

July 10, 1943

MONTHLY REPORT on the COLORADO RIVER WAR RELOCATION CENTER for EVACUATED JAPANESEJuly 10, 1943.An Approaching Crisis.

The most significant thing connected with the Colorado River War Relocation center during the last month has been the growing clash between two sets of forces that threaten to crush the Japanese in America and set precedents which may have repercussions wherever the United States attempts to deal with races, both internally and internationally.

The first of these forces is racial prejudice which makes no discrimination between citizen and non-citizen, loyal and disloyal. An emotional discharge of hate and fear on the part of the public in the Southwest has recently become evident. Arizona has begun to enforce laws that prohibit American citizens of Japanese ancestry from doing business in the state and from making purchases other than food and clothing. Newspapers have been full of scare headlines and virulent editorials about spies and saboteurs, largely whipped up by the false and twisted testimony released by the Dies committee to the press. The homes of Japanese Americans in California have been broken open and robbed of all they contained. This stealing has not been a matter of a few isolated cases, but according to reliable reports, has been the rule in many regions. Moreover, it is apparently being condoned by otherwise responsible civic leaders.

It is not unlikely that this social pattern is part of the same phenomena which have appeared in other places such as the "Zoot Suiters" in Los Angeles and the race riots in Beaumont and in Detroit.

The wave of race hatred has affected the Japanese in this center. Faith has been shaken in the Government, in the American people, and in the reality of Democracy. Fear for safety and future security has increased. People who were formerly anxious to go out and take up their lives in the nation again, are now intimidated, especially if they have children or other dependents. Some of the most faithful and the most loyal, are the most depressed, while the cynics and the trouble-makers are in a position to say, "I told you so". With some there is a spirit of anger and resentment and the conviction that no matter what you do, you are condemned and will receive punishment instead of recognition and acceptance. Another reaction is one of apathy and disinterest in anything except very small daily and local occurrences, which attitude seems to be a rather common human method of self-protection against anxiety. There has been a general tendency for the people to shrink into themselves and cling closer together. This means a corresponding turning away from hope in America and a greater tendency to look toward Japan for salvation.

This is not a description of an absolute change in attitude. Human sentiments are relative and are usually progressing in one direction or another according to the influences playing on them. An attempt has been made to give a picture of the general trend of reaction to manifest racial prejudice, but it should also be stated that the majority of the people have not as yet moved to extremes. Even though race attitudes have been a very strong influence recently, there are still other factors which counter balance them to some extent.

The second set of forces operating on the Japanese and clashing with the racial prejudice is the War Relocation Authority's policy of resettling the evacuees into communities and jobs and thereby dissolving the Relocation Centers. If this

plan were proceeding at a realistic pace and were coordinated with other aspects of the Japanese problem, it would be admirable; but, unfortunately, it is being pushed at a speed that seems out of touch with immediate, practical needs. The emphasis appears to be on emptying the centers to the exclusion of all other considerations. The policy itself has raised numerous difficulties, but instead of meeting these with flexibility suited to changing conditions and the discovery of new facts, the tendency has been to cling more tightly to the resettlement program in the vain hope that it will solve everything.

It is evident that the American public in many areas is not prepared to receive the Japanese. The upsurge of racial hatred already noted indicates this, but even in regions where there is no strong prejudice, there is lack of information and doubt. A large number of people still do not know that there is any difference between a relocation center and an internment camp. Such a state of affairs can be improved, but it requires a vigorous program of education and information, and the Japanese should move into regions only as the education takes effect and in small numbers of especially suitable persons, well selected and able to continue the educational process. One of the most recent evidences of the general lack of preparation on the part of the nation to receive the evacuees was the drastic reduction early in June of the number of universities allowed to admit them.

Evacuation was an emergency measure and had to be done in a hurry with all the mistakes and waste that are inherent in this kind of action. There is no such precipitate need for resettlement, and no evident reason why it could not be built solidly and well, taking the time necessary.

The majority of the Japanese themselves are about as ill-prepared for resettlement as the nation is to receive them. Some signs of this have already appeared in the rapid and irresponsible changing of jobs, the congregation of large Japanese groups in cities instead of dispersal and assimilation, and the appearance of adolescent "Zoot Suiters" and corner boy gangs. At the present time there are indications that trouble is likely to break out in Denver where anti-Japanese feeling is mounting because of these factors.

A vicious circle is very easily formed. The more the American public rejects the Japanese, the more those who are out on their own will cling together and exhibit reactions which further antagonize the public. This is not peculiar to the Japanese. It seems generally true of minority groups that the methods adopted by individual members to protect themselves from the majority group leads to a further walling off of the minority.

If the rapid mass resettlement of the older Nisei is impractical, then for the elderly alien Japanese and their very numerous young and dependent children the plan is impossible. Most of the aliens are over 50, speak almost no English, and like many other immigrant groups from Europe as well as the Orient have the manners, customs, and attitudes of their native land. In the course of 30 or more years in America they have not become assimilated. This does not mean that they were unassimilable, but rather that they did not become assimilated due to a variety of factors, many of which were out of their control. The point of importance now is that people of their age are not going to alter radically their lifetime habits and out-look. Even if they were adaptable beyond the customary range of human nature, the fact remains that their manners, language and appearance are not only foreign, but are those of a bitter enemy and the American public is in no mood to be tolerant of them or aid them in assimilation. If they were not allowed to become Americans during peacetime, it is extremely unlikely that they will be allowed to do so now while we are at war with the land of their birth.

Moving the aliens out of the relocation centers will not produce assimilation,

but instead will create aggregates of misunderstood and misunderstanding people here and there through the country.

It has been stated from time to time, that nobody will be forced out of relocation centers. This seems true in the literal sense, but measures are being applied which amount to coercion. Life in the relocation centers is being kept at a bare subsistence level. The amount of employment available to evacuees is being cut, creating thereby over two thousand unemployed in this center alone. At the same time, private industry and agriculture are forbidden, and unemployment compensation is not given except in the case of ill health. While this is going on, the allowance for food is being reduced from 45 cents per capita per day to 31 cents, with the idea that people will either grow their own food or do without, or get out of the centers. No funds are provided for recreation, athletics or community improvements.

A bare subsistence level is lower than a slum level.

A resettlement program without coercion and at a slower pace, combined with education and emphasizing the Americanized and American citizen Japanese, rather than the aliens would be a very constructive and desirable policy. However, in its present accelerated form, instead of being a breeze that makes ships sail and windmills turn, it is becoming a hurricane that will sink the vessels and blow the windmills flat. Its damage can match and complement the flood of racial prejudice.

The Japanese are becoming increasingly alarmed at being caught between two opposing forces, one insisting that they leave the centers and the other threatening them with destruction if they do. One man has expressed it, "We have no place to go, but up--or down".

Prediction.

Prediction has fallen into disrepute among many scientists, especially social scientists, largely because there is so much ill-advised and poorly grounded prognostication being given continually by people who are expressing hopes rather than probabilities. Yet from all of science, the ability to predict is one of the greatest contributions. If social science is ever to be effective as an administrative aid, it must be ready to predict under conditions of its own choosing. The social scientist should approach the task with due caution and humility, but he should also have the courage to make statements and be willing to be judged by the out-come. His audience have the right to expect from him the same kind of accuracy they find in medical predictions, in weather predictions, and other fields where one has to deal with multiple factors that are subject to frequent abrupt change.

Assuming that the policy of the War Relocation Authority continues in its present form, that is, emphasis on mass resettlement and coercion of people in the centers to move out, and assuming that no drastic and unexpected changes occur in national life due to the war or other causes,--in short assuming that the factors operating now continue to operate for months to come, the following is likely to occur:

- 1.) There will be forced out of relocation centers larger and larger numbers of persons who are unsuited to mixing with the American public. These will include the non-English speaking older people and Japanese educated youths, disgruntled persons who do not wish to leave the centers, and undisciplined and irresponsible youngsters under no guidance from their elders. In regard to the latter, it must not

be supposed that the Japanese are a group of people who are culturally prone to rough and unruly behavior. On the contrary, their pre-war record in this regard is unusually good. However, since then they have been through the experiences of assembly centers and relocation centers and many of the normal social and family controls that usually operate on young persons in their formative years have been absent or unusual. To this may perhaps be added those more general war-time influences which are producing increased juvenile delinquency in many places throughout the nation.

2.) The majority of Japanese of all kinds will not remain scattered but will congregate together in various parts of the country. This tendency will be increased by the presence of elderly aliens. These groups will be assimilated little more than they are in relocation centers, and they will be conspicuous and resented by the white population. There will be antagonistic feelings over economic competition and when any Japanese commits a crime or misdemeanor, all Japanese will be blamed for it. Disturbances will eventually occur and probably bloodshed.

3.) If the foregoing situation develops, it is not unlikely that a national wave of antipathy toward the Japanese will appear and will result in indiscriminate discharge of Japanese Americans from jobs and from universities. This will increase the maladjustment of the Japanese in the national life and create numerous drifters and public charges. The final result may well be the incarceration of all Japanese and the citizenship rights of those who are Americans will be eclipsed for the duration of the war, at least.

4.) At no time will it be possible to close the relocation centers, or even a portion of them, except by shifting population from small centers to larger ones. This is because the majority of the elderly aliens will resist the resettlement program, no matter what is done short of forcing them out physically. In this center about 37% of the Nisei do not wish to resettle and this number will increase as bad tidings come in from the outside concerning the treatment of the Japanese.

5.) Inside the centers, the standard of living and morale will drop. Although the Japanese in America were formerly known for low crime rate and minimal needs in public assistance, there will be an increase in stealing, gangsterism, and demands on the government for assistance. Illicit private industries will increase greatly. The large numbers of unemployed will be a constant source of trouble and the work of those who are employed is likely to become increasingly unreliable. In short, the Japanese will show the signs and symptoms of a demoralized community just as the "Okies" and "Arkies" showed them in California when they were vainly seeking some security after the drought.

6.) The influence of the Japanese leaders who have stood for cooperation with the Government will become weaker and weaker. Most of the community will be apathetic, but there will be struggles for power between small rival gangs who will agitate against cooperation with the administration in agricultural and other programs. It may well be that the whole self-government scheme will have to be abandoned and likewise the use of Japanese in administrative positions.

7.) There will be an increase in the number of evacuees who identify themselves with Japan and there will be appeals to the Spanish consul with demands for better living conditions. It is not impossible that investigations by the consul will lead the Government to grant some improvements particularly in regard to food, and thus while the evacuees are giving less and less, the Government may find itself in a position in which it is advisable for the sake of American prisoners to give more and more.

8.) The net result of these changes will be to increase greatly the expense of handling the Japanese in America. Instead of over 100,000 potentially cooperative and self-supporting loyal citizens and friendly aliens, the United States will have to deal with that many demoralized and antagonistic bitter citizens and enemy aliens. In fact the number may be larger because the non-evacuated Japanese who are now living quietly in various parts of the United States may get caught in a general discrimination against all Japanese. The relocation centers might all be turned into internment camps and run with more rigid discipline. Even so, however, the people will have to be treated at least according to the standards for prisoners of war. A larger personnel than that now employed in operating the relocation centers will be required, and should supervision be turned over to the army, it will constitute an unnecessary drain on military personnel and equipment.

Not the least of the deleterious effects will be the fact of United States failure to solve according to its principles a problem which compared to post-war relations and occupied area administration, is relatively simple.

Recommendations.

Bad as the situation may turn out to be, there are nevertheless a good many opportunities for averting destructive developments.

The Japanese in America are an ordinary collection of human beings who have a good record for hard work and pride in achievement. With correct treatment, they can be developed into a national asset. Like any other mass of people, they may be divided into three general groups from the administrative point of view. There are these who will be opposed to the government no matter what is done, and there are those who will be submissive no matter what happens. The majority, however, falls between these two extremes and can be influenced by events, ideas and self-interest toward more and toward less cooperation.

Similarly, the American public, as far as their attitude toward the Japanese is concerned, may be divided into three parts. There are anti-Japanese extremists at one end of the scale, and at the other end those who see the Japanese only as victims of persecution. Most of the people, however, are in a middle group who simply don't know much about the problem, but who want it solved in a manner that is just, but consistent with self-interest and national welfare. Events and information true or false can also move this group in either direction.

In human engineering, a plan must not only be good in itself, but it must also be acceptable to the people who will be affected by it. If the plan is not acceptable, or is misunderstood, then it is imperative to move the middle section of public sentiment in a direction that will make it ready to accept the plan before operations begin. This is a basic principle, and to neglect it is to plant good seed in frozen ground.

Both the American public and the Japanese need to have the attitudes of the majority of the people brought more in harmony with the resettlement program before it will work.

Another point worthy of note is the probability that the anti-Japanese feeling which has been stirred up has a causal relationship with the War Relocation Authority's acceleration of resettlement. Therefore, if this one of the two dominant variables is modified, the other may be advantageously affected also.

With these observations in mind, the following recommendations are offered:

1.) The program of mass resettlement should be slowed, and all forms of coercion, direct and indirect, immediately stopped.

2.) Selection should be instituted on an individual basis and should emphasize not only loyalty but also maturity, Americanization and ability to understand and adjust to life in the nation today.

3.) A large program should be developed for informing the American public concerning the Japanese in America. This could include more talks to local societies and church groups, talks on the radio, moving pictures and articles in popular magazines and newspapers as well as in the more intellectual periodicals. The cooperation of interested civic organizations should be elicited in these plans. Perhaps members of the War Relocation Authority staff who are now engaged in job placement could participate more fully in this work. The help of OWI and other government agencies might be obtained.

4.) At the same time, there should be a program of educating the Japanese, not only the English speaking Nisei, but also their parents who are much concerned about the welfare of their children, and full of apprehensions about outside conditions, often based on misinformation and rumor. Part of this educational program should be the creation of real opportunities for vocational training both inside and outside the centers for high school students and high school graduates.

5.) It should be assumed that the relocation centers are the best place for most of the elderly aliens and their younger children during the war. Policy should be directed at making them livable and self-supporting communities which will serve as the evacuees secure bases from which they can attempt more full adjustment into American life. Those who go out with the purpose of seeking jobs and making their way will do all the better for knowing that the older and younger members of their families are reasonably safe. Good adjustment is dependent on a sense of security.

6.) The present self-government policy and the use of evacuees in administrative positions should be continued and gradually as the educational program begins to show results, more and more responsibility should be given the evacuees and the number of white appointed personnel reduced.

7.) Agriculture and related industries should be encouraged and the whole wage policy should be reviewed and the possibility explored of setting up a system whereby workers will receive going wages or market prices for what they grow and produce--Government expenses, of course, being deducted. The possibility of permitting certain kinds of private industry should be re-examined. In short, while promoting community life, in the centers, responsibility of the evacuees for themselves should be stressed. Perhaps most important of all, the evacuees should be drawn into the planning so that the ultimate program decided upon will be in part theirs.

As an economic base for the communities is established, morale will rise, Government expense will decrease, and the evacuees will have an opportunity to make a record which will aid them after the war.

8.) As part of the work and educational program, the Government should provide facilities for recreation and athletics until such a time as the community is on its feet sufficiently to meet these expenses. The reluctance to provide these funds probably does not arise in the War Relocation Authority, but comes from outside pressure where there is confusion of relocation centers with interment camps and a failure to realize that a large proportion of the evacuees are loyal American subjects. But even prisons have recreational and athletic facilities, and aside from matters of principle, it is very poor economy to omit recreation. To do so is equivalent to running a machine without oil in order to save expenses.

9.) There can be little doubt that some further segregation is desirable. The important question is how it should be done. It ought not to be a sudden and arbitrary move, but should be carried out with the thorough understanding of the residents.

First of all, the people who have asked for repatriation or who have given negative answers to questions 27 and 28 in the registration should be sent to internment camps. This should not be done in a spirit of punishment, but rather of respecting them for the courage of their convictions and making it clear that internment is the only suitable place for persons with their feelings. Family members who wish to accompany them should be allowed to do so. Following this, all desiring to be treated as enemy aliens and relieved of the responsibility of cooperating with the Government in the development of self-sufficient communities should be urged to volunteer for internment. Finally a board of examiners should be set up to weed out agitators and people who think the Government should support them for the duration of the way, yet who refuse to apply for internment.

These matters ought, of course, to be kept separate from criminal cases which should go to prison after due process of trial.

10.) In general, Government policy should be stabilized and sufficient time allowed to pass for the evacuees to gain some confidence in its consistency before they are subjected to any new pressures.

In conclusion it may be appropriate to point out that the problems of the Japanese in America is of more importance to the national life than the number of people involved would indicate. In the first place it is a test case in question of citizenship and racial descent. Poor handling may set precedents that will affect many other minority groups in this country.

Equally important is the probable ultimate effect of nation-wide anti-Japanese feeling stirred up by administrative and political mishandling of the problem. Racial antagonism toward the Japanese will not only be increased, but will seem to be justified, because we shall blame the Japanese for disturbances and unpleasant incidents rather than ourselves. This public attitude will operate against attempts by statesmen to deal realistically with Japan in the post-war period. There will be an increased pressure to treat the Japanese in the Orient as constitutionally different from other human beings and to punish them, rather than concentrate on laying the foundations of a durable peace. Beyond this, the attitude of the American public toward other Orientals will be biased by the experience with the Japanese in America and will contribute difficulties to agreement between us and the Chinese, Indians, Burmese, Malaysians, Filipinos, and people of the Dutch East Indies.

Respectfully submitted,

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Lt. (MC) U S N R

9/18/43

Talk by Dr. A. H. Leighton to John Embree's Class in Military Civil
Training Unit, University of Chicago (Room 302 Soc. Sci. Bldg.)

Problems of Administration of the Poston Relocation Center

C. R. Local Administration
Outgroups

PRESENT:	Dr. John F. Embree	Embree's class of 40 or more
	Lt. A. H. Leighton	Lieutenants
	Capt. Fred Eggan	Captains
	Mrs. E. H. Spicer	Majors

DR. EMBREE: Lt. Leighton is going to speak to us in regard to the problem of administration as it was experienced and he observed it in the Poston Relocation Center. ... Lt. Leighton.

DR. LEIGHTON: I have just spent a little more than one year in the Poston Relocation Center for Japanese evacuees, evacuees sent from California to that camp. I am now trying to mull over the experience and see what in it has bearing on the problem of colonial administration. The situation has strong similarities to an occupied area in that the people being administered have different culture from the administrators, a different language, and their economy was completely knocked out from under them and they had to depend upon the administration for food and shelter. I hope that what I have to say will be of interest to you, and I hope that I will be able to adjust the report on Poston to occupied area needs by learning of your problems and needs, what you are interested in and what you need to hear in lectures and to read.

I thought that I would discuss the problem of personnel in that kind of a situation. By that situation, I mean an administration imposed from above on a people who have had the economic basis and security knocked out from under them, and that administration is completely responsible for their welfare. The population doesn't know what the administration is like and the administration doesn't know about the population. In both groups, there are many frustrations. Nor is the administration certain of the loyalties of the people.

I am going to leave the Relocation picture for a minute and give you a picture of an individual, a case history. Let us call the man Ravenel Davis. He is from the Deep South; he is 40 years old, married, has three children. They were important in history and they were wealthy. Davis is a very well-to-do business man, affluent; an inventor who has had a number of his inventions patented; an author, writing for the pulp magazines. He writes at great speed and his production

is prolific. Then gradually, beginning several years ago, he began to have troubles. He had many disagreements with his wife and they finally drifted far apart. Her family saw to it that her part of the family fortune was protected by a trust company, so that she would always be taken care of and he could never get at the money. From that time on he began to think that the trust company was shadowing him. On many occasions he saw people whom he knew the trust company had sent to follow him, or he saw cars, or lights. Then he began to have trouble about his inventions, he couldn't get them patented and he thought that the trust company had bribed and influenced the patent office officials in order to prevent him from getting his through.

Finally he left the South and went to Chicago. There he was happy for a while, then again he began to feel that he was being shadowed. He suspected the hotel people. He also made some investments that turned out to be bad and thought the trust company had put false reports in the paper for him to see. He became tense and nervous.

Then he went to consult a psychiatrist, and on the doctor's advice went voluntarily to a sanatorium for several months. He was happy there at first, but then he began to think that the trust company was shadowing him again. There was an attendant who was from the South, not far from his home, and he was sure that this attendant was watching him. He tasted something strange in the food one day, and he was sure that he was being poisoned. He then moved to another ward, but soon began to have the same sort of suspicions about a nurse, who was also from the South.

He ran away from the hospital and went to New England. There he sat on the beach and rested and was happy for a time, but then he began again to believe that he was being persecuted. He corresponded with his doctor through the Agony Column of the New York newspaper and went down to see him. He was committed to an institution.

Now you have been wondering what all this has to do with administration. This man had a mental ailment which we call paranoia. Now all cases of paranoia are not as bad as this, and there are many still running around loose. In positions such as you will have you must be careful with them, you must see them. You should be able to pick them up in the earlier states of their association with your work, during the probationary period. The great difficulty is that, like this man, they may be paranoids in only one phase of their life and be perfectly normal in all others.

To show you that this is not far-fetched, let me give you another example of a case that actually happened in Poston:

We will call the man J. J. O'Malley. He was 57, married, of a portly build and with a friendly appearance. He was not one of the very top administrators, but he held a very important position as head of a department. He was in charge of a great deal of equipment and many Japanese employees. He had charge of feeding the 17,000 people in the camp. When he first came he was very enthusiastic about making his division a crack one that would fit in with the rest of the project. He went far in helping to make the Japanese comfortable and happy. He was willing and anxious to provide trucks for picnics, had ideas about making a beach down by the river so they could go swimming, and so on.

Among the administration he was talking about his past business experience and saying that in 1938, he made \$150,000 a year. Now he was making \$3800. He was also talking about a \$25,000,000 business scheme. Now, the people around him had normal intelligence and thought that he probably exaggerated some, but they didn't pay any attention. They never stopped to find out why a man would accept a job at \$3800 when four years before he had been getting \$150,000. Someone should have checked on this but they didn't.

Then O'Malley became very suspicious and saw plots everywhere. He saw people stealing food and hoarding it -- in preparation for Japanese paratroopers. He began to be afraid and he carried a gun and advised others to carry guns, offering to bring in small arms for the others. He also was sure that the Japanese had great stores of ammunition, hand-grenades, and various other arms.

Why didn't the top men in the administration spot this? The administration got only threads and odd ends and rumors. Many of the people to whom O'Malley talked probably wondered if he weren't right. They didn't come and tell what he had said.

Ø O'Malley's attitude was that "On the Poston battlefield, the Japanese had won all the battles." That is what he really believed. In November there occurred a strike at Poston. It was predominantly over labor issues in which the Japanese had things against their employers and the Administration had things against the Japanese. Other things got mixed up in it as well -- anti-American sentiments, pro-Axis, anti-Japanese, and all that goes with it, but they were secondary. The administration, however, saw it as labor trouble and chose to handle it as such.

They looked into the manifesto of the evacuees before they would consider resorting to forces. They had infinite resources on hand had they wanted to use force, but they thought that it was not good to draw upon this force before finding out what it was all about.

On both sides it was a very delicate situation. O'Malley very nearly blew the whole thing up when he became scared and addressed a meeting of teachers and put the fear of God into them. He told them that the evacuees had guns and grenades, and all kinds of arms and that they were going to use them. They didn't know what to believe because here he was, a high authority, telling them these things as facts. He also had a good presence and a gift of gab -- and many of them already agreed with his attitude.

O'Malley also went to the MP's. They were perhaps in a more delicate situation than anyone else. There they were, told to be ready at a moment's notice to run in and put down the strikers, and also told that they were to be ready, though they should be extremely careful not to make any moves that would make the situation any worse or make it flare up. Then he, O'Malley, goes in and tells them that there are hidden arms and that the Japanese will attack them at any moment, and the MP's got jittery and didn't know when they might be shot in the back. They wanted to go out and be the first to shoot.

The thing that saved the situation was that O'Malley got scared and ran away. The strike was not further influenced by him, but the project certainly was. After the strike he came back and he was fired for insubordination and for running away and his attitude toward the Japanese. However, as seems to be the practice in government circles if it can possible be done, they let him go "without prejudice," which was too bad as it later turned out.

But when he left Poston he did not stop. He began to write letters to everyone, papers, government officials, Mrs. Roosevelt, and all kinds of people about the Japanese and the stacks of ammunition and hoarding of food. But no one paid any attention, him until the Dies Committee got his stuff and ate it up. They got from him a sworn statement that all of these things were true. And from them it got into the papers. It did a great deal of harm to the Project, and to the loyal Japanese who had been and who wanted to relocate.

It is awfully easy in the hurly-burly early emergency days for a florid psychotic state like this to go unnoticed and this sort of thing build up. It is particularly easy when the person

has a good presence and doesn't look to the layman like a psychotic. Probably such people are statistically relatively rare. It is something that you should be always on the lookout for, but not worry about too much.

But there are all shades of this sort of thing. There are many people who have this, but at a lower level. Among the galaxy of personality types there is the person who is suspicious and likely to present an administrative problem. Such a person in a situation of stress and strain is likely to have his suspicions come out more strongly.

In addition to the people who are constitutionally predisposed to be suspicious, all of us developed paranoid symptoms under certain situations, and they should be looked on as symptoms. There is no one who hasn't had them at certain times, anyone can react that way. I know that I, at least, have had them. It is a basic postulate of modern psychology that feelings of frustration leads to aggression and aggression looks around for something to hang itself on. It is essentially a frustration situation in Poston for the Administration. They were grounded between the evacuees below and the various government organizations above them. There was a serious lack of supplies, there was a lack of communications, there were contradicting orders from government agencies, there was a bad press and bad publicity, there were changes in government policy. From below they got the full force from the evacuees, who blamed everything on the administrators who were nearest to them. From the soreheads and from all those who had been frustrated and suffered during the evacuation they took it, for the evacuees had suffered enormous economic losses, they looked for someone to hang their frustrations and sufferings on and they hung them on the nearest government officials. The administration was between these two forces and it was an essentially frustrating situation.

The result of this frustrating situation was the development of temporary paranoidias were not consistent, but they were bad, dangerous and damaging. In a frustrating situation it is easy to believe that your lack of success is due to someone working against you. Here in Poston who is it who is against me? Hirohito. He's the guy who has blocked the dreams of 80,000 acres under cultivation, who has sabotaged the progressive education program, and so on. This sort of feeling went through the whole administration, but fortunately it came to different people at different times so that they sort of balanced each other. There were few whom it never hit and one of these was the Project Director. He never got that way, and (he yet) was the person in a situation most conducive to it not seen in the early emergency days. This thing started to

appear largely about nine months after the project had started, after plan upon plan had been knocked, when slap after slap had been given.

I think that this is a most important point, at least from my own limited experience. If this is the kind of thing that happens in such a situation then it is important to consider in colonial administration because that also is essentially a frustrating situation and it will happen then. I am not able to tell you how to cure it. I don't know if anyone knows, but I can tell you to watch out for it.

There is something of a parallel to this thing in Flight Surgery. Before America went into the war, the British found out that the strain of too many fights made the aviators go "stale", as they called it. They would become listless and apathetic, and if something was not done they would get into an empty depression in which they would sit around and do nothing. Some people called it "walking death". Then they began to look for ways to prevent or cure this. They discovered that if a man is kept under the strain of fighting on and on, he develops a mental state which incapacitates him for further flying and also ruins him for civilian life. The policy was developed to spot the trouble early and treat it and then he would come out all right. When he was spotted as beginning such a state he was sent to a special home for a period of about three weeks in which he had recreational activity suited to him, talks to reorient him, and psychiatric treatment. At the end of that period he was sent back to duty, first to teaching, perhaps, and then later back again to flying. The difficulty was that the men naturally do not like to be considered sick and grounded and they looked on the flight surgeon as the one who would do this. But the effort has been to educate them to know that the reaction is one which comes to all under strain, is nothing to be ashamed of, and that they are much more likely to be able to fly longer if they will submit to the treatment.

The same also applies to other forms of psychic trauma such as are received in battle. There are still people who were shell shocked in the last war and still unfit for civilian life. The same thing probably can happen and has happened under the strain of administration. It might happen in yourself, or it might happen in your subordinates. The thing to do in such a case is to see to it that they get away from the strain and rest, then take part in some other form of constructive activity, and then they can come back to the job again.

Another thing I would like to mention. This paranoia is contagious. A guy like O'Malley would be called a crackpot in

Chicago and everyone would recognize him as such. But in a situation like Poston, during the strike with the crowds milling around, music playing, banners waving, people wondering what the score was, a fellow like O'Malley can set a fire that will run through all of them, a fire of hate and fear. Also when the other top administrators are having milder forms of paranoia, one fellow with a real case can make the others blossom out with real paranoia too. People do not like to admit fear, but when they find a bigger reason that backs their fear, like the pile of grenades, then they decide to shoot first. I believe that that was what happened at Manzanar. The soldiers got scared and fired into the crowd without orders. The people there were all on the qui vive of paranoia.

I would like to be able to tell you how to spot paranoia but that would involve a long technical discussion. I think that anyone can see the manifestations of it. What I have done is to describe to you the situation as it does exist and to ask you to use your common sense.

QUESTION: I am sure we have all found this a very useful and instructive talk. I do not know whether the Lt. is a psychiatrist, but I strongly suspect that he is. I would like to ask the Lt. if he thinks that it is advisable for a lay person to try to see if there is such a mental instability in a person?

DR. LEIGHTON: A lay person should not make the final judgment, but he should have the possibility in mind and if he thinks that someone is suspicious unduly, then he should refer the case to a specialist. It is part of duty of the administrator to spot such individuals. However, there is always the possibility which you must guard against and that is being paranoid against paranoia.

QUESTION: (same officer) At any of the Relocation Camps, did they have any psychiatric social workers?

DR. EMBREE: I think that they are just now arriving. There have always been regular social case workers as part of the administrative organization.

QUESTION: (same officer) On the west coast before evacuation, there were a number of intermarriages between whites and Japanese. Did they all go to the Relocation Centers, and if they did, what was their adjustment there?

DR. LEIGHTON: At Poston there were a number with mates of different race, but they were mainly Filipino, Mexican and Chinese. There were a few white mates who came along and some who did not.

Some did not make a happy adjustment and caused a good deal of trouble, others made very good adjustment and were accepted. But I think those who did not make the adjustments did not do so because of the kind of people they were, not because of Japanese antipathy against the whites.

QUESTION: (bald officer) I would like to ask if there was any tendency toward paranoia among the relocated Japanese, and, if so, how was it manifested?

DR. LEIGHTON: Yes, there was a good deal. I haven't the figures, but speaking from my impression I would say that the amount of paranoid reaction in Poston was higher than in an ordinary community of similar size. All the psychosis which I saw were colored with a paranoid hue. One of the evidences of it which was community wide were the prevalence of rumors, most with a persecution tinge and believed by people who wouldn't ordinarily believe such stuff. The large part of the community never became informed, but those who were working with the administration came to trust them (the administered) and to believe that their intentions were good. The settlement of the strike was largely due to this group. But it is impossible for 17,000 all to have direct contact with a handful of administrators. It just isn't physically possible. This leads to the problem of communication which is very important, but another story.

QUESTION: (Officer with glasses) How many have been found to be loyal Americans?

DR. LEIGHTON: About 3000 have gone out and they have been thoroughly checked by the Project, the Washington office, the Navy, the Army and the FBI. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the rest of those who remain are unloyal. 1400 are going to Tule Lake, the real internment camp. These people are repatriates, and persons who answered "no" to "the loyalty question" in the army questionnaire, "Will you relinquish loyalty to the Emperor of Japan and swear allegiance to the U.S.?" However, you have to respect their willingness to come out and say what's what. For the rest, my impression is that loyalty is a pretty human affair. To people who are socially disoriented it is a question of having something to be loyal to. It is very hard to be loyal to someone who is repeatedly kicking you in the teeth. There is a Japanese proverb which says that when there is a storm you should take refuge under the biggest tree. I think that 90% of the Nisei feel that the United States is the biggest tree.

QUESTION: (Major) Is there such a thing as scientifically developing a curative psychological method through the sense of humor?
(Question quite confused)

- DR. LEIGHTON: There isn't but there ought to be. The people who came through that experience were the people with the ability to laugh, or play, or have some fun, to sit down and enjoy a crap game, right in the middle of some awful thing. It is certainly a good thing to try and encourage.
- QUESTION: (tall Lieutenant) Paranoia occurs in Washington in an Agency which had been extremely busy and then has its function removed and they just have to sit around. In ordinary civilian life you don't get it.
- DR. LEIGHTON: If a person has some degree of success it doesn't come. But when he is repeatedly blocked, yet under pressure, then you get it,
- TALL LIEUTENANT: Thurman Arnold was blocked for 7 years and yet he built up his organization in spite of that. Things would be terrible and then he would make a joke or make a right statement to the press and things would be all right again. His success was due to his sense of humor.
- SOMEONE: (something about organization which gets suspicious or paranoia from long inactivity. ??)
- SOMEONE ELSE: Like the Republican party.
- REMARK: (Captain) What is a paranoia in Poston might not be one in Tokyo.
- DR. LEIGHTON: In history many of these same things have happened before. During the French Revolution the Parliament and some Aristocrats decided to get rid of the King and court and others who were suspected of plotting against the welfare of France. They did it and then followed five years in which no problems were solved, and they began to kill off all the aristocrats including those who started the revolution, then they killed the conservative revolutionaries, and then practically anyone. The thing didn't end until those who had started the widespread persecution were killed, Robespierre and the Jacobins, they who had started the whole cycle of suspiciousness. The fire from Robespierre's suspicious personality spread until he himself was guillotined. There was another situation in which suspicions played a large role, and that was in the South after the Civil War. All the Rebels were suspected and were not trusted in important positions which contributed to "Reconstruction" and postponed the recovery of the South for 30 years.
- These parallels are not too close, but it might be that there is something that arises in certain situations that you would be well to be on the look out for.
- (Applause.)

In a conversation following the talk, a Major, (medical corps - ?) said that he had been in charge of a migratory labor camp in the South during the depression and the people of the region were very much against the camp and treating these "robbers and bandits and good-for-nothings" like human beings. It was his experience there that the fellows who packed a gun was the first to get shot at.

(Note by AHL)

I should have stressed that a suspicious attitude engenders same in others and soon where no cause existed, real cause comes into existence. The opposite is also true - trust breeds trust.

Compare treatment of Indians by Quakers, Mormons, Roger Williams, etc. who never suffered massacres and others like Puritans and Texans who were butchered until they finally overpowered the Indians.

The subject that I thought of laying before you is that aspect of mental hygiene which can be roughly grouped under the term "morale", but as I have listened to Dr. Cary and the discussion here this morning, it seemed to me that I came to learn rather than to tell you anything. Nevertheless, may be I can bring a little different way of looking at the things and perhaps some illumination.

"Morale" is a word which, like politics, means a lot of different things to different people. Take the word "democrat" or "republican": it seems in the south you vote for a democrat for the same reason that you vote for a republican in the north. To some people, morale is simply courage. To some, it is a state of optimism - a kind of faith in life. To others, it is in essence, religion. To some people it is a philosophy. I remember reading a lecture by an eminent philosopher given for officers of the Navy and which was supposed to tell them what morale was. If they all felt about it as I did, they came away believing that morale was. If they all felt about it as I did, they came away believing that morale was something a Naval Officer was not smart enough to understand.

These various points of view remind me of the story of the blind men who examined an elephant. Perhaps many of you have heard it. The gist is, one man got hold of the elephant's trunk and he maintained that the elephant was like a snake; another man managed to get the elephant's tail and thought it was like a rope; another got it by the leg and said it was like a tree; another walked smack into it and said it was like a wall. Afterward they all got together and each insisted that an elephant was what he had found and nothing more and they argued indefinitely.

In the last few years, we have had an opportunity to learn a great deal about morale and there have been a lot of good students at work on it. We have probably got to the point where we know a few things - but we are much more impressed by the things that we don't know and wish we did and feel the need for doing more work on the subject. There has been much work done in England on the evacuation of the children from cities to the country; on the effect of the continuous bombing through the winter in the big cities. There was an important study made of the retreat at Dunkirk; and there have been helpful things come out of research on the effect of continued flying, bombing and fighting in the air corps. Another thing that should be mentioned is the study of the effect of war in this country and the development of the turn-over from the pre-war days to our war-thinking and war capacity--how this happened, why it happened and what are some of the great mistakes and successes.

Out of all this, the fact emerges whether you are dealing with a squadron, a city, a community, a country, a ship or a school, there are certain fundamental things that always seem to come up and they can be put very, very simply. What I have to say may sound a little abstract. After all, you begin with the particular and after you have enough particulars, you make a generalization or a concept and then you put the concept in your pocket and take it out whenever you want to apply it so as to better understand new particulars.

What I wish to present is a working hypothesis. Morale expressed in terms of a concept is THE CAPACITY OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE TO PULL TOGETHER CONSISTENTLY AND PERSISTENTLY IN THE PURSUIT OF A COMMON PURPOSE. There are four general classes of contributing factors: (1) The (1606)

faith in that common purpose, (2) The faith in the leadership, (3) The faith in each other - that is, the members of the community, (4) Health and an adequate balance of work, rest and recreation.

Suppose we examine this working concept and these contributing factors in terms of what we have here and the problems that face us. I will begin with the last, the one that is most often considered morale, especially by those who are interested in the welfare of soldiers and sailors and their free time, that is recreation balancing with work and rest and then the particular bias of my own profession, health. Those things are very important. They are important as foundations. But they are not all of morale. You may make a simile with an automobile and say that these aspects are like keeping oil in your crankcase, gas in the tank, air in the tires and that they make the car run. But they don't say very much about where the car goes or what kind of work it will do. However, things are basic, for if you don't have them under your control, you can't do anything. Now it does seem to me that here we have opportunities for work, rest recreation and health. We have health and we have good facilities for maintaining it. You can think of a lot of exceptions to this statement but in general it is true. The facilities are not perfect but they are enough and are as good as most of the country has at the present time; in some ways, a lot better.

But the other factors, what about them? What about faith in leadership? What about faith in each other? What about purpose? Faith in each other and faith in leadership tie in with the question of purpose, so I shall leave those two as questions with you - questions which I know you have thought about a great deal and which as teachers are your daily problem in class. They spread from the class out into the community. By considering them along with the question of purpose, you may see them in connection with the total problem of morale.

Let us turn to the question of purpose. "Morale is the capacity of a group of people to pull together consistently and persistently in pursuit of a common purpose." One of the primary factors is the faith in that purpose. Well, in the army the purpose is to win. It's simple. In missionary work it is to convert. Also simple. In politics it is to get your man elected. I wonder what purpose we here can feel as definite and simple? In studying the response of groups of people, it has been found that in the rise of morale the focus of the attention of the community on a purpose - on an issue so that it becomes part of every individual in that community, is one of the fundamental things. It is surprising how little physical things count when that begins to rise. A friend of mine who was a practicing psychiatrist in London went out of business when the bombing started because his patients were too busy with work to take their own troubles to him any more. He went around to see what they were doing and found them all at jobs in that community and they didn't need him. He came back to America and he was doing a thriving business for a while.

In a situation somewhat the same in the last war, one of the physicians who wrote on this subject told of being with a company of men who were in an advanced position in the front line. They occupied a bit of wood and they were subject to shell-fire for quite a long period. This physician watched the man in charge of bringing up supplies and came to the conclusion that he was feebleminded because he was always getting the rules confused, losing supplies or upsetting the wagon. Over a period of weeks of observing, the physician noticed that there were times when the man delivered the goods on the dot and

without mishap. These were the occasions when he was being shelled. At those times he seemed to squeeze the last drop of juice out of every brain cell he had, but when he wasn't being shelled, he got into trouble.

I tell that to emphasize the relative importance of physical things. People can take a great deal at the physical level, but what they cannot take so well is disharmony and uncertainty in regard to other people. Every advance in the psychology of personality made since the 19th century indicates that man's Achilles heel as far as mental and emotional life are concerned lies in his interpersonal relationships. Doubt in that sphere plays havoc with human security and hopes and ruins morale because it strikes at its very basis, the capacity to cooperate - to pull together. That is why faith in each other and faith in leadership are important. And that is why the purpose must be a common purpose - a sharing.

It would be presumptuous for me to come before you and try to tell you what purpose we should have here. I only feel able to bring it up as a very important thing and one of the basic elements of morale in this community and out of which you can work toward the other basic things such as faith in each other and faith in leadership. I have a number of thoughts about how a common purpose can be achieved and how teachers can play a role. I think that the seven points that Dr. Cary mentioned to you this morning are of first importance. In order to have a purpose, you have to have understanding.

Well, perhaps that is not correct. You can have a purpose without understanding a single thing about it but it will be an emotional and fanatical purpose. To have intelligent purpose you have got to have understanding and that throws a tremendous responsibility on the teachers - to help supply the community. Understanding is needed concerning the things that are active in this community. We need to know what they mean, what they are and where they spring from so that people can do more than simply react emotionally, but understand and act intelligently.

One thought I had was that through the teachers, through perhaps a committee, some way could be found of keeping this community better informed concerning what is happening here in the community. As you probably know much better than I do, it is a prey constