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REPORT

Frank Miyamoto  
Tule Lake

September 1, 1942

Prevalent Fears in the Tule Lake Community

Introduction

This report attempts to answer the question, "What are the prevalent fears of people in the Tule Lake community?" The circumstances which caused the evacuation and resettlement of people of Japanese ancestry in relocation centers and the restrictions which necessarily are imposed in a project of this type naturally tend to create misapprehensions among the evacuees. We may assume that these anxieties and fears are significant psychological forces in the mass response to every program initiated by the WRA within relocation centers, and an understanding of them is necessary if the programs are to be carried out successfully.

In the following discussion several criticisms of the administration appear in the expressions of the people. While some of these criticisms may have sound basis of argument, others are nothing more than very hazardous contentions; but no effort is made here to prove or disprove the correctness of statements, for this paper only purports to indicate what are the popular expressions of fear and dissatisfaction.

Method

The obvious approach to the investigation would be to inquire of a large sample of persons, "What are your fears in the present situation?" The persons interviewed could then be classified as to age, sex, and generation, and their responses could be tabulated to indicate varying degrees of concern about each problem in different groups. In the actual investigation at least two shortcomings of this method became evident; (1) a direct question, "What are your fears?" seldom brought the desired response; for the persons interviewed either did not care to reveal their personal fears, or, more frequently, were not consciously aware of fears which they had; and, (2) the fears which dominate their thoughts are not uniform over time, but change rapidly with changing situations.



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It was found that a more complete understanding of the prevalent fears in the community could be had by direct observation of people's behavior, by listening to people's everyday conversations, by looking behind the external functioning of the community organization into the personal struggles to fit themselves somewhere in the social system, and by taking account of rumors that frequently appear in various parts of the community. Rumors, it should be noted, are merely tools for the masses of people to fill in areas of communication where information is lacking or where considerable uncertainty exists on important issues; and they thus indicate some of the basic fears of the populace. By using such techniques of investigation, it is hoped that a fairly accurate evaluation of the dominant fears existing here has been made. The shortcoming of this method is, of course, that no concise quantitative statement of the findings can be offered, nor is there any assurance that the sample taken is reliable, but it is believed that the advantage of completeness of understanding gained by the method used overweighs its disadvantage of inadequate quantitative precision.

### Findings

#### Fears about Post-War Future

The dominant fear of the people, the one which most influences them in their adjustments today, is the concern about their livelihood in the post-war period. This fear appears in the form of such questions as: Where shall we go from here after the war? How shall we earn a living? What will be our treatment by the American people? What will be the long-time effect of life here upon our character, and how will we be affected in our future adjustments? This uncertainty of the post-war future is present among both the Issei and Nisei, though in different forms; but the extent of the fear varies with differential family savings.



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Financial Condition

A dominant fear of the people is that more money will be spent while here in the Relocation Center than can be justified when considering the needs of the future. Many are here, it seems, with only a few hundred dollars savings at most, or with nothing at all at worst, and there is perhaps grounds for concern when family heads consider the persons for whom they are responsible.

Evidence of this concern appears in each council meeting. For example, representatives of blocks from ward 3 have made vigorous protests against the establishment of a canteen in their ward. The principal reason for the objection to the canteen seems to be that the proximity of a store to their blocks inclines people to excessive spending. Nor is this protest of canteens limited to ward 3 alone, but it is present in many sections of the community. The persistent demand for clothing, shoes, and soap is likewise directly related to the question of money expenditure and the small means upon which to draw, but the allowances determined by the new W.R.A. policy should help to relieve these anxieties as soon as the distribution is set in operation. No less significant is the widespread interest in the consumer cooperative plan, for the basis of this interest lies in a desire among the colonists to control the community enterprises and thereby control expenditure.

Typical Expressions

"The more money we spend, the less the W.R.A. will provide us. That's what happened in the assembly centers. We bought with our own money at the canteen there, and then the W.C.C.A. turned around and said we didn't need any allowance since we had plenty of money."

"Close the stores; the W.R.A. is going to provide us with our necessities."

"There should be differential prices at the canteen for people according to their wealth. People who can pay more should be asked higher prices, and those



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who are poor should be asked only token payment."

"We'll be leaving here naked at the present rate of expenditure."

"You mean to say that we spent \$74,000 in the local stores in July alone? That's too much. People will go broke at that rate."

Post-War Treatment

There is an underlying apprehension of the kind of treatment that will be accorded the Japanese in America in the post-war period. Many wonder whether they will be permitted to return to their former homes on the Pacific Coast, and view with anger the efforts of some organizations to dispossess the Japanese of any holdings which they may still retain. If they cannot go back to their old homes, they wonder where they will be permitted to go. The Mountain States seem unreceptive and barren; the Mid-West seems too distant and strange for consideration at present. Some think a return to Japan is the only way out, but the Nisei wish to remain here by and large.

A major portion of the W.R.A.'s difficulties in administering her policies among the Japanese here lies in the fact that the people have not made their decision about post-war plans. If the Japanese were to make an all-out decision against the United States, the problem would be simple; the relocation center could be immediately transformed into a concentration camp. But the majority of the Japanese intend to remain in the United States, yet they are distrustful of white treatment of the Japanese in the future. This distrust of the whites reveals itself even now in the responses of the colonists to the administration. Irrational though such a response may be, the essentially psychological nature of the problem makes it difficult to contend with.

Post-War Jobs

Both Issei and Nisei are concerned about the problem of finding jobs in



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the post-war period, but there is a fundamental difference between them in that the Issei's occupational pattern is already set while the Nisei's occupational selections are yet to be made in most instances. In the case of the Issei the impossibility of determining the possibilities in the future leads to a kind of apathy in the present, but the Nisei are restlessly seeking training that will fit them for the post-war period.

Immediate Needs

Food Shortage

Typical expressions:

"I hear the warehouse is practically empty. I heard it from my friend who works down in the warehouse."

"You can be sure that the Japanese forces will attack the Pacific Coast, and probably bomb the railways. As isolated as we are, any breakdown of the railway system would quickly bring us to the point of starvation."

"The administration can't keep ahead on the feeding of 15,000 people with only one day's stock of food on hand in the warehouses."

