice teachers, such as Koto, Samisen, Shakuhachi, Odori, Nagauta, Joruri.
5. Private barbers
6. Hari, anman, and moxa cures
7. Liquor sale
8. Artificial flower making
9. Watch repairing
10. Sale of Oriental foods

Dressmaking

There are several professional dressmakers in the center. These dressmakers teach pattern cutting and sewing. The instruction is given individually and held at dressmakers' homes. In their spare time, they sew the dresses. They usually charge one to five dollars for making a dress depending upon the material and the style of dress. Good dressmakers are usually very busy -- perhaps working more than ten hours a day. The dressmakers also teach pattern cutting and sewing, the fee depending upon a number of lessons. Many young women in the center wish to dress well in spite of the fact that they are living in the relocation center. There is definitely competition among younger Nisei girls to dress well. These dressmakers had their own shops in Seattle. The shops are located in Block 1, 17, 36, and 13.

Fish sales

The private fish sales have been going on long before the Co-op started to handle fish. The residents have not been getting the right kind of fish in the past so demand for the varieties of fish is very strong among the residents here. Those persons who handle fish sales were in fish business previous to the time of evacuation.

The kinds of fish sold are: Tuna, Bonito, Seabass, Barracuda, Sardines, Shad, Salted Salmon. Fish are stored in ice; usually bought in large quantities and the business is transacted in Block 14 or 12. The customers do not order fish before hand. Fishman does not peddle the fish but when he is overstocked, he advertises. The business is carried on by men. Most of the fish comes from Southern California, especially from San Pedro. Fish is one of the fundamental items in the diet of Japanese; therefore, the demand is very great. It is difficult to estimate how much profit can be made on this business, but the time when Co-op was handling fish, it was very profitable. Fish usually are not sold by the pound but by halves. This is done because the tail section is not as delicious as the rest of the fish. Sometimes, however, fish is quartered, but in such cases the tail sections are usually cheaper.

#### Agency for newspaper

Persons who deal with this business work on commission basis. The percentage of commission depends upon different newspapers. They are Issei men who are connected with this business.

#### Musical instruments and voice teachers.

Many people have plenty of leisure time since they came to the Relocation Center. Previous to the time of evacuation, people had no time to indulge themselves in learning how to play various musical instruments such as Koto (harp), Samisen (three-stringed instrument), Shakuhachi (a bamboo flute), etc. There are some who teach small children (mostly girls) Japanese odori (dance), nagauta, (a sort of soliloquy) and joruri (a ballad drama). It is hard to say how much tuition the teachers will charge for such instructions. To a great extent, the remuneration depends upon the pupils. There is no definite amount set for such services. The instruction is given mostly individually. The Community Activities sponsored classes are not taught by same teachers. The teachers are both men and women and they taught before evacuation. The instruments are supplied by teachers. The proportion of students are high among older people. Whenever there is no set price charged for lessons or work, the pupil or customer does not offer bare money but presents the gift in an envelope (orei). It is not considered polite to give silver money in these cases.

Private barbers

Some of the professional barbers who have regular WRA jobs in the daytime carry on their private business in their spare time. People usually have a definite barber to cut their hair, but under the system prevailing within the center, a person cannot choose his barber. This partly explains why there are some barbers that carry on private barbering with their old customers. The Co-op barbershops charge 20 cents for haircut, so private barber cannot charge more than that. Usually the charge is almost unnoticeable because it is done in very small scale. These private barbers operate at their homes and they are men or women.

Hari, anma, and moxa treatments.

Refer to Field Report No. 173 on these subjects.

Liquor sales

It is rumored that there is liquor sold in the center. It is hard to say how the individual gets stocks, but I have heard some complaints concerning this problem. Some Japanese are comparatively heavy drunkards so they try all kinds of methods to obtain liquor. This was a good business before liquor became rationed.

Artificial flower-making

The art of making artificial flowers is taught by certain individuals in the center. The remuneration depends upon the students. They are not professional flower makers before evacuation. There were classes formerly sponsored but in a big class, one cannot get individual attention, that is the reason why private lessons are necessary.

Watch repairing

The Co-op has a watch-repairing department but there are a few persons in the center who carry on private repairing. These people are professional watch-repairers -- in fact, some are better than those who are working for the Co-op.

Sale of Oriental foods

There are few persons who sell some kinds of Oriental food to the residents such as funyu (fermented bean cake), noodles, dried shrimps, bonitoes, kelps and other items of foods. This private business is still going in the certain section of the

Project. There was one person who was Chinese (husband is Japanese) used to obtain various foods from Chinese wholesale house in Portland and selling to the residents here.

The private enterprises which I have enumerated above are the outstanding ones carried on in Minidoka Center. Careful and deep study might reveal some other enterprises which the writer is not aware of at the moment. No doubt, each relocation center has its own enterprises which other centers may not have.

(DK)

Lessons on Flower Arrangement, Tea Ceremony, Japanese String (koto and samisen), Instruments and Flute (shakuhachi), Dancing (odori), Naga-uta and Joruri are given in the Project as a source of private income. In some cases a flat rate of \$2 to \$3 is charged per month, usually with about 3 lessons per week. These lessons are given at the home of the instructor, some by appointment, others whenever they are able to do so. Instrument with the exception of Shakuhachi is provided by the instructor. An instructor has anywhere from 20 to 30 pupils, and made their living before evacuation by teaching in the same manner but with higher rates. With the exception of Shakuhachi, the teachers are women.

#### Food

During the early part of this year, a Chinese wife of a Japanese in the project sold noodles, dried shrimps and fermented bean cake (funyu) at a very high price. This woman secured these foods through her Chinese relatives in Portland, and had very good business in spite of the high prices she charged. This business was carried <sup>on</sup> in the woman's home.

Fish was sold by men who were in the fish business prior to evacuation, long before the Co-op started a fish market. Salted fish was sold a great deal, as well as Tuna, Sea-bass, Mackerel, and Sturgeon which were mostly eaten raw. The Japanese eat a great deal of fish but consider raw fish a special treat, and although fish is

included in the project menu the type of fish is not appealing to the Japanese. Since the Community Enterprise closed its fish market, these same men are again doing business to the delight of the residents. One box (approximately 2x4 feet long) of fish comes about two times a week, to about 2 different people and although the prices are fair it is said that these people make good profits. Although fish is a perishable product, these people do not lose money because they do not buy in large quantities.

#### Liquor sales

Intoxicating liquor in the form of whiskey purchased by some method outside of the project, is sold by one or two persons, who charge ridiculous prices. There are residents who are heavy "drinkers" and are intoxicated all the time. These people go to the homes of the seller and purchase the liquor.

#### Barbers

There are quite a number of men and women who were barbers before evacuation, that cut hair for friends and neighbors at their homes for 20 cents or 25 cents. People prefer not to go so far for a haircut, at a time more convenient for themselves, and because they don't have to wait long to get service.

#### Dressmakers

In comparison to other private enterprises, dressmakers make the most money because they charge just as much as before they were evacuated. Some ladies and many young girls try to compete with each other in styles which makes it very hard for a parent or husband, who makes a mere \$16 in the project. Women complain that the dressmakers charge too much, but their vanities must be great because they continue to have dresses made. Dressmakers are always swamped with work. These women made a living in this manner before coming to the project, with the exception of one or two.

Masseur, etc., refer to Dick Kanaya's Field Report No. 173 on Hari, anma, and moxa treatment.

(M.S.W.)

Minidoka Relocation Project  
Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 186

Event: Attitude of Residents toward Internal Security

The evacuees who are heads of the Project Internal Security are no doubt the best suited for the position among the rest of the residents. That is, the personalities of these people are best suited for their positions, one of these being a merchant patrolman in pre-evacuation days.

Most people would not accept the position as heads of the Internal Security even if appointed or chose, if it meant strict enforcing of laws, because of the resentment the residents would have toward such a group.

These officers of the Internal Security are in a difficult position, endeavoring to do their duty and at the same time trying to appear favorable in the eyes of their fellow evacuees.

Fortunately, we have not had any major incidents in which the Internal Security have had to take part. Gambling in different sections of the project, stealing of small articles by children in the Canteen and lumber stealing is about the only noticeable thing that took place. There was reported an incident when a resident attacked a Caucasian in a warehouse and was arrested. However, this person was more or less a mental case, and it is doubtful whether the Internal Security (Japanese) took actual part in the arrest.

Last winter and early this spring, gambling was going on to quite an extent in different sections of the camp. Issei men and some women gathered at apartments and played cards for money from the afternoon until early morning. These people were mostly unemployed and spent every day in this manner. Neighbors were disturbed and complained among themselves but no one would go as far as to report this. There is no question that the Internal Security was aware of this but overlooked it, for fear of displeasing these people and because they didn't care.

Little boys were known to be stealing small articles from the canteens such as magazines, combs, postcards and different things that were easily within the reach of the customer. This went on for quite a while until the Internal Security visited the homes of the children and informed the parents. The parents promised to punish the child and be responsible that it would not happen again. Little children fear the "policement and their badges".

There were older Nisei and Kibei boys who played cards and rolled dice at bachelor quarters for a living. Persons living near these quarters were very much disturbed as these young people made a great deal more noise than the Issei who indulged in similar games. Internal Security gave warnings at different times and a little more pressure was put on this group than the Issei group.

Lumber stealing has been going on in the camp ever since the residents first came to the center. At first people were given the impression that lumber to make shelves and furniture would be provided. But time went on, and no one was given lumber, rumor spread to the effect that the only way to get lumber was to "help yourself", and stealing lumber meant nothing. Practically everyone went to the lumber pile for lumber and altho the Internal Security was ordered to watch it, this stealing was overlooked.

During the recent Payroll Cut, the Internal Security Division was reduced to almost half. This reduction seems to make little or no difference in the operation of the division. Many of these men are old and sure in the capacity of watchmen because it is much easier work than other jobs.

It is to be greatly doubted, that if an occasion rises, that this division will properly do its duty. The residents are aware of this fact.

(MSW)

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Field Report No. 199

Preliminary notes on effects center living conditions are having on family life.

Parents with children of adolescent age, or older are particularly concerned over circumstances in the Project. Meals are not eaten together, and sons and daughters come home only when it is time to retire. Many parents say they do not see their children from the moment they get up in the morning till bed time. Parents have less control over their children than they had before evacuation.

Due to the fact that a family has only one room, children are not encouraged to bring or invite their friends to the home. In the summer it is too hot for the little children to play in the sun, and in the winter, the laundry room is about the only place in which to play.

Young people dislike to bring friends to the apartment where parents are present in the same room as well as small brothers and sisters, because of little privacy.

Naturally children and young people spend all their time somewhere outside, the parents have no idea where, or what they are doing.

The living together of man and wife, with grown sons and daughters in one room, with little privacy, except a screen or curtain, certainly is inconvenient. Since ample rooms cannot be provided families, relocation is the only solution, but there are a number of families with adolescent children who will be unable to relocate. With very little privacy in the showers, lavatories, or living quarters people become less modest and morals among adults as well as young people become lower.

When parents are not providing the food and shelter for their children,

the children do not "owe" them that much, and consequently have less respect for them. Often children make this remark, when reprimanded "you don't pay for my room and board," which of course is true, and leaves the parent with little to say. This attitude should not be assumed but nevertheless it is, and there seems to be no solution for it except relocation.

People who have never before even stooped to pick up something that some one lost, think nothing of stealing lumber and vegetables from the Project farm. These actions prove very harmful to children, who form habits very easily.

It is very difficult to punish children, because neighbors hear the confusion and feel they have to plead for the child's cause.

The majority of Issei men and women with loose morals, were more or less the same way before entering the center. Living a collective sort of life, conditions are more noticeable than they were before but nevertheless these conditions did exist before.

Internees' wives are looked upon in a different light, and their behavior is watched by the community, with suspicion. Many stories are circulated about this group of women and to quite an extent there are grounds for rumor. However, this is not an effect of Center Life, because these conditions would have existed in the life of internees' wives even if people were not evacuated. In fact, these conditions would no doubt be worse, because it is more difficult to carry on an affair in a community such as this, where everyone in the block observes your actions. It is to be regretted that these conditions will continue to become worse, the longer the internees remain separated from their families.

The living together of the whole family in one single apartment is very inconvenient, as I have mentioned before. As a result, women who have

never had children before in 15 years of married life, are becoming mothers for the first time. Also women who are advanced in their ages, who have grown sons and daughters and under normal living conditions, would not have any more children are becoming pregnant. The reason for this is the distance of plumbing facilities from the apartment, not wishing to disturb others, and the inability to purchase contraceptive articles or drugs which were accessible before evacuation to prevent pregnancy.

There are no prostitutes in the Center, but women who were waitresses of Japanese drinking houses prior to evacuation carry on these intercourses with a number of men, but not strangers. These women are not exactly paid, but receive favors or gifts in the form of money or articles from time to time. These women do not carry on these intimacies for money only, but are a type who enjoy this type of life.

The most serious effect of Center Life is felt by the growing children. Relocation seems to be the only solution.

(MSW)

War Relocation Authority  
Community Analysis Section  
Minidoka Relocation Center

Field Report No. 200

Event: Open Letters to P.D. and Spanish Consul Committee  
Re: Spanish Consul's visit.  
Time: Saturday, September 4, 1943.

On Saturday morning September 4, the following open letters regarding the Spanish Consul's visit appeared on the Block Dining Hall's bulletin boards.

## An Open Letter to Mr. H. L. Stafford:

The recent very sudden and very quiet visit of the Spanish Vice-Consul has given rise to considerable criticism of the persons who were chosen by the residents of this camp at your request to represent the various blocks. The residents apparently feel that the block representatives are themselves responsible for the failure to present to the Vice-Consul any truly representative expression of the wishes and opinions of the people they were elected to serve. In order that everyone have a clear understanding of the circumstances surrounding the visit, will you please through the columns of the "Irrigator" either confirm or deny the following three points which I believe are facts?

1. The block representatives as such were not notified at any time of the Spanish Vice-Consul's recent arrival, stay or departure.
2. The block representatives were not invited to meet with the Spanish Vice-Consul neither in a body nor through persons elected by the block representatives.
3. The Japanese who were allowed to attend and participate in discussions with the Spanish Vice-Consul were chosen either by you or by members of the Appointed Personnel and were in no sense acting with the knowledge, approval or consent of the body of block representatives.

To avoid any repetition of the present misunderstanding may I suggest that in the future the following procedure be observed.

1. The entire camp be notified of the coming of the Diplomatic or Consular officials as soon as you are reasonably certain of the approximate date of their arrival.
2. The block representatives or any other body properly elected by the block representatives be invited to meet and discuss with the Spanish Diplomatic or Consular Officials the desires and questions of the people of this camp.

Sincerely,

---

F. T. Tokuda

An Open Letter to Those Japanese Who attended the Recent Meeting  
with the Spanish Vice-Consul:

During the recent visit by the Spanish Vice-Consul you were selected by the Administration to present the views and opinions of the Japanese in this project. Although your group was not elected by the people of this camp you were nevertheless acting as representatives of the camp residents.

You are therefore under a definite obligation to make public a complete and detailed record of the discussions which took place. Will you please as soon as possible make available in each block a copy of the minutes of the meeting? In the event that such minutes are not available it would appear to be your duty to make a detailed report of the discussions to the people in each and every block.

Sincerely,

F. T. Tokuda

The 'block representative' as he called them had not been invited to meet with the Spanish consul. Copies of these letters were mailed to Mr. Stafford. The letters created some local block excitement and put the members of the group which had met with the Spanish consul on the defensive.

The writer of the letters is a young Issei, a block delegate and has charge of the Clothing Allowance office. He is a very peppery individual and is domineering and argumentative. He is not very popular with the residents. The sudden appearance of the letters a month after the Spanish consul's visit and the manner in which they were publically posted indicates that the writer was trying to create public interest in an issue that had been practically forgotten.

In the letter to Mr. Stafford this individual claimed that the residents were blaming the block delegates for failing to present to the consul "any truly representative expression of the wishes and opinions of the people they were elected to serve". This charge as far as the Community Analysis staff could discover exists mainly in the mind of the writer. The writer also demanded to know why the 'block representatives' as he called them were not invited. The writer is an intelligent person and well knows that the 'block delegates' are not 'representatives' in the sense that he implies. These delegates were elected for the purpose of formulating a new charter and are not representing the blocks in any other manner.

The meeting with the Spanish consul (see Field Report No. 165) on August 10, 1943, was it is true hurriedly called, but the group representing the evacuees was largely the original group which had met previously with the consul. At this meeting Issei representatives of the various organizations were present.

Some of the 'block delegates' are Nisei and as such have no official reason for being invited to meet with Spanish consul since the consul is concerned only with the affairs of Japanese nationals.

In the open letter to the Issei representatives, the writer charged that since they acted as representatives of the camp residents it was their duty to 'make public a complete and detailed record of the discussions which took place'.

The writer, then, publically in a sense accused the committee which had met with the Spanish consul of withholding information from the residents. He loudly proclaimed himself as a champion of the residents.

Attitude of Administration:

The attitude of Administration (notably P.D.) was that the writer was angling for public support and trying to create an issue. The Administration in all previous contacts with the Spanish consul has attempted to maintain a neutral position since the consul is representing the Japanese government and is concerned with Japanese nationals. The Administration has not chosen the representatives nor has it been present at any of the official meetings of the consul and Issei representatives. Thus, the P.D. took no public notice of the open letter addressed to him although unofficially it was intended to call the writer in and discuss the procedure of the open letter (This as yet has not been done).

Attitude of Committee which met with Spanish Consul:

The members of the committee which met with the Spanish consul immediately went on the defensive. The chairmen of the committee called together a few representatives of this committee (Rev. Terakawa, Mr. Y. Fujii, Mr. Hara, Mr. Akiyama, Mr. Kanaya) to discuss the open letter. They drafted the following memo

which was sent to the P.D. explaining why the block delegates were not called in.

Memo sent to Stafford by Committee which met with  
Spanish Consul

1. In true sense, block representatives as such, are not real representatives of the block but they are elected for the purpose of formulating a new charter and submitting to the residents here.
2. Since the representative of the Spanish Embassy has interest in the affairs concerning solely Issei residents, as far as we are concerned, we felt that there are no groups representing the Issei.
3. In view of the fact, the meeting was open to all Issei, we felt that the representatives from the churches; Steward Division; Block Managers; Hospital; Adult Education; Operating Division; Internal Security; and the Organization Commission were fair representation of the residents of the Center, although they are not elected by the people for this particular purpose.

\*\*\*\*\*

In addition signed minutes of the meeting were placed on all the dining hall bulletin boards. On September 18, the project newspaper printed this report which was as follows:

Improvements asked at Spanish Consul Meeting

To make known to the entire community the proceedings of the meeting on August 10, of 15 resident nationals with Captain A. R. Martin, Spanish consul, the following outline was posted on dining hall bulletins early this week at the request of residents.

Addressed to the Honorable A. R. Martin, Representative, Spanish Embassy, San Francisco, Calif., the outline gave points requesting camp improvements mainly on the critical hospital situation, which follows in part:

1. Improvement of the hospital
  - a. Improvement and increase of hospital facilities.
  - b. Increase at least three more physicians and surgeons.
  - c. Improvement of ambulance service and its facilities.
  - d. Provide cars for doctors.
  - e. Provide efficient and reliable Caucasian doctors.
2. Improvement of highway and roads surrounding residences to prevent dust.
3. Provide school bus for school children or provide them with lunches.
4. Need more adequate recreational facilities.

- a. Increase the number of recreational halls and build a gymnasium.
- b. Provide movies again, since all other projects have them.
5. Take prompt action to unite internees' families.
6. Provide unemployment compensation for those willing to work but are unable to find suitable jobs.
7. Increase amount of clothing allotment and provide it to every evacuee, regardless of employment or unemployment.

\*\*\*\*\*

Thus, the evacuee committee met the demands of the writer.

Attitude of residents:

The majority of the residents apparently had forgotten all about the Spanish consul's visit, when the open letters appeared on the bulletin boards. But even then they displayed little interest in the matter. The block delegates themselves were unaware that these open letters were to be posted and had not delegated the writer to act for them.

Attitude of writer of letters:

The writer has not made any additional public statements since the open letters first appeared. With the exception of a reply from the P.D. all his demands have been met. His claim that he represents the people in these demands does not hold water. If he had only a personal interest in the affair, he could easily have gotten an answer by asking one of the committee members privately.

In a discussion with the observer, the writer vehemently attacked the present Organization Commission and accused them of being mainly responsible for the failure of the people to ratify the charter. He contended that the residents have no faith in the Organization Commission and believe they are trying to gain political power. The writer was elected as an original delegate last October. At that time he was nominated for the Organization Commission, but did not even receive enough votes to act as an alternate member. Since that original meeting, the minutes of the Congress of Delegates show that the writer has not attended any of the Congress meetings. This fact is significant in view of the fact that the writer now is loudly championing the cause of the people.

The writer is also an active member of the Induction Committee for the Segregation Program and has been extremely vociferous in his spoken concerns for the segregant group. (see Field Report No. 187) (JdY)

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War Relocation Authority

Memorandum

To: John Provinse

Date: 9/25/43

From: Edward Spicer

Subject: Visit of Spanish Consul to Minidoka

Concerning the Spanish Consul's visit to Minidoka, if you decide to write Stafford about it, a couple of points of importance seem to be the following:

1. Stafford recognized two groups in his handling of the affair: (a) the group which had formerly met with the Consul, and (b) the block delegates. But he dealt with the groups not as such, but as individuals, those members who are closest to him. There was a responsibility on the part of those members to the groups, as well as a responsibility on Stafford's part. Appropriately, open letters were addressed by Tokuda to both Stafford and to the individuals of those groups.

2. The open letter technique is different from the anonymous letter technique, and represents a new phenomenon at Minidoka. It indicates a feeling of community support on the part of the writer. In this case the technique gained the immediate ends desired-publication of results of the meeting with the Consul. Tokuda was not inclined to deal with Stafford individually, but did not shrink from a community audience. Tokuda was calling the community's attention to Stafford's individualistic method of dealing with evacuees.

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Japanese Relocation Papers  
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MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

Community Analysis Section

Field Report No. 207

SUBJECT: Preliminary notes on the effect that Center Life is having on residents.

TIME: September 20, 1943

In discussing this problem, it might be well to divide this problem into three parts.

First, I shall try to deal with the effect of center life upon Issei, secondly Nisei boys and girls and lastly, the children who have not attained their high school age.

We often hear about unpleasant incidents taking place within the center pertaining to ethical and moral problems. Such incidents are very seldom brought out to the attention of the residents although they are constantly the source of gossip among the residents. Japanese are raised on a rather strict code of ethics and any offense which is concerned with sexual behavior is severely criticized by the people.

During the period of the "picture bride" marriages which took place around 1917 to 1921, many men obtained wives through this method. Many girls who graduated from "Joggako" (girls high school) thus became the "picture bride" and came to America. The desire of the girls who came under this category, to come to America was many times stronger than just that of getting married. Many women were married to men who are ten to twenty years older than they are and in such marriage, we can hardly expect harmonious marital relationship as a result. Physical as well as mental incompatibility resulted from such an abnormal method of marriage. As time went on, the women gradually got used to American ways of living. They soon realized that their marriage was not in any sense, a bed of roses. The point I wish to

bring out at this time is, unethical conducts on the part of evacuees among Issei is usually the result of dissatisfied marital relationship and evacuation may not be the cause of demoralization but rather the accelerating factor. Of course, there are certain individuals who are sexually loose. My personal observation seems to indorse this statement. Many cases of illicit relationship which exist now are an extension of pre-evacuation episodes. It is very seldom that one sees a new development of affairs within the center.

Due to the interment of some aliens in Internment Camp, we have a group of wives who are called New Mexico or Montana widows. These women are always under the suspicious eyes of the residents. It is hard to ascertain how true some of the rumors are, but it would appear that the situation is not as bad as the rumors indicate. Physical accommodations in the Project are very unfavorable for such adventures. Discontentment breeds evils - and such explanations apply to the conduct of evacuees in general.

It is reported that Issei women are becoming pregnant after 10 or 15 years of married life who never had any children before. This could be explained in the term of a poor plumbing facilities and difficulties in obtaining drugs and other contraceptive devices. The term, "evacuation wife" refers to the duration wife and sometimes we hear such terms used in the center. Men who have wives in Japan often carry on such temporary relationships with women in the center. The triangle affairs about which so much is heard in the center, do not exist but in such cases, legitimate husbands are aware of the situation but usually do not make the issue of it.

Among Nisei:

The demoralizing effects of center life upon Nisei people appear to be more alarming than among Issei.

As the high school attendance indicates there are many Nisei who are in adolescence age. Due to the lack of parental influences upon younger people in the center, the family tie is getting weaker and weaker. At the Block Dance, many young girls who are still in their early teen ages are attending. Previously this would not have been the case. School as well as parental influences within the Project are much weaker than when we were back in a normal community; the control of younger people is becoming very difficult and a complicated matter. A teacher in Hunt High School spoke about the lack of manners among Niseis. They don't know how to behave in the public and have conceited and saucy attitudes toward elders.

Recently, the co-op started to sell condoms and in the certain section of the center, it is reported that many discarded condoms can be found. Some women use the diaphragm as one method of contraception, but this is used by very few women or girls because in order to obtain diaphragms, a prescription by a doctor is necessary. Whether the use of such contraceptive devices can be taken as a criteria for the demoralization of young people, is difficult to determine. One thing that can be said is that the sexual adjustment within the center is difficult for both the bachelors and young people. There are no prostitutes in the center. One way of adjustment is early marriage, and perhaps this is the reason why so many marriages took place with the Assembly and Relocation centers. It seems that the recreation hall as well as school-rooms serve as popular places for rendezvous of many Niseis. In the spring and summer, outdoor spots may be used. It is hard to determine to what extent such practices are carried on in the center. Older people blame dancing as one major factor in the demoralization of youth but some people do not agree with such assertion. The residents feel that due to the lack of recreational facilities, dancing should be encouraged

for the sake of emotional outlet rather than prohibiting such activities. The freedom of conduct on the part of Niseis would be attributed to two factors. One would be that the present adolescent boys and girls are more sophisticated and mature in many ways than Issei were in their youth, and now Niseis also have greater freedom from parental control than prior to evacuation.

Younger children:

Traditionally the central life of the child is that of depending on the guardianship by older persons. Unfortunately such is not the case in the center. Pre-school children play with other children and are picking up profane language everywhere. If one listens to some of their conversations, they are enough to give a shock to anybody. The apartments do not provide ample room for boys and girls to play indoors so they roam around all over the Project. They prefer to eat with their friends rather than with their parents. The punishment of children in public is not approved by the residents. The formation of laundry-room gang, appeals to their childhood fancies and we notice in some blocks such gangs are operating. The attendance of children to school is not regular. Absence without an excuse is quite common.

Conclusion:

The demoralization of the residents is one of the most vital questions we are facing at the present. The material losses through evacuation may be recovered sooner or later, but spiritual losses never.

After one year of life within the center, one can notice quite a change in the ethical conduct of the evacuees. As time goes on one has to expect the situation to be worse.

There seems to be only one or two ways in which you can cope with this situation. One way would be relocation and other way would be sound leader-

ship within the relocation center. How could it be done? The burden rests upon administration as well as evacuees.

(DK)

War Relocation Authority  
Community Analysis Section  
Minidoka Relocation Center

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Field Report 250

Part I

Event: General Meeting with a Representative of the Spanish Consul with regard to Project Conditions.

Time: 9:15 a.m. Dec. 22, 1943

Place: Recreation Hall, Block 22

Attendance: (1) Captain Antonio R. Martin, Assistant Spanish Consul from San Francisco.

(2) Yoshio Urakawa, chairman of the reporting committee.

(3) Issei Report Committee composed of 16 members chosen from Block Managers and Block Delegates.

(4) General Public, approximately 250.

The attendance numbered between 225 and 250. It was composed mainly of Issei men, with 10 or 12 Kibei of both sexes, and representation of about 15 Nisei. Participation in the various discussions was dominated entirely by the Issei.

Mr. Urakawa opened the meeting, "to present the many and perplexing problems of the evacuees in behalf of the people of Minidoka." He introduced Captain Martin, assistant Spanish Consul, whose brief greeting ending with "I hope you will have a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year," was well received.

The chairman then read the committee's report, stating that it would be supplemented by various individual reports from the people assembled. (Copy of report attached)

Two special reports were also presented. Some items were merely repetitions of the committee's report, but others set forth new requests and complaints. They were as follows:

1. Unavailability of Optometrist Services.

Residents are obliged to buy eye glasses themselves, and often unsatisfactorily, due to the fact that they are "Japanese". (Racial discrimination is implied here.)

2. School Problems.

a. School equipment is inadequate and insufficient.  
b. Parents resent the attitude of the teachers with regards to the teaching of current war subjects, especially--pertaining to the conflict between Japan and the U.S. (Implication is that the pupils are regarded by the Caucasian teachers, as Japanese, not Americans.)

3. Desire the return of Japanese books and phonograph records confiscated from them at the Assembly Centers.

4. Adequate recreation and recreational facilities for the Issei. Especially for those who have no working knowledge of the English language.

5. Erection of suitable indoor and outdoor play grounds for the children.

6. Privilege of "going home" (to residence prior to evacuation) for the purpose of settling, readjusting, or disposing of business matters. (Many feel that their interests are being mishandled by unscrupulous management.)

7. More compensation and authority for the Japanese evacuee doctors. They are all experienced, competent, and respected, and should be given more responsibility. At the present, Japanese doctors have no authority to operate in emergency cases, with the result that lives are unnecessarily lost whenever Caucasian doctors are too busy or absent from the project.

8. Clothing allowance for everyone, regardless of whether they are working or not.

9. Adequate accident compensation for those injured while working within the project.

10. Means of communicating with friends and relatives in Japan.

Individual requests made on the floor were few, and practically all covered by the committee's report. One, however, was noteworthy and should be recorded here.

An elderly Issei was quite vehement in his condemnation of the Center newspaper. In his words, "The Minidoka Irrigator is not our paper. It is under the thumb of the Administration and reflects only the policies and opinions of the WRA." His animosity was directed chiefly to the over-stressing of relocation. He stated that the majority of the 3,000 Issei here had neither the means or the desire to relocate. Their life savings and accumulated properties had been wiped out or at the best, badly decimated due to evacuation, and they were compelled to spend what little money they had saved in order to maintain a decent existence here in Hunt. "Furthermore, at our average age of 54, it is too late to start all over. Cash grants of a few dollars each will not put us on our feet again, or replace

what we have lost." These words are but the opinion of an individual, and does not necessarily reflect the attitude of the entire Issei group toward the problem of relocation.

Captain Martin seemed particularly interested in whether improvements had been made in the Center since the last visit of the Spanish Consul in August (See field report 165). Excepting for a slight improvement in food, the general opinion was that conditions remained unchanged. Later in the meeting, it was revealed that restrictions with regards to clothing allowances had been relaxed. (Under the new ruling, one worker entitles the whole family to receive clothing grants.)

In request for a clarification of repatriation procedures, he stated that repatriation of individuals was a matter of priority; based solely on lists supplied by the Japanese government.

Regarding the committees' report, the Assistant Consul stated that the residents themselves should provide a suitable and practical solution for every complaint and request registered, as the Spanish Embassy acts only as an intermediary between the two countries and has no jurisdiction over the relocation centers. In answer to complaints regarding minor phases of camp life, his opinion was that general conditions within the project was a problem of the U.S. government, having no bearing on International Law. "The problem being a domestic one, the Nisei, as American citizens, should insist upon their rights and bring about improvements by closer collaboration and understanding with the existing administration."

The meeting ended at 10:45 a.m. Mr. Urakawa thanked Captain Martin, in behalf of the residents of Minidoka and wished him "good luck and good health," and hoped for his visit again in the near future.

#### Behavior of Crowd:

In spite of crowded conditions, the meeting was very well conducted. The hall was full at the beginning and as the meeting progressed, congested to such an extent that one-third of the people there were compelled to stand. However,

everyone was well-behaved; interest running high. All of them seemed satisfied as to the thoroughness and completeness of the reports. (P.S.Q.)

## Part II

### Analysis of Residents' Report to the Spanish Consul, Dec. 22, 1943

The report presented to the Spanish Consul by the Issei resident committee covered in general many of the same complaints that were presented to the National Director during his October, 1943, visit to Minidoka (see report 232). The report was divided into two main sections, one devoted to the immaterial aspects and the other to the material aspects of relocation center life.

The first section of the report to the Consul was entitled "Spiritual and Mental Welfare of the Evacuee Residents" and was divided into three parts, the first dealing with relationships between WRA and the residents, a discussion of WRA Relocation Policy and the residents' reaction to it, and a short complaints on discrimination against Nisei and its effects.

A charge was made that in Minidoka center most of the administrative officials have assumed an "overbearing attitude of racial, social and intellectual superiority" which has undermined the morale of the residents. There can be no denial that certain of the appointed staff members fall in this category. The charge that "most of the administrative officials" possess this attitude is, however, open to question. The important element, though, is not this but whether the residents believe it to be the case. The report bluntly states this is the fact and that the morale of the residents has suffered as a result. The committee's assumption, however, seems to this observer to be somewhat exaggerated although it is apparently true that many of the residents feel that the administration demonstrates this type of attitude. This feeling, has resulted partly from contact with staff members who display this kind of attitude and from the impersonal type of staff-evacuee relationship that has been stressed locally by the Project Director. This type of relationship, which has been described as "keeping on an

institutional plane," has resulted in a smooth-running project. One of the inevitable aftermaths, however, appears to have been the development of the feeling among the residents that the A.P. staff as a whole looks down upon the Japanese.

In the short discussion of the section entitled "WRA Policy and the Resident's Reactions," several interesting examples of Issei attitudes are seen. Dominant here is the theme that the government has in a sense 'double crossed' the evacuees in that original promises are not being kept. Stress is placed upon the fact that originally the government promised to retain evacuees in relocation centers for the duration and that now this policy has been reversed and the residents are being forced out. It is true that a certain proportion of the evacuees feel that the government officials can no longer be trusted. It is also true that to a certain extent an attitude of uncertainty and confusion has probably resulted as claimed in the report from changes in WRA policy. Most of the arguments brought forward in this section are those that are constantly being offered by evacuees who do not believe in the relocation program. The attempt to depict the great mass of evacuees as "dazed", "confused," and "uncertain" seems to this observer to give somewhat of an exaggerated picture. It is undeniable that all these elements exist to some degree, but there seems to be a suggestion that the residents who do not want to relocate are in a sense trying to delude themselves and others that psychologically the residents are not prepared for this step. To a great extent this type of reaction is adopted unconsciously by the individuals who cannot bring themselves to accept relocation.

The section on the spiritual and mental welfare of the residents is an interesting document. It is cleverly constructed and well written. A feeling of resentment and bitterness is noticeable as an under-current throughout the report. All the attitudes expressed can be found in one or another elements of the evacuee population. The implication, however, is that there are widespread general attitudes.

Complaints re Material Conditions of Center Life

The complaints brought up in the past dealing with crowded housing, inadequate health service, inadequate recreational facilities, and mess operations were again introduced with minor variations.

The general opinion expressed in the meeting was that except for a slight improvement in food, project conditions had not materially improved since the Consuls' visit in August, 1943. There was little recognition of progress made. For example, the old complaint that the school facilities are inadequate was brought up again and no recognition given to the fact that continual improvements have and are being made.

The committee's report, however, indicated that emphasis has shifted in some instances since August. In the hospital situation, there is no longer a hue and cry for more evacuee doctors. The influx of Tuleans provided several additional doctors, which has eased this particular aspect. The knowledge that at least 6 physicians are available has created a greater sense of health security in the minds of the residents and one of the results has been a noticeable slacking of criticism of the Caucasian medical personnel.

It is rather significant to note that a few of the complaints made were not valid in that the conditions complained about have already been remedied. This was specifically true in one of the complaints about lack of recreational facilities. Here it was charged that the Project Administration had promised to provide swimming pools but had failed to keep this promise. As a result of this, two boys had drowned while swimming in the canal. This tragedy it was charged could have been avoided if a swimming pool with adequate safeguards had been provided. In reality, there was a project sponsored swimming pool during the summer of 1943 with lifeguards on duty. One of the drownings mentioned in the complaint occurred during the time the pool was in operation. This swimming pool and the lifeguards had been given sufficient publicity. It was continually used by hordes of youngsters during the summer months. Yet this fact apparently had not reached

the attention of the committee members who prepared the complaint section on recreation.

This lack of information on this specific subject is illustrative of several things. The committee was only to certain extent representative of the Issei residents. The present committee of 16 evacuee Issei representatives was elected from the Issei block delegates, block managers and members of the original evacuee Spanish Consul committee. Except for the block delegates the group had not been elected by the residents.

Further, there was not time for Issei residents to hold meetings to discuss problems. The complaints presented were not always current as in the case of the swimming pool. In the past the lack of swimming pool facilities had been long a topic of complaint among the residents. But the committee members who included this specific complaint had failed to note that this complaint had been at least partially satisfied this last summer.

The majority of the complaints presented were of such a nature that should ordinarily be handled locally by the evacuees and the WRA staff rather than be presented to the Japanese government through the Consul. The Spanish Consul went on record to this effect. The main reason that so minor complaints are brought up to the Consul goes back again to the fact that Minidoka has no formal, representative body which can present such problems to the project administration. Because of this lack of a formal body, these complaints are saved for such special occasions as when the National Director or the Spanish Consul visits the project. The community council would normally handle this type of problem, and will do so here if eventually set up.

(JdeY)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION  
MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

Field Report No. 255

Event: Evacuee opinion as of Dec. 30, 1943, regarding janitorial situation

Time: December 30, 1943

Unless drastic steps are taken by the administration to ease the situation, an eventual camp-wide walkout by all evacuee workers is threatening to loom up shortly in Minidoka. Beginning the first of the year, January 1, 1944, the entire janitorial force of the residential blocks and the administration area (with the exception of three women of 166 workers) will resign their jobs in protest to an ultimatum reputedly delivered by a Caucasian official of "put up with it or quit."

The situation resulted from the refusal on the part of the project administration, of a petition asking for a larger block maintenance crew, in November (see field report #239) and has since then come to a head by a Memo of Superintendent of Maintenance on Dec. 28.

Inconvenience of bathing and washing facilities (which would result if the boilers were shut down) is expected to bring about a general strike, especially by the laboring workers such as coal crews, highway crews, hog and chicken farm laborers, etc.

Composite opinions of a group of 26: "If we docilely comply with every order from the administration, it will encourage them to cut evacuee employment to the bone and made conditions miserable in Hunt. This condition, if left unaltered, will prove to be but the first of a series of employment reduction measures planned by the WRA officials for the sole purpose of forcing relocation. They are firing skilled Japanese and replacing them with incompetent Caucasians."

A Caucasian official of the project\*, presumably responsible for the recent cut in maintenance workers, is the target of many evacuees. They feel that he has shown his dislike for the Japanese on numerous occasions, and consequently should not be employed here. He is claimed to be uncompromising, stubborn, and unwilling to co-

operate or listen to suggestions from the evacuees working under him. Many feel that there is no place on the project for Mr. X, and that both the administration and the colonists would get along better without his presence.

(P.S.Q.)

\* Note: This refers to the Superintendent of Maintenance

*Green*

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION  
MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

Field Report No. 256

Subject: Report on Resident Delegation Dealing with Janitorial Trouble.

Time: Jan. 2, 1944

On December 30, 7:00 p.m., the influential members (?) from the blocks 1 to 19 met with the supervisor of boilermen and sanitation crew, Mr. Hatate, at Dining Hall #10.

The purpose of the meeting was to explain the situation which had arisen concerning boilermen and sanitation crew. On Dec. 28, Mr. Green, Supt. of Maintenance sent a memo to the supervisor saying that on Jan. 1, a 24 hour day with three 8 hour shifts was to be put in effect. He asked for the names of those men who did not want to comply with this order. This same order had gone thru on Nov. 19 (see field report #239) but at that time the boilermen had refused to comply with this order and asked that they be allowed to terminate on Dec. 31 since they could not do the work outlined with their present crews. Mr. Hatate explained this situation and the nature of the negotiations which had taken place between the administration and boilermen.

Mr. Hatate stated that the changing of the name of the boilermen to janitor and forcing them to do extra work was unjustifiable. His request for more men to carry out the necessary work has not been granted so far by the administration. Mr. Green sent a memo to the boilermen that failure to comply with his order meant dismissal from the job. This statement was too long and blunt and caused unpleasant repercussions among many of the Issei boilermen.

Mr. Hatate further stated that the boilermen and sanitation crew was forced to quit not by their own choice but due to the unreasonable demands from Mr. Green. Some block leaders were sympathetic toward the boilermen. Some feel that the Administration is merely trying to make life in the center miserable so that the residents eventually will relocate.

Some were of the opinion that Mr. Stafford understands the situation better than anyone else, but that Mr. Green is trying to put something over in order to win favor from the Administration and boilermen.

On the following day, December 31, at 9:00 a.m. the same members from blocks 1 to 19 again met (this time no representatives from boilermen or sanitation crew) and talked the situation over.

The main purpose of this meeting was the selection of a negotiating committee to meet with the Administration and the preparation of the agenda for this meeting with the Administration. After an hour of discussion, the following request was formulated. The negotiating committee decided to meet with Mr. Davidson, Acting Project Director, that same afternoon (Dec. 31).

The outline prepared was as follows:

1. Are you prepared for the emergency which will result if all the boilermen quit on December 31? If the Administration has a new crew on the hand and will be able to supply heat and hot water to the residents, no further negotiation is necessary at this time.
2. This whole problem may be solved if we can talk with Mr. Stafford face to face and the possibility of better adjustment may be then realized. It seems to us, Mr. Green is handling the situation in his own way.
3. The sanitation crew and boilermen wish to stay on the job, but since the demand is unreasonable, they are forced to quit not by their own choice, but on account of excess amount of work.
4. We request humanitarian reconsideration of this problem.
5. As a possible solution to the problem, we request an increase of men to meet the demands for next 3 or 4 months until warm weather comes.

The following persons were selected as members of a negotiating committee:

Section I	Hino and Uchida
II	Togasaki and Nomura
III	Ota, Kanaya, Yamada

In order to get in touch with the residents of the Area B, Mr. Kubota and Mr. Nomura acted as messengers to inform them of an emergency meeting which was to be held at 2:00 p.m. in this area on the same day.

There were about 30 delegates of section B gathered at Block 26 R.H. at 2:00 p.m. Seven delegates from the section A were also there.

The requests which had formulated by the delegates of section A was read by Mr. Yamada at this meeting. The opinion of the section B was more or less the same as section A, so a committee was chosen from the section B.

The following persons were selected:

Section IV	Kubota and Nomura
V	Yamada and Nakashima
VI	Go and Akiyama
VII	Hayatsu and Yukawa

The committee composed of 15 men then went to see Mr. Davidson. Mr. Davidson had been ill and was not feeling well, but he was glad to see and talk the matter over with the committee. He said that the only way to come to a satisfactory solution of any problem was to talk to each other and to straighten out all the misunderstanding.

It seemed as though Mr. Davidson was not too familiar with the whole situation. Mr. Yamada and Mr. Kanaya acted more or less as the spokesmen for the committee.

As far as the residents are concerned, they are more than anxious to have hot water on January 1. After about one hour of discussion, Mr. Davidson decided to send a memo to all the boilermen and to the sanitation crew appealing to them to keep on working until January 4th, when a meeting of the boilermen, sanitation crew, and the Administration personnel could be held.

The committee felt that such a notice should go through Mr. Hatate first since he is the responsible party and then should be circulated to the boilermen. Mr. Davidson promised that he would do so and all the delegates left Mr. Davidson's office around 4:30 p.m.

Around 8:00 p.m. boilermen and sanitation crew held a meeting and decided to keep on working until Tuesday, Jan. 4, 1944.

(D.K.)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION  
MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

Field Report No. 257

Subject: Effect of Janitorial Walkout. Situation as of Wednesday, January 5, 1944.

Since the resignation of janitors and boilermen last evening, the general camp situation has altered overnight. Usually methodical Minidoka was all confusion today. Residents woke up in the morning to find only cold water in their laundry and washrooms. However, there were few complaints, and any criticisms present were directed only at the administration.

The inconvenience of cold water has started talk of a general walkout. Unless the situation is eased within the next few days, a campwide strike seems in imminence. Garbage crews have stopped delivery of kitchen refuse to the hog farm and the disposal of garbage, the coal crew has resolved not to haul coal except to the hospital and the residential dining hall kitchens. Truck convoy services were disrupted, and schedules were irregular and infrequent.

A secondary problem has arisen from the boiler shut-down. A gang of young motor pool workers numbering about 30, patrolled the project today intimidating the residents into cooperating with the janitor-boilermens' protest. Stoves in the laundry and shower rooms were doused with buckets of water and snow. Stove fires in the administration offices were also put out and janitors warned not to start them again. This gang is not directly involved in the controversy and their acts apparently are not sanctioned nor ordered by the boilermen.

Block 8 has created a situation of its own. The block manager apparently encouraged volunteers to keep the fires going in direct opposition to the rest of the project with the result that they have been "black-listed". "8 block" has been literally distorted to "Eta Block", and is now widely known as Eta Mura. (Any small village in Japan inhabited with a low and illiterate class of people, generally shunned by other.)

Cooks have been threatened with discontinuation of food stuff delivery unless they cooperate with the other blocks. Today, dining hall deliveries were dumped on the ground instead of being taken into the kitchen. Tonight's meat allotment for block 8 was delivered in a filthy paper carton and according to the residents, "was all fat and bone."

The administration convened with the block managers this afternoon in an effort to iron out difficulties, but an immediate solution seems unlikely.

Meanwhile, the boiler fires are out in all the blocks of Minidoka tonight for perhaps the first time in two years. (P.S.Q.)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION  
MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

Field Report No. 258

Event: Meeting of Admin. officials with Block manager representatives and boilermen foremen to discuss Boilermen walkout.

Time: Wednesday night, Jan. 6, 1944

Present: R. S. Davidson, acting project director, I. Lechliter, Project attorney, J. Bigelow, Reports Officer, Joe Beeson, Relocation Officer, Dean Miller, asst. Director in charge of Admin., J. de Young, Community Analyst.

Block manager representatives:

Tura Nakamura (ch. block managers)  
F. Sano  
K. Nakatani  
S. Ishikawa  
E. Sakamoto            M. Tosaya  
M. Muramatsu  
S. Hosokawa  
H. Tanida  
M. Harada  
K. Kawakuchi

Boiler foremen:

I. Jitodai  
G. Hara  
F. Ozawa  
R. Shiiki  
Terazawa  
Tada

The meeting opened at 10:15 p.m. Mr. Tura Nakamura, ch. of block managers briefly explained purpose of meeting in Japanese and then turned meeting over to Mr. Davidson.

Mr. Davidson:

After meeting this afternoon with the block managers we thought it would be a good idea to get together with some of the boilermen foremen and discuss some of the solutions that were suggested by which we could settle this situation. I talked to Mr. Stafford this afternoon and he said we couldn't add any more men. I also called Mr. Dillon Myer in Washington and he said the same thing. Thus, we are not in a position to add any men to the boilermen crew. After talking the matter over with the block managers, we decided to ask the boilermen and janitors to return to work on their old schedule. That is, they would have the same number of men and work under their old arrangement. All we want is service for the residents and don't care how they work it out. We thought also that the block managers could supply some volunteer to help keep fires going at night. You don't have to work with Mr. Green. We'll leave Mr. Green out of the picture and you will be directly under my supervision. All we want is to get the job done.

Mr. Hosokawa: (bl. manager of 7-8)

Was this order for the new budget just for Minidoka or for all the centers?

Mr. Davidson:

For all the centers. I assume it was a blanket order.

Then followed a long discussion in Japanese among three or four men. A digest of this discussion was as follows:

Mr. T. Nakamura:

The idea that these gentlemen have been saying is that the original request for 2 extra people must be met. Things have gone so far that nothing else will satisfy them.

Mr. Ozawa:

I resigned yesterday as foreman and can speak only now as an individual. I am not in position to represent the boilerman of my crew. I can't persuade them to go back to work in the old system. Things have gone too far for that. I hope there is a solution but I can only go back to the boilerman as an individual not in my former capacity.

Mr. Davidson:

I'd like to ask if the foreman would go along with us. Will the other follow?

Mr. Nakamura:

The real issue is that they want 2 more people.

Mr. Davidson:

Then issue boils down to that they want 2 more people in each block.

Mr. Nakamura:

Yes, that is the real issue. They feel they cannot go back to work unless that is granted.

Mr. X (one of the foremen)

Mr. Davidson says we don't have to work for Mr. Green. There has been some trouble Green and our supervisor, Mr. Hatate, but the rest of the workers have not been so concerned. We are all glad that we won't have to work any longer for Green, but the issue is that we cannot work without more men.

Mr. Davidson:

Are you people saying that it is too late to negotiate? We've heard a lot about Japanese psychology. I just can't understand it. I'd like to ask about 2 things. Everybody wants hot water. Yet, I hear that the mess halls cooks won't give the mothers hot water for their babies. Then in a few places where residents did build fires, a group of young men came and put snow and water on the fires and put them out. I don't understand that.

Mr. Nakamura:

I suppose that's because some of the residents sympathize with the boiler-men. They want them to get what they ask for. I can understand that.

Then followed about a half an hour discussion in Japanese on the new janitorial setup.

Mr. Nakamura:

Mr. Davidson under the new system are the boilermen entitled to 24 additional relief men.

Mr. Davidson:

Hatate tells me he now has about 157 employees. We are allotted 164 for the blocks. So actually he will have more than he has now.

Mr. Nakamura:

If they go back to the old system are they entitled to have 15 more?

Mr. Davidson:

Under the new system everybody will have to be included--foremen, inspectors, etc. There will be not as many as before.

About hour's discussion in Japanese took place. The boiler foremen and several block managers got together and worked out various ways which enable the boilermen to return to work. T. Nakamura then presented the following plans.

Mr. T. Nakamura:

After discussion the matter, the men here have 3 plans to suggest:

- (1) is that they want two extra men for each block added to the boilermen. (This is the consensus of the boilermen).
- (2) If they can't get two extra men, they suggest that 1 or 2 men from other divisions be transferred from other divisions for the cold winter months.
- (3) The third plan is that perhaps the boilermen will go back to their old jobs under the following conditions--
  - (a) They have to fire only the boiler
  - (b) That they will not take care of the stoves in the laundry room and lavatories and that they will take no responsibility for freezing of pipes.
  - (c) Further they be allowed to keep their own hours, but they will fire only boilers and they will try to do the best they can.

Mr. Davidson:

If they'll take care of all the fires, we'll forget all about hours. I don't see how this jibes with the statement that they'll do the best they can. You know as well as I that we don't have to have 2 or 3 boilermen sitting around boilerroom.

Mr. Nakamura:

Can't the stoves in the laundry room and shower rooms be handled by men from other divisions?

Mr. Davidson:

I don't see how. Already we have shifted all over. Adjustments have already been made. Of course, if the men will do the best they can, we can't ask for more.

Mr. T. Nakamura:

They don't want to be responsible for freezing. If that plan is approved by you, they will go back to Mr. Hatate.

Mr. Davidson:

If they'll not qualify as to which fires they'll tend, but will take care of all fires, I'll accept that 3rd plan.

Mr. Nakamura:

They'll take the message back to Mr. Hatate, if you don't make them responsible for the stove fires.

Mr. Ishikawa:

Mr. Davidson, if you were a resident and came out of hot shower and there wasn't any fire in the shower room and you felt like your behind would freeze, what would you do? So what's all the shouting about?

Mr. Davidson:

In regard to the plans presented. The first one I can't accept at all. The second one I can offer no hope on since adjustments have been already made.

Mr. Nakamura:

Will you agree to the third plan as stated by the men here that they take care only of the boilers and have nothing to do with the stoves?

Mr. Davidson:

I'll agree to that third plan.

Mr. Nakamura:

You know this is only a suggested plan. The men will have to go back and see how the boilermen and representatives feel about the whole matter.

A discussion Japanese took the foremen and Nakamura as to Davidson's agreement to accept their third plan.

Mr. Nakamura:

If there is any possibility that you can agree to the second plan of shifting men from other divisions they will prefer that.

Mr. Davidson:

I can't offer any hope on that plan. I can't make any promises at all. If the men take this third plan back to Hatate and he's too sick to discuss it, will they, however, go to the other boilermen? I'd like to know by noon tomorrow and not later than 3:00 tomorrow afternoon what the boilermen's reaction to this is?

I'd like to know also what connection these young fellows who have been going around putting out fires has with the boilermen. They came up this morning and intimidated the Admin. Firemen. Is there anybody here that knows who the ring-leaders are? We all ought to work together and stop it.

(There was no response to this last question.)

Mr. Davidson:

Well, let's try the third plan on the boilermen and let me know tomorrow.

(Another discussion in Japanese took place and Nakamura reported:

Mr. Nakamura:

The third plan is out. The men feel that there are too few people here to make a decision. They will not decide that this plan is the one to take back to the boilermen since they want two extra men. We block managers will try to get the delegates and boilermen together to discuss the situation tomorrow.

The meeting adjourned a few minutes after 2:00 a.m. Thursday morning.

Behavior of group:

The boilermen foremen who came to this meeting made it clear at the outset that they were there only as individuals and were not representing the boilermen. This meeting had been decided upon by the Admin. and Block Managers in the afternoon, but the boilermen foremen did not know of the meeting until they were contacted by the chairman of Block managers and Acting P.D. These two made the rounds of the center after 7:00 p.m. calling on the foremen and asking them to attend. The head supervisor was ill and would not attend. The two chief foremen, likewise, refused to attend as did several other boilermen who were contacted.

A great deal of time was consumed in the meeting in rehashing (in Japanese) all the events that had occurred. Finally the boilermen foremen did suggest several plans. But when the acting P.D. consented to their plan, they refused to accept it on the grounds they could not make a decision. It was apparent that they were

6.  
attempting to see how far the administration would give in. Once a concession  
had been made, the situation would again revert to the original demand for 2  
additional men.

(JdeY)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION  
MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER

Field Report No. 263

Subject: Preliminary Notes on Acceptance of Tuleans

Time: Jan. 10, 1944

When two classes, or assembly of people combine together for the purpose of forming a common society, there must necessarily be a period of readjustment before they can be blended together into the formation of a harmonious group. Thus the many difficulties hitherto experienced between the Minidokans and the ex-Tuleans, now project residents in their own right, can be readily understood. At the present time, the hostilities and dissensions caused by the influx of the Tuleans seem to have run its course, and except for a few minor cases created mostly by an unassimilable group of young Nisei, the period of maladjustment seems to be over.

However, for the purpose of study, the various grievances expressed by the ex-Tuleans should be recorded here. This list is by no means complete, and is meant to merely supplement those set forth in earlier reports. Due to the peculiarity of Japanese psychology, there never was, nor has developed since, an actual problem between the two groups of Issei. On the contrary, the arrival of the Tuleans brought about the renewing of old friendships and the beginning of many new acquaintances. How the residents went out of their way to welcome the Tule Lake people into Minidoka is a now well established fact.

Their complaints were mostly with regards to general camp conditions. There were as follows:

1. Unavailability of housing.

This was the primary grievance of the Tuleans. An unnamed WRA official at Tule Lake had promised them definitely that sufficient accommodations had been made for them in Hunt. The inefficiency and unpreparedness of the Housing Division here is now past history. It must be admitted that the project was not sufficiently

organized to facilitate this great migration from the Tule Lake project. Part of this can be blamed on seasonal leaves, which seriously affected all operating branches of the project including Housing, and forced them to operate with insufficient and inexperienced personnel. However, mismanagement by the Housing Division was generally accepted by most of the residents.

The "arrogant and superior attitude" affected by the heads of the Housing committee was a source of much resentment. Opinions that they were playing up to the administration and not cooperating with the best welfare of the Japanese evacuees was prevalent. Here are some unconfirmed rumors;

A woman unwilling to share her room with total strangers was told that the only other alternative was to pitch a tent among the sagebrush.

Unable to obtain a room, a Tulean Issei, in his anger turned a table over at the Housing Division with the result that Mr. X <sup>1/</sup>hastily assigned him an apartment.

"You have to give them some money or a bottle of whiskey" was an often voiced opinion, implying that bribery obtained the desired results in several instances.

A woman and her daughter from Tule Lake were ousted from a three-person apartment. A few days later it was assigned to a couple who were friends of one of the Housing Committee men.

Housing difficulties have now been practically eliminated except for some cases of two families living together in the same apartments.

The re-partitioning of barracks to satisfy their needs is now in progress. This, coupled with the anticipated move towards relocation in the spring should solve any existing housing problems in the very near future.

2. Restrictions in clothing allowances in Minidoka as compared to Tule Lake.

This was a common complaint. In their former relocation center,

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<sup>1/</sup> One of the Housing Committee members.

residents over 60 years of age received clothing allowances. Further inquiry revealed that all evacuees, regardless of whether they worked or not, were given clothing allotments. According to rules governing allowances in Minidoka only workers and their dependents benefited by this measure. Lately, rulings have been relaxed here to the extent that all workers and their families received clothing allowances. However, there are still cases of families unable to obtain work and are thus, not enjoying any benefit as yet.

### 3. General camp layout

Upon arrival, the majority of the Tuleans were dismayed at the layout of long, sprawling Minidoka. Many of them had anticipated living together in solid "all Tulean" blocks (similar to the Portland group) and were alarmed to find themselves scattered throughout the length and breadth of the center. The long distance between the two ends of the project, the poor lighting of the roads at night, inadequate roads and walks, lack of transportation--all these were eyed with disfavor by the new residents. Tule Lake, obviously due to its earlier construction seems to be in a more advanced stage as a community with regards to these aspects.

### 4. Food.

At first, criticism was rampant with respect to the quality of food served here and as to general dining hall procedures. Tuleans, accustomed to having their meals already served on the tables, felt foolish having to line up for their dinner and then cleaning their plates later. However, they rapidly conformed to the established customs here and present no difficulties whatsoever.

On the whole, the Issei and their younger children were assimilated quite readily and presented no real problem.

However, the young Nisei, ranging from teen-agers to those of late twenties, was another question. These bewildering offsprings, with their various social activities, formed the nucleus of many unpleasant situations and problems. For a while ill-feeling ran high between the belligerent Minidokans and

the defiant ex-Tuleans, and several open clashes were witnessed before the period of adjustment seemingly came to a close.

In all fairness to the youngsters, it must be stated that those involved in these social conflicts comprised only about 30% of both groups. As the majority of the ex-Tuleans originally (before evacuation) lived in the Northwest, to many of them transfer to Minidoka resulted only in happy reunions with their families, relatives, and old friends. As in the case of their Issei parents, they made new acquaintances through their friends here in Hunt.

The rest of the young Tuleans presented another problem. Here was a minority group from more or less isolated parts of the coast states; a group whose relatives and acquaintances had been shunted off to other relocation centers. Finding themselves in a strange and to them an alien community, they unconsciously assumed a defiant attitude. Minidokans retaliated with belligerency and the fight was on. Neither expect a friendly hand and neither side extends one. It was "those sloppy Californians" was the underlying cause creating the cleavage between the young people of Hunt.

Although Californians constituted only a small fractional part of the ex-Tuleans, the Minidokan youngsters impartially classified the whole group into that category. To a certain extent their attitude was justifiable. The Northwestern evacuees who were sent to Pinedale and later to Tule Lake intermingled with the Japanese population of Sacramento, Marysville and other California towns. The adolescent Nisei were deeply impressed by the "different Southerners", and quickly adopted the clothes and customs of the California younger set. Thus the outlandish zoot suits, tight legged levis and the long, oily haircuts became favorites with the teen-age boys and the flannel shirts and black jeans were adopted by some of the girls.

Upon arrival in Minidoka, these "uniforms" were for the most part, gradually discarded in favor of more conventional clothing. However, a large group of boys still stubbornly clung to their California-influenced habiliments.

These articles of apparel have become a synonymy with the worst elements of the California Japanese, and the residents of Hunt seem to have acquired a definite distaste for their ways.

This ill-feeling on the part of the evacuee residents here traces back to the winter of 1942, when a group of Manzanar bachelors made temporary quarters here in Hunt. Tales of former Seattleites in this center being manhandled by a gang from San Pedro, stories of girls being slapped by Los Angeles boys because they refused to dance with strangers, the threatening of residents here with knives and the subsequent arrest and jailing of a Californian on a knifing charge-- all this created a deep ingrained dislike for all strange California Japanese and built a citadel of prejudice against them difficult to tear down.

In spite of "Welcome Tuleans" signs displayed throughout the project, ex-Tuleans at first received cold reception at dances and other social activities. Minidokans threw pennies at their feet, girls refused to dance with them, overtures of friendship were ignored or rebuffed and regarded as being "fast" and "fresh". On the other hand, resident youngsters complained of the "sloppy clothes", "screwy dancing", and "lack of manners". For a time, the rift between the two groups grew wider and several exclusive "just Minidokans" and "all Tulean" affairs sprang into evidence.

However, over a period of months, the majority of the Tuleans eventually found their inches in the social and community life of Minidoka. They were welcomed into the Young Peoples' Clubs of various blocks and many were elected into responsible offices. Young ex-Tuleans leaders seem to have a deeper sense of community spirit and initiative than the Hunt Nisei here, and as a result, found themselves heading many activities. One Young Peoples' Club has a Tulean president, secretary, and treasurer and many other clubs have given recognition to their qualifications of leadership. One widely popular Tulean is a coordinator of Community Activities, and in spite of his physical handicaps, is serving his part of the camp in an exceedingly satisfactory manner. There is no doubt that this

injection of "new blood" into this community have done wonders toward improving relationships among the organizations and clubs here.

The various activities of Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Years' hastened the integration of the Tuleans to no small degree. Imbued with a generally genial holiday spirit, friendships blossomed more readily during this period than at any other time. Consequently, many existing difficulties between the two groups were ironed out.

At the present time, most of the Tuleans have adapted themselves to the pattern of community and social life established here. The "zoot suits" and tight pants have dwindled into a very small minority and no longer constitute a major problem. They have consistently refused to conform to the social standards here, and although undesirable, represents the dissentory elements found in any normal community. Aside from this, the resident evacuees here have generally accepted the Tuleans and the period of assimilation has been completed.

MINIDOKA RELOCATION CENTER  
Community Analysis Section

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Japanese Relocation Papers  
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RELOCATION CENTER LIFE INTERPRETED IN LIGHT OF W. I. THOMAS' WISH THEORY.

Note: The following report written by one of the research assistants of the Community Analysis Section of Minidoka center is an attempt to show how individual behavior and the social pattern of evacuee life in a relocation center follow the wish theory of W.I. Thomas.

The wish theory of W.I. Thomas attempts to interpret individual behavior and social phenomena in terms of wish fulfillment. There are numerous wishes but according to Thomas the majority of those wishes may be classified into four fundamental classes.

These are:

1. The wish for security
2. The wish for new experience
3. The wish for response
4. The wish for recognition

The unique setup of community life in a relocation center with its various artificial controls imposed from above, offers unusual opportunities for testing theories of social behavior. This report is an attempt to illustrate how these wishes are the motives behind social behavior in the center.

The Wish for Security.

As long as the evacuees live within the relocation center, they feel a strong sense of security. For convenience, we can break down the term security into material security, psychologi-

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cal security, and social security, Food, shelter, and clothing, three of the barest necessities for existence, are provided by the WRA. The compensation of \$19.00 or \$16.00 per month plus a clothing allowance of \$2.25 to \$3.75 per month is not enough to afford the evacuees any luxuries but enables a family to subsist fairly well since food and shelter are furnished. Prior to the evacuation, many families financially were having a hard time. In fact, some families are better off in the relocation center than they were previously. This is especially true of the some families with five or more children.

There are two major fears which prevent relocation of the older folks. One is economic insecurity and the other is of a social nature. They fear that they will not be able to support their families and that they will not be socially accepted in a new community. As long as the evacuees stay within the center these fears do not exist.

The Japanese in the United States have been gregarious (this is true with other people also) and before evacuation tended to live within a little community of their own. There was reluctance to settle in a new and strange community by themselves. Although life within the center may be dry and prosaic, nevertheless, it is life in a community of racially homogenous people with the same cultural background. Here they can enjoy the same types of entertainment and appreciate the same social values.

The influence of prefectural groups known as kenjin-kai was prevalent in the Japanese community in Seattle and other west

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coast regions. People who came from the same ken or prefecture tended to band together. But after evacuation, such sentiment subsided and the evacuees are now beginning to consider themselves as a larger whole.

There is always a sense of security for people when they live in a homogenous group. On the other hand the Japanese living in the outside world where many people regard them with suspicion and prejudice are constantly exposed to fear of a psychological nature. In addition, there is often a very real fear concerning personal safety. The people living within the relocation center are free from such fears. While it is admitted that life within relocation center is a temporary life, nevertheless, there is a strong sense of security attached to it. This is perhaps one of the fundamental reasons why many evacuees are reluctant to relocate in a strange community. Within the center there is no economic insecurity, no fear of discrimination and violence.

#### The wish for response

In the center there are many persons who spread rumors either intentionally or unintentionally. It is hard to determine just on what grounds a person makes up rumors but there are certain individuals who are prone to spread fantastic stories concerning the affairs of the center and life outside. The persons who come under this category pretend they know all about something and attempt to get favorable response from the residents.

In this group are the persons who usually take the lead in laundry-room or boiler-room gossip.

Others who come under this category of seeking response are such individuals as block managers who always want to make announcements on trivial matters, self-appointed leaders of block, anonymous letter writers, women who assume a leading part in laundry-room gossip, and individuals who wish to act as toastmasters on every possible occasion.

The wish for new experience

The evacuation program was a new experience not only for the Japanese but for the American people as well. One thing, however, is certain that there was no one who wished for an experience of this sort. Community life within the relocation project has become monotonous and within this limited center life, many evacuees are now longing for new experiences. A former barber who accepts a job as fireman in the project, a gardener who becomes a carpenter, a cook who becomes a farmer----these can be regarded as examples of desire for new experience. Persons who have never been leaders in their former communities now make every effort to become a block manager, a foreman or a supervisor, OR to be elected to the board of directors of the Coop.

Many of the young Nisei boys and girls who left the project on indefinite leave did so in the spirit of adventure. All were eager to encounter new experiences in new communities. We can say that one of the dominant reasons why so many young Nisei left the project was because they were tired of the uneventful life within the center. Their ~~is~~ eager desire to get

out was a dominant factor or motive behind their decision. The Issei, on the other hand, went through all kinds of experiences many years ago when they landed in the United States. Today they are not so anxious to relocate and seek new experiences. This is due to their old age as well as their indifferent attitude toward a new experience which offers little security to them.

In the field of recreational activities, many Issei men are taking up baseball for the first time in their lives. Women are taking up knitting, flower making, sewing, embroidery and crocheting.

Immediately after the relocation center began operation many men particularly Issei, were eager to join the force of the Internal Security. Individuals who had never held a position of authority were more than glad to accept a job in which authority over other people came into play. The status of 'policeman' seems to have a special appeal to the minds of many Issei because many years ago in Japan, policemen were regarded as a class by themselves. In a normal community in America, Japanese were not able to become policemen because they did not have the physical qualifications necessary.

#### The wish for recognition

The wish for recognition is perhaps the most dominant one in a relocation center.

Regardless of one's social and economic status prior to evacuation, the evacuees in the center live in the same type of barrack rooms, eat the same food, and share common laundry and

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shower rooms. To a large extent the old social and economic status symbols through which people secured recognition no longer hold within the relocation center. Other means of attempting to secure recognition have thus come into operation.

Many evacuees who have never held supervising positions in a normal community now wish to come out to the front and be recognized. Many evacuees now strive to get their names published in the project newspaper.

In many blocks, the competition for the position of block manager and block delegates was intense. The majority of block managers appear to have had some personal interest in maintaining the status with regards to plans to institute formal community representatives. Without doubt, the block managers would be in a less important position if there was a formal community council.

Among the block delegates there seems to be friction towards the block managers. Many residents feel that the establishment of block commissioner will be bad because both will attempt to assume the leadership of their block and to run it.

Some time ago, when the residents held an election of the Coop board of directors, the competition among candidates was very intense, although it was not shown openly.

Certain persons on the Internal Security force will not trade their job for anything else. They feel that a great deal of prestige goes along with being a policeman even within the relocation center.

Quite a few of the Nisei prefer to work in the offices of the administration rather than the offices which are supervised by evacuees. Some evacuees are of the opinion that the more ambitious persons have a tendency to work in the administrative offices. This partly due to a sentiment of Caucasian worship prevailing among some Nisei as well as Issei. Nevertheless, the wish for recognition is a dominant factor in determining such a tendency. Many Nisei feel it is difficult to get along with evacuee foremen and supervisors because they assume an arrogant attitude toward their fellow workers. Other evacuees attempt to get on the good side of the Administration by approaching the Caucasian personnel at every opportunity. Much of this is motivated by a desire to gain the recognition of the Administration.

#### Summary

Life in the relocation center is unique in itself and quite different from that of a normal community. The factors of competition which motivate behavior outside are either lacking or are of minor importance within a relocation center. As a result, the residents have ample opportunity to participate in the various activities of the center. It is through participation in the activities of everyday life of the center that the manifestation of Thomas' fundamental wishes stands out.

It must be admitted that Thomas' theory in reality explains little. It is extremely difficult to determine the relative

importances of one wish from another. The classification of the number of desires, wishes, interests, or sentiments vary from author to author. While Thomas states there are four fundamental wishes, sociologists claim there are more than one hundred. The writer is not unaware of the shortcomings of Mr. Thomas's theory but at the same time feels there is some value and truth in it. The pattern of social behavior in the relocation center appear to be motivated largely by such wishes or desires.

(Dick Kanaya)