"The trains won't be coming through during the winter months."

"I hear there isn't any meat left in the warehouse."

"Mrs. K. is stocking up sacks of rice and other food. She says there may come a time when the government won't feed us. What do you think of it? Do you think we ought to put in a stock, too?"

The fear of food shortage is directly related, on the one hand, to the kind of food served in the mess halls, and on the other, to the anticipation of transportation difficulties due to bombing or winter stalling. Whenever the meals are poor, the people have anxieties of food shortage, and even go to the extent of looking into the warehouses to check on how much food is actually on hand. Rumors frequently fly around concerning the lack of a food stock in the



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warehouses, and people begin laying in stocks of rice, canned goods, etc., in anticipation of a time when they will not be fed. The correlation of this fear with the kinds of meals served is further indicated by the recent absence of such rumors and anxieties ever since the quality and quantity of food has been improved. This concern about a prospective food shortage also arises from the popular conception about railway problems, of snow-covered passes and bombed-out tracks, a conception that has been reinforced by the minor difficulties already experienced. Women in some blocks have taken to drying left-over rice in the sun with the thought that it might be saved for the day when there is not enough to eat in the mess halls.

There seems to exist more concern about this problem among Issei than among Nisei, and among women than among men. Inability to read the local as well as outside newspapers, to understand announcements from the administration, and ignorance of the affairs of the outside world and their shortages, are all factors contributing to this fear.

#### Clothing Shortage

Typical expressions:

"I've got a family of six to keep in clothing. We've never lived in cold climate like this, and I have to provide winter clothing for three children as well as my wife and me. How long do you think my funds will last?"

"What do they think we are, anyway. Here our clothes are wearing out on the farm everyday, but we haven't even been paid our wages. We work on somebody else's farm almost for nothing, but we have to pay for our clothes out of our own pocket."

"The water here seems pretty hard on clothing when it's laundered frequently. And the clothes have to be laundered frequently considering the dust here."

"There must be some alkaline substances in the dust here. I haven't seen



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clothing wear out so fast before."

"The W.R.A. promised us all our needs. Where's our clothing?"

Some of these fears and resentments have subsided with the announcement of the new W.R.A. policy calling for clothing allowances. In part, this concern about clothing derives from a feeling among some persons that the "W.R.A. should provide us everything," but there are those who hold a legitimate fear of going to considerable expense to keep their families clothed, especially in winter clothing. Problems of food and clothing will probably continue to persist throughout the W.R.A. program, and some measures should be outlined to contend with them; but it should be remembered that these issues arise from the much more deep-seated resentment of the whole evacuation situation.

Winter Shelter and Fuel

Typical expressions:

"I wish I'd gone to Gila River. I was talking to one of the white construction workers who spent some time in these parts as well as in Arizona. He told me these flimsy buildings won't be adequate protection by any means from the severe winters here. He was feeling sorry for us."

"The W.R.A. should give us lumber to build porches. I hear the winter winds here are pretty bad. At least, you can be sure the tar paper on the roofs will rip off before the winter's over."

"I see by the Dispatch that we're to have 57,000 tons of coal this winter. Discount the coal that goes to heat the kitchen and washroom boilers, and there won't be even a couple of tons for each family. That's not enough."

This fear of inadequate shelter and heat for the winter is not at present widely prevalent, but should there ever be any shortage of coal, widespread concern will undoubtedly appear. There is greater concern on this matter among



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the latest arrivals to Tule Lake than among earlier arrivals, for the former have almost no fuel stock while the latter have piled up a fair stock of scrap lumber. Since dry kindling wood burns rapidly, however, increasing concern about fuel may be expected.

On the other hand, those who have already had the large cast-iron army stoves installed speak with enthusiasm about them. Said one person in ward 6 who tried out the big stove in his room:

"Those big stoves are all right. All you have to do is put in a fairly deep bed of coal in the morning, bank it properly, and she burns all day."

#### Protection from Fire

The fear of fire is an ever present concern, and the wail of the siren always brings out, not only the rubbernecks, but also those who wish to verify the extent of the flame. On the night of the canteen fire at 4107, several families in the vicinity of the fire started to remove all their belongings to their front yard, and one family a full block away on the windward side of the fire, was observed removing every bit of belonging to the front yard. The relative scarcity of fires, however, and the efficiency displayed by the fire department crews, keep this fear at a minimum.

#### Protection from Violence

Some instances of physical violence have occurred in the community, and reports of them have spread widely and rapidly with the usual exaggerations of details. The case in Santa Anita reported in the newspapers, in which a Korean-Japanese was said to have been beaten by a mob for stool-pigeoning, vivified the imagination of these here about mob violence. The interpreter for Mr. Shirrell in the latter's address on "The New W.R.A. Policy" opened his interpretations with the words, "I am not making a business of acting as interpreter



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between the administration and the community. I was asked to act in this capacity only last night, so I trust that you will not give me reason to fear walking about in the dark." Many who were leaders in their former communities will not assume positions of responsibility here because of their fear of difficulties with fellow members of the community, or even of violence from them. Persons who have assumed responsibility have, in many instances, run the risk of violence against them; a case in point is the recent beating received by the editor of the Dispatch. Agitators and individuals given to violence appear more frequently among the bachelor Kibei and Issei, though the tendency is not totally absent among the Nisei. The control of such Kibei and Issei, however, does not necessarily lie in punishment of these individuals, for many cases result from cultural differences and misunderstandings and violence may perhaps be controlled through the normal methods of the Japanese community.

Protection from Animals and Bugs

This is not a serious fear, but is added to indicate the extent of fear responses among the people of the community in their new situation. When a scorpion was found in this area recently, announcements went around urging parents to watch that their children would not pick up strange insects. This is, perhaps, a legitimate fear, and it is wise that precautions are taken; but further rumors of the following kind have spread: "I understand that two scorpions were found in the 1400 block washroom, one under a toilet seat, and another under the floor board of the shower. I understand they inhabit moist places." When a porcupine was found in the 500 block several days ago, one woman declared: "I'm afraid to go out at night now. It's so dark out in the street, you can't tell what you'll walk into." Another person was overheard saying, in a half joking way, but nevertheless seriously, "It's likely that we'll find bears and other large animals coming down here in the winter."



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## Parental Fears for Children

Education

## Typical expressions:

"Will our children get an education comparable to that which they got in the schools in our home community? Are the teachers going to be up to par in training?"

"I wouldn't think of sending my children to the recreational nurseries here. Some of the young girls here have no training and could only teach bad habits to the children."

"When is school going to open?"

"Will our children get credentials for what they learn in school here?"

"My girl just started college before evacuation. Now I don't know when we can have her finish her education."

A major portion of these fears will disappear with the opening of the public grammar and high schools. The problem will persist, however, for the families with college-age children. While the junior college, college extension, and adult education programs should serve to allay parental anxieties about inadequate advanced education for children, nevertheless, the slowness with which such programs move toward the gaining of a college diploma will undoubtedly cause many anxieties among both parents and their children. The student relocation program will solve the problem for many, but many families are too poor, or feel doubts especially in the case of girls of sending them any distance from the center to college.

Nor is this fear limited to parents alone; it is equally present among college-age youths. "You can't get any kind of jobs these days without a college diploma. I've been thinking of going to a university somewhere." This came from a Nisei farmer who had been out of school for almost ten years, and though there



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may be<sup>a</sup> subordinate desires to get out, expresses primarily a desire to get college education.

Manners and Language

"Some of the men who eat at our table have no manners at all. I just hope Johnny doesn't get their habits."

"I hope the war doesn't last long. If we're here any length of time, our children won't know how to act in civilized society."

"The language spoken here is abominable. The children won't learn good English, and they won't learn good Japanese."

Parents, especially among the educated Nisei, are concerned about their inability to control the environment of their children.

Morals

- Typical expressions:

"I hear that 300 unmarried girls have appeared at the hospital asking for abortions. Most of these problems originated in the assembly centers, but we'll probably have more before long right here in Tule Lake. This is true because the doctors themselves have asked us parents to watch our children more carefully." (A false rumor denied by the hospital.)

"Some of the rowdy bunch here are sure to get girls into trouble. I know those guys. Some of them don't give a damn what happens to the girls."

Realization of the problem has led church groups and others to take up questions of morals and sex hygiene in their discussions. Unfortunately, these discussions probably do not reach those persons who are most susceptible to immoral behavior, and would probably not influence them if they participated in the discussion.

A puritanical view of morals has somehow entered the views of Japanese in



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America, in part because of the close attention which parents pay toward their children in Japanese custom and the possibility of curtailing unmoral behavior among male youths unlike in Japan. The chief method of moral control in the Japanese communities has been through parental authority in ordering and forbidding certain forms of behavior. But parental authority was always reinforced by a whole community pressure articulated through newspapers, lectures, and discussion groups. Moral exhortations have broken down in their strength, however, in this community where the political authority rests with the Nisei and the normal channels of articulation are not present.

Poor Associates

Typical expressions:

"The Hawaiian boys in our block have no sense of social propriety of manners. They run around without shirts and with bare feet, sit around all day strummings their guitars, and now they influence the daughters of Mr. I. to be like them. His daughters used to be nice girls, but now they're getting out of hand." (No general statement such as this can be made of the Hawaiians, though it may be conceded that they are different.)

This fear is closely related to the previous one discussed. The main source of apprehension probably lies in the throwing together of heterogeneous groups, misunderstanding of different backgrounds, and in inability to select the environment for their children.

Other Personal Fears

Immobilization

Typical fears:

"God, I'm getting tired of this place."

"I wonder how long we'll be in here."



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On driving out of the front gate for the first time in a month to picnic at the farm: "Say, the air smells different out here." "Hey, driver, how about going straight on up the highway? We ought to hit the Rockies by tonight if we do." "Gee, it's grand to be out."

"I hear you're planning to leave. When do you think you'll be going?"

"If I get out of here once, I sure won't come back."

A kind of claustrophobia is developing among some of the people, especially of the younger group. Restrictions on movement within the project is perhaps not much greater than in the outside world considering the limitations on motor travel today, but the project is becoming increasingly an object of distaste to many of the Nisei, and the barbed-wire fence is a symbol of bondage to the place. The above expressions do not give any clear indication of the presence of fear, but one may infer the presence of fear. For example, in the repeated questions about others leaving for points east, there is not only envy of the lucky persons, but also a fear that has gone unexpressed of being left behind. As the movement of people outward increases under the new W.R.A. policy of relocation, this fear will undoubtedly increase and probably give rise to restlessness.

Stagnation, the Development of a W.P.A. Attitude

"I hated this place when I first came, but I'm getting used to it, and now it's not so bad."

"What am I going to do when you leave? I won't even have anyone to talk to."

"The people here are a bunch of dopes. They have no better interests than merely vegetating."

"The Nisei problem is the major one here. They're fed and clothed and given jobs. They won't know how to assume their personal responsibilities by the time they get out of here."

"All the old man does is to sit and look blankly out into the sky."



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This fear appears among the young intellectuals who seek more variety than is afforded by life here, and among those with some understanding of human problems who realize the effect life in this community is having upon people. One frequently hears nostalgic expressions of exciting experiences had in the past. Farm wives, who had been accustomed all their lives to hard work in the fields, restlessly seek active outlets. Many who work in the dissolute manner allegedly characteristic of the W.P.A. workers think of the personal harm to character which an irresponsible life may lead to; yet they cannot find incentives that may drive them on to greater productivity and creativity.

Further Evacuations

"I understand that Tule Lake is just another assembly center for us. We may be asked to move again at any time."

"I hear we're eventually going to Arkansas."

"This is so close to the Pacific Coast, it's reasonable to assume they'll move us out deeper inland."

"I hear this is going to be a center for the Germans and Italians. We're going to be moved inland."

This fear is rapidly disappearing with every month of stay here and no appearance of orders for further evacuation. Every sign given by the administration of permanent relocation here, of the building of schools, of industry, etc., minimizes the fear. The rumor of further removal, however, was one of the most prevalent during the month of July, and still persists in some quarters. The source of the fear probably lies in the assumption among the Japanese that an invasion of the Pacific slope by the Japanese military forces is inevitable, and news of bombings on the coast such as at Astoria and Neah Bay promote



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this idea, and the taking of Kiska and Attu seems to clinch the prophecy of invasion. The fear is largely present among the Issei, but is almost totally absent among the Nisei.

Strangers and Sectionalism

"The Sacramento people are different, aren't they. They're so much less Americanized then up in the North."

"People from the Pinedale Center are certainly uncooperative."

"The Hawaiian boys are a bunch of gangsters."

"The people in ward 1, mostly from Portland and the Puget Sound area, are certainly queer. They act kind of 'snooty' or cold -- maybe because they got here first."

"We've got to have every section represented on the recreational advisory council. If you don't, you're going to get all kinds of sectional feeling cropping up."

"I think it's wrong to leave out certain geographic groups on the Forum steering committee. People are bound to think that the California group is trying to run everything the way they want it."

Since the relocation center has thrown together in intimate contact diverse elements from many different communities of the Pacific Coast, it is inevitable that suspicion of the stranger should crop up. Underlying these fears is the inability to anticipate the behavior of those who are unknown, and hence are beyond control. It may be said that these misunderstandings border on "race prejudice" considering the false images and assumptions which each section carries of another, but, as such, it may be expected that as the various groups work and live together, the false assumptions will rapidly disappear, and with their disappearance will go the fear of strangers which has characterized the initial period of settlement.

The fear of sectionalism is merely a counterpart to the fear of strangers.



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Leaders of the community, recognizing the presence of sectional feelings, look with apprehension upon the further extension of these feelings, and attempt to curtail it at every point. This, again, however, will probably disappear with the disappearance of sectional feelings.

Marriage

"I can't get married on sixteen dollars a month. I've hardly anything saved up, and we can't get married on nothing."

"A young fellow talked to me the other day about getting married. I told him, 'What are you going to do if you get a couple of babies, and then at the end of the war you're thrown naked out of this camp?' Young people don't seem to realize their responsibilities."

"How do you know when you're in love?"

"The wedding last night was depressing -- the recreational hall where they held it was terribly dirty."

The problems of marriage mentioned above are not limited to this community alone, but they are accentuated by the limitations of this place. At no time before have as many Japanese of marriageable age been thrown together so closely and intimately in everyday life, and the urge to marry is probably stimulated by the selective possibilities presented here. However, the limitations of income, and the dubious possibilities of extending that income, stand as barriers to marriage. In some instances the increased selective possibilities among the opposite sex seems to complicate the problem of marriage, for they are then at loss to estimate when they are "really in love."

Lack of Administrative Control

"What the heck! The administration asks us to offer a judgment on a guy who beat up another fellow. We hand down a decision to expel him from the



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community, but the administration turns around and remands the decision. The guy's still around."

"The administrative staff had a meeting last night. Why don't they let some Japanese representatives in on some of their staff meetings. It affects the Japanese directly, and we could probably offer some valuable suggestions."

"Sure, I've got a job, but I don't know what I'm supposed to be doing. There's no equipment, and I can't find the supervisor to discuss my problems with. I might as well quit."

"I told X a couple of weeks before the farm trouble that we ought to look into the labor situation out there, but he wouldn't let us touch it, and he didn't do anything about it. His attitude was that things would blow over. Well, there's still plenty of trouble brewing out there and the administration had better do something about it quick before it explodes."

These expressions are obviously made without consideration of the administration's reasons for its actions. But they do reflect a fundamental feeling on the part of colonists that they lack control over their personal destiny. This feeling is widely present among Issei, Nisei, and Kibei, but it is most prevalent in the first group for the reason that they have least contact with the administration and suffer a decided handicap in communication when access to the administration is given them.

The feeling of inadequate control over their life situation is further enhanced for the colonists by the fact that their work situation is not, as yet, well organized. Many complaints are heard throughout the community that countermanding orders appear too frequently, and that the working personnell do not know what they are supposed to be doing. In some of these instances, ingenuity on the part of the workers would solve the difficulty. In others,



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a clearer definition of W.R.A. policy is required. But fundamentally, there is need for greater communication between the administration and the workers so that understanding can be developed of their respective problems.

Summary Analysis of Fears among Tule Lake People

Liberty has been taken, in this paper, in the definition of the term "fear," for many forms of response have been discussed which ordinarily would have been excluded from discussion under this category. However, every item mentioned has some relation to certain fundamental feelings of insecurity felt among the colonists, and this seems sufficient justification for their inclusion.

The fundamental reasons for the widespread anxieties is the newness of life in a relocation center, and the absence of established routines in daily living. With the passage of a year's residence, many of the fears mentioned, such as of further evacuation or of bugs and animals, will have disappeared. In fact, barring the appearance of severe crises, most of the anxieties may evaporate and be replaced by habitual expectations. For the present, however, it must be recognized that life for the Tule Lake people is filled with incalculable elements simply because they have never experienced a similar situation before. The feeling of uncertainty among the colonists is much like that felt by the young man attempting to prove his worth in a new job.

The fears catalogued are, by no means, all the fears that exist in the community or will exist. With each change in the condition of livelihood here new feelings of insecurity may crop up, or old fears may die out. The fears of the people are considerably influenced by changing events, and while



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one may dominate the people's thoughts one day, another will dominate the next. Thus, no final list of dominant fears among the people in Tule Lake can ever be made up, and constant check would be required to note the shifting winds of public concern. Some fears, such as the concern about the post-war future, are more important than others in that they are deep-lying disturbances that have great influence in determining present day orientations.



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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Tule Lake Project  
Newell, California

September 3, 1942

SUBJECT: Prevalent Fears in the Tule Lake Community

Introduction. This report attempts to answer the question, "What are the prevalent fears of people in the Tule Lake Community?" The circumstances which caused the evacuation and resettlement of people of Japanese ancestry in relocation centers, and the restrictions which necessarily are imposed in a project of this type, naturally tend to create misapprehensions among the evacuees. These anxieties and fears are significant psychological forces in the mass response to every program initiated by the WRA within relocation centers, and that an understanding of them would be helpful in successfully carrying out all programs.

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Method. The obvious approach to the investigation would be to inquire of a large number of persons, "What are your fears in the present situation?" The persons interviewed could then be classified as to age, sex, and generation, and their responses could be tabulated to indicate varying degrees of concern about each problem in different groups. In the actual investigation at least two shortcomings of this method became evident, (1) a direct question, "What are your fears?" seldom brought the desired response, for the persons interviewed either did not care to reveal their personal fears, or, more frequently, were not consciously aware of fears which they fostered; and (2), the fears which dominated their thoughts were not uniform over time, but varied rapidly with changing situations.

It was found that a more complete understanding of the prevalent fears in the community could be obtained by direct observation of people's behavior, by listening to people's everyday conversations, by looking behind the external functioning of the community organization into the personal struggles of the people to fit themselves somewhere in the social system, and by taking account of rumors that frequently appear in various parts of the community. Rumors, it should be noted, are merely



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### Findings

#### Fears About Post-War Future

The dominant fear of the people, the one which most influences them in their adjustments today, is the concern about their livelihood in the post-war period. This fear appears in the form of such questions as: "Where shall we go from here after the war?" "How shall we earn a living?" "What will be the long-time effect of life here upon our character, and how will we be affected in our future adjustments?" This uncertainty of the post-war future is present among both the issei and nisei, though in different forms; but the extent of the fear varies with differential family savings.

Financial condition. A dominant fear of the people is that more money will be spent while here in the relocation center than can be justified when considering the needs of the future. Many are here, it seems, with only a few hundred dollars savings at most, or with nothing at all at worst, and there is perhaps ground for concern when family heads consider the persons for whom they are responsible.

Evidence of this concern appears in each council meeting. For example, representatives of blocks from ward 3 have made vigorous protests against the establishment of a canteen in their ward. The principal reason for the objection to the canteen seems to be that the proximity of a store to their blocks inclines people to excessive spending. Mothers in particular welcomed the decision to close canteen No. 4, the one immediately behind the Administration Building, at five o'clock. Young men who habitually frequented the store remained until eight o'clock closing time, and behaved, for the most part, much the same as boys in any community who "go to town" and hang around the corner drug store. The parents' fears were twofold: (1) Encouragement of spendthrift habits and (2) breakdown of disciplinary control through association with a rowdy element. Nor is this protest of canteens limited to the two mentioned; it is present in many sections of the community. The persistent demand for clothing, shoes and soap is likewise directly related to the question of money expenditure and the small means upon



which to draw, but the allowances determined by the new WRA policy should help to relieve these anxieties as soon as the distribution is set in operation. No less significant is the widespread interest in the consumer cooperative plan for the basis of this interest lies in a desire among the colonists to control the community enterprises and thereby control expenditure.

Typical expressions:

"The more money we spend, the less the WRA will provide us. That's what happened in the assembly centers. We bought with our own money at the canteen there, and then the WCCA turned around and said we didn't need any allowance since we had plenty of money."

"Close the stores; the WRA is going to provide us with our necessities."

"There should be differential prices at the canteen for people according to their wealth. People who can pay more should be asked higher prices, and those who are poor should be asked only token payment."

"We'll be leaving here naked at the present rate of expenditure."

"You mean to say that we spent \$74,000 in the local stores in July alone? That's too much. People will go broke at that rate."

Post-war treatment. There is an underlying apprehension of the kind of treatment that will be accorded the Japanese in America in the post-war period. Many wonder whether they will be permitted to return to their former homes on the Pacific Coast, and view with anger the efforts of some organizations to dispossess the Japanese of any holdings which they may still retain. If they cannot go back to their old homes, they wonder where they will be permitted to go. The Mountain States seem unreceptive and barren; the Midwest seems too distant and strange for consideration at present. Some think a return to Japan is the only way out, but the nisei, by and large, wish to remain here.

A major portion of the WRA's difficulties in administering its policies among the Japanese here lies in the fact that the people have not made their decision about post-war plans. If the Japanese were to make an all out decision against the United States, the problem would be simple; the relocation center could be immediately transformed into a concentration camp. But the majority of the Japanese intend to remain in the United States, yet they are distrustful of white treatment of the Japanese in the future. This distrust of the whites reveals itself even now in the response of the colonists to the administration. Irrational though such a response may be, the essentially psychological nature of the problem makes it difficult to contend with.



Post-war jobs. Both issei and nisei are concerned about the problem of finding jobs in the post-war period, but there is a fundamental difference between them in that the issei's occupational pattern is already set while the nisei's occupational selections are yet to be made in most instances. In the case of the issei the impossibility of determining the possibilities in the future leads to a kind of apathy in the present, but the nisei are restlessly seeking training that will fit them for the post-war world.

#### IMMEDIATE NEEDS

Food shortage Typical expressions are:

"I hear the warehouse is practically empty. I heard it from my friend who works down in the warehouse."

"You can be sure that the Japanese forces will attack the Pacific Coast, and probably bomb the railways. As isolated as we are, any breakdown of the railway system would quickly bring us to the point of starvation."

"The administration can't keep ahead on the feeding of 15,000 people with only one day's stock of food on hand in the warehouses."

"The trains won't be coming through during the winter months."

"I hear there isn't any meat left in the warehouse."

"Mrs. K. is stocking up sacks of rice and other food. She says there may come a time when the government won't feed us. What do you think of it? Do you think we ought to put in a stock too?"

The fear of food shortage is directly related, on the one hand, to the kind of food served in the messhalls, and on the other, to the anticipation of transportation difficulties due to bombing or winter stalling. Whenever the meals are poor, the people have anxieties of food shortage, and even go to the extent of looking into the warehouses, and people laying in stocks of rice, canned goods, etc., in anticipation of a time when they will not be fed. The correlation of this fear with the kinds of meals served is further indicated by the recent absence of such rumors and anxieties ever since the quality and quantity of food has been improved. This concern about a prospective food shortage also arises from the popular conception about railway problems of snow-covered passes and bombed out tracks, a conception that has been reinforced by the minor difficulties already experienced. Women in some blocks have taken to drying left-over rice in the sun with the thought that it might be saved for the day when there is not enough to eat in the messhalls.

There seems to exist more concern about this problem among issei than among nisei, and among women than among men. Inability to read the



local as well as outside newspapers, to understand announcements from the administration, and ignorance of the affairs of the outside world and their shortages, are all factors contributing to this fear.

Clothing shortage Typical expressions:

"I've got a family of six to keep in clothing. We've never lived in a cold climate like this, and I have to provide winter clothing for three children as well as my wife and me. How long do you think my funds will last?"

"What do they think we are, anyway? Here ~~our~~ clothes are wearing out on the farm everyday, but we haven't even been paid our wages. We work on somebody else's farm almost for nothing, but we have to pay for our clothes out of our own pocket."

"The water here seems pretty hard on clothing when it's laundered frequently. Clothes have to be laundered frequently considering the dust here."

"There must be some alkaline substances in the dust here. I haven't seen clothing wear out so fast before."

"The WRA promised us all our needs. Where's our clothing?"

Some of these fears and resentments have subsided with the announcement of the new WRA policy calling for clothing allowances. In part, this concern about clothing derives from a feeling among some persons that the "WRA should provide us everything," but there are those who hold a legitimate fear of going to considerable expense to keep their families clothed, especially in winter clothing. Problems of food and clothing will probably continue to persist throughout the WRA program, and some measures will probably be outlined to contend with them; but it should be remembered that these issues arise from the much more deep-seated resentment of the whole evacuation situation.

Winter shelter and fuel Typical expressions:

"I wish I'd gone to Gila River. I was talking to one of the white construction workers who spent some time in those parts as well as in Arizona. He told me these flimsy buildings won't be adequate protection by any means from the severe winters here. He was feeling sorry for us."

"The WRA should give us lumber to build porches. I hear the winter winds here are pretty bad. At least, you can be sure the tar paper on the roofs will rip off before the winter's over."

"I see by the Dispatch that we're to have 57,000 tons of coal this winter. Discount the coal that goes to heat the kitchen and washroom boilers, and there won't be even a couple of tons for each family. That's not enough."



This fear of inadequate shelter and heat for the winter is not at present widely prevalent, but should there ever be any shortage of coal, widespread concern will undoubtedly appear. There is greater concern on this matter among the latest arrivals to Tule Lake than among earlier arrivals, for the former have almost no fuel stock while the latter have piled up a fair stock of scrap lumber. Since dry kindling wood burns rapidly, however, increasing concern about fuel may be expected.

On the other hand, those who have already had the large cast iron army stoves installed speak with enthusiasm about them. Said one person in ward 6 who tried out the big stove in his room:

"Those big stoves are all right. All you have to do is put in a fairly deep bed of coal in the morning, bank it properly, and she burns all day."

Protection from fire: The fear of fire is an ever present concern, and the wail of the siren always bring out, not only the rubbernecks, but also those who wish to verify the extent of the flame. On the night of the canteen fire at 4107, several families in the vicinity started to remove all their belongings to their front yard, and one family a full block away on the windward side of the fire, was observed removing all their belongings to the front yard. The relative scarcity of fires, however, and the efficiency displayed by the fire department crews, keep this fear at a minimum.

Protection from violence. Some instances of physical violence have occurred in the community, and reports of them have spread widely and rapidly with the usual exaggerations of details. The case in Santa Anita reported in the newspapers, in which a Korean-Japanese was said to have been beaten by a mob for stool-pigeoning, vivified the imagination of these here about mob violence. The interpreter for Mr. Shirrell in the latter's address on "The New WRA Policy" opened his interpretation with the words, "I am not making a business of acting as interpreter between the administration and the community. I was asked to act in this capacity only last night, so I trust that you will not give me reason to fear while walking about in the dark." Many who were leaders in their former communities will not assume positions of responsibility here because of their fear of difficulties with fellow members of the community, or even of violence from them. Persons who have assumed responsibility have, in many instances, run the risk of violence against them; a case in point is the recent beating received by the editor of the Dispatch. Agitators and individuals given to violence appear more frequently among the bachelor kibei and issei, though the tendency is not totally absent among the nisei. The control of such kibei and issei, however, does not necessarily lie in punishment of these individuals; for many cases result from cultural differences and misunderstandings and violence, may, perhaps, be controlled through the normal methods of the Japanese community.

Protection from animals and bugs. This is not a serious fear, but it is added to indicate the extent of fear responses among the people of the community in their new situation. When a scorpion was found in this area recently, announcements went around urging parents to watch that their



children would not pick up strange insects. This is, perhaps, a legitimate fear, and it is wise that precautions are taken; but further rumors of the following kind have apréad: "I understand that two scorpions were found in the 1400 block washroom, one under a toilet seat, and another under the floor board of the shower. I understand they inhabit moist places." When a porcupine was found in the 500 block several days ago, one woman declared: "I'm afraid to go out at night now. It's so dark out in the street, you can't tell what you'll walk into." Another person was overheard saying, in a half joking way, but nevertheless seriously, "It's likely that we'll find bears and other large animals coming down here in the winter."

#### PARENTAL FEARS FOR CHILDREN

##### Education. Typical expressions:

"Will our children get an education comparable to that which they got in the schools in our home community? Are the teachers going to be up to par in training?"

"I wouldn't think of sending my children to the recreational nurseries here. Some of the young girls here have no training and could only teach bad habits to the children."

"When is school going to open?"

"Will our children get credit for what they learn in school here?"

"My girl just started to college before evacuation. Now I don't know when she can finish her education."

A major portion of these fears will disappear with the opening of the public grammar and high schools. The problem will persist, however, for the families with college-age children. While the junior college, college extension, and adult education programs should serve to allay parental anxieties about inadequate advanced education for children, nevertheless, the slowness with which such programs move toward the gaining of a college diploma will undoubtedly cause many anxieties among both parents and their children. The student relocation program will solve the problem for some; but many families are too poor, or feel constrained, especially, in the case of girls, of sending them any distance from the center to college.

Nor is this fear limited to parents alone, it is equally present among college age youths. "You can't get any kind of jobs these days without a college diploma. I've been thinking of going to a university somewhere." This came from a nisei farmer who had been out of school for almost ten years, and though there may be a subordinate desire to get out of the Project, it nevertheless expresses primarily a desire to get college education.



Manners and language

"Some of the men who eat at our table have no manners at all. I just hope Johnny doesn't get their habits."

"I hope the war doesn't last long. If we're here any length of time, our children won't know how to act in civilized society."

"The language spoken here is abominable. The children won't learn good English, and they won't learn good Japanese."

Parents, especially among the educated nisei, are concerned about their inability to control the environment of their children.

Morals. Typical expressions:

"I hear that 300 unmarried girls have appeared at the hospital asking for abortions. Most of these problems originated in the assembly centers, but we'll probably have more before long right here in Tule Lake. This is true because the doctors themselves have asked us parents to watch our children more carefully." (A false rumor denied by the hospital)

"Some of the rowdy bunch here are sure to get girls into trouble. I know those guys. Some of them don't give a damn what happens to the girls."

Realization of the problem has led church groups and others to take up questions of morals and sex hygiene in their discussions. Unfortunately, these discussions probably do not reach those persons who are most susceptible to immoral behavior, and would probably not influence them if they participated in the discussion.

A puritanical view of morals has somehow entered the vision of Japanese in America, in part because of the close attention which parents pay their children, after the Japanese custom, and the hope of curtailing immoral behavior among male youths which, the Japanese claim, is less characteristic of the youths of the old country. The chief method of moral control in Japanese communities has been through parental authority in ordering and forbidding certain forms of behavior. But parental authority was always reinforced by a whole community's pressure articulated through newspapers, lectures and discussion groups. Moral exhortations have broken down in its strength, in this community where the political authority rests with the nisei and where the normal channels of articulation are not present.

Poor associates. Typical expressions:

"The Hawaiian boys in our block have no sense of social propriety of manners. They run around without shirts and with bare feet, sit around all day strumming their guitars, influencing the daughters of Mr. I to be like them. His daughters



used to be nice girls, but now they're getting out of hand." (No general statement such as this can be made of the Hawaiians, though it may be conceded that they are used to a different way of life.)

This fear is closely related to the previous one. The main source of apprehension probably lies in throwing together heterogeneous groups where misunderstanding and mistrust of different social backgrounds, and the inability to select environments for their children.

#### OTHER PERSONAL FEARS

##### Immobilization. Typical fears:

"God, I'm getting tired of this place."

"I wonder how long we'll be in here?"

On driving out of the front gate for the first time in a month to a picnic at the farm: "Say, the air smells different out here." "Hey, driver, how about going straight on up the highway? We ought to hit the Rockies by tonight if we do. Gee, it's grand to be out."

"I hear you're planning to leave. When do you think you'll be going? May I go with you?"

"If I once get out of here, I sure won't come back."

A kind of claustrophobia is developing among some of the people, especially in the younger group. Restrictions on movement within the project is perhaps not much greater than in the outside world, considering the limitations on motor travel today, but the Project is becoming increasingly an object of distaste to many nisei, and the barbed-wire fence is a symbol of bondage. The above expressions do not give any clear indication of the presence of fear, but one may infer the presence of fear. For example, in the repeated questions about others leaving for points east, there is not only envy of the lucky persons, but also a fear that has gone unexpressed of being left behind without admired and respected companionship. As the movement of people outward increases under the new WRA policy of relocation, this fear will undoubtedly increase and probably give rise to restlessness.

##### Stagnation: The development of a WPA attitude.

"I hated this place when I first came, but I'm getting used to it, and now it's not so bad."

"What am I going to do when you leave? I won't even have anyone to talk to."

"The people here are a bunch of dopes. They have no more ambition than to vegetate."



"The nisei problem is the major one here. They're fed and clothed and given jobs. They won't know how to assume their personal responsibilities by the time they get out of here."

"All the old man does is to sit and look blankly at the sky."

This fear appears among the young intellectuals who seek more variety than is afforded by life here, and among those with some understanding of human problems who realize the effect life in this community is having upon the colonists. One frequently hears nostalgic expressions of exciting experiences enjoyed in the past. Farm wives, who had been accustomed all their lives to hard work in the fields, restlessly seek active outlets. Many who work in the dissolute manner allegedly characteristic of the WPA workers think of the personal harm to character to which an irresponsible life may lead; yet they cannot find incentives that will drive them on to greater productivity and creativity.

#### Further evacuations

"I understand that Tule Lake is just another assembly center for us. We may be asked to move again at any time."

"I hear we're eventually going to Arkansas."

"This is so close to the Pacific Coast, it's reasonable to assume they'll move us out deeper inland."

"I hear this is going to be a center for the Germans and Italians. We're going to be moved inland."

This fear is rapidly disappearing with every month of stay here and no appearance of orders for further evacuation. Every sign given by the administration of permanent relocation here, of the building of schools, of industry, etc., minimizes the fear. The rumor of further removal, however, was one of the most prevalent during the month of July, and still persists in some quarters. The source of the fear probably lies in the assumption among the Japanese that an invasion of the Pacific slope by the Japanese military forces is inevitable, and news of bombings on the coast, such as at Astoria and Noah Bay, promote this idea, and the taking of Kiska and Attu seems to clinch the prophecy of invasion. The fear is largely present among the issei, but is almost totally absent in the nisei.

#### Strangers and sectionalism

"The Sacramento people are different, aren't they? They're so much less Americanized than we in the north."

"People from the Pinedale center are certainly uncooperative."

"The Hawaiian boys are a bunch of gangsters."



"The people in ward 1 (mostly from Portland and the Puget Sound area) are certainly queer. They act kind of 'snooty' or cold-- maybe because they got here first."

"We've got to have every section represented on the recreational advisory council. If you don't, you're going to get all kinds of sectional feeling cropping up."

"I think it's wrong to leave out certain geographic groups on the Forum steering committee. People are bound to think that the California clique is trying to run everything the way they want it."

"I'd rather work at the Administration Building. I don't want to work with the Japanese."

"We came from a small town in Washington where we were one of two Japanese families. I don't understand the Japanese."

"It would take a book for me to explain Japanese psychology. It is logical, stupid, fair, unjust and narrow minded, all at the same time."

#### Fear of the "Outside"

It may be assumed, and with reason, that the fear of living away from the Project is more widespread than is generally admitted. Radios and press reports of anti-Japanese feeling throughout the country are not unknown to the residents of Newell. The recent announcement from Washington that the WRA favors resettlement in unrestricted areas of as many nisei as possible met with the enthusiastic approval of the group. But after the first glow of satisfaction faded, objections on the part of some leaving the Project were manifest.

#### Typical comments

"How do I know that Midwestern universities will not blackball me from all campus activities, social and otherwise."

"Gee, she's taking a lot for granted by asking enrollment at the University of Utah! Didn't she hear about the War or anything?"

"Mob psychology can't differentiate between the American-Japanese and the Japs we're fighting."

And the "Outside" even presents a danger to some of those behind the barbed-wire fence. This may be the result of confounding two ideologies: (1) The Japanese distrust of everybody, a national trait in Nippon, and (2) the partial reliance on the American a priori acceptance of protection.



It would appear that calling attention to the fact that Newell itself is only about 150 miles from the Coast augurs some fear that Project residents are not entirely immune from the danger of invasion by the Japanese or by angered whites. Fears of this kind belong to the issei and the kibei, a concrete example of which occurred only recently when a warden supervisor asked a member of the Department of Internal Security why flashlights and searchlights were not more generally employed at night.

"No one can get out of here," said the Caucasian.

"I'm not worried about that," replied the warden, "I'm worried about those who might get in."

Since the relocation center has thrown together in intimate contact diverse elements from many different communities of the Pacific Coast, it is inevitable that suspicion of the stranger should crop up. Underlying these fears is the inability to anticipate the behavior of those who are unknown, and hence are beyond control. It may be said that these misunderstandings border on "race prejudice", considering the false images and assumptions which each section carries of another, but, as such, it may be expected that as the various groups work and live together, the false assumptions will rapidly disappear, and with their disappearance will go the fear of strangers which has characterized the initial period of settlement.

The fear of sectionalism is merely a counterpart of the fear of strangers. Leaders of the community, recognizing the presence of sectional feelings, attempt to curtail it at every point. This again will probably disappear with the overcoming of sectional feeling.

### Marriage

"I can't get married on sixteen dollars a month. I've hardly anything saved up, and we can't get married on nothing."

"A young fellow talked to me the other day about getting married. I told him, 'What are you going to do if you get a couple of babies, and then at the end of the war you're thrown ~~thrown~~ ~~marked~~ out of this camp. Young people don't seem to realize their responsibilities.'"

"How do you know when you're in love?"

"The wedding last night was depressing--the recreational hall where they held it was terribly smelly."

These problems of marriage are not limited to this community, but they are accentuated by the limitations of this place. At no time prior to coming here have as many Japanese of marriageable age been thrown together so closely and intimately in everyday life, and the urge to marry is probably stimulated by the selective possibilities presented here. However, the limitations of income, and the dubious possibilities of extending that income, stand as barriers to marriage. In some instances the increased



selective possibilities among the opposite sex seems to complicate the problem, for they are then at a loss to estimate whether they are merely infatuated or "really in love."

#### Lack of Administrative Control

"What the heck! The administration asks us to offer a judgment on a guy who beat up another fellow. We hand down a decision to expell him from the community, but the administration turns around and puts him on probation. The guy's still around."

"The administrative staff had a meeting last night. Why don't they let some Japanese representatives in on some of their staff meetings? It affects the Japanese directly, and we could probably offer some valuable suggestions."

"Sure, I've got a job, but I don't know what I'm supposed to be doing. There's no equipment, and I can't find the supervisor to discuss my problems. I might as well quit."

"I told X a couple of weeks before the farm trouble that we ought to look into the labor situation out there, but he wouldn't let us touch it, and he didn't do anything about it. His attitude was that things would blow over. Well, there's still plenty of trouble brewing out there and the administration had better do something about it quick before it explodes."

These expressions are obviously made without knowledge of the administration's reasons for its actions. But they do reflect a fundamental feeling on the part of colonists that they lack control over their personal destiny. This feeling is widely present among issei, kibei, and nisei, but it is most prevalent in the first group for the reason that they have least contact with the administration and suffer a decided handicap in communication when access to the administration is given them.

The feeling of inadequate control over their life situation is further enhanced for the colonists by the fact that their work is not, as yet, well organized. Many complaints are heard throughout the community that counter-manding orders appear too frequently, and that the working personnel do not know what they are supposed to be doing. In some instances, ingenuitiy on the part of the workers would solve the difficulty. In others, a clearer definition of WRA policy is required. But, fundamentally, there is need for greater communications between the administration and the workers so that an understanding can be developed of their respective problems.

#### SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF FEARS AMONG TULE LAKE PEOPLE

Liberty has been taken, in this report, in the definition of the term "fear", for many forms of response have been discussed which ordinarily would have been excluded from discussion under this category. However, every item



mentioned has some relation to certain fundamental feelings of insecurity felt among the colonists, and this seems sufficient justification for their inclusion.

The fundamental reason for the widespread anxieties is the newness of life in a relocation center, and the absence of established routines in daily living. With the passage of a year's residence, many of the fears mentioned, it is hoped, will have disappeared. In fact, barring the appearance of severe crises, most of the anxieties may evaporate and be replaced by habitual expectations. For the present, however, it must be recognized that life for the Newell people is filled with incalculable fear elements simply because they have never experienced a similar situation before. The feeling of uncertainty among the colonists is much like that felt by a young man attempting to prove his worth in a new job.

The fears catalogued are, by no means, all the fears that exist in the community or will exist. With each change in the condition of livelihood here, new feelings of insecurity may crop up, or old fears may die out. The fears of the people are considerably influenced by changing events, and while one may dominate the people's thoughts one day, another will dominate the next. Thus, no final list of dominant fears among the people in Newell can ever be made. A constant check would be required to note the shifting winds of public concern. Some fears, such as the concern about the post-war future, are more important than others in that they are deep lying disturbances that have great influence in determining present day orientations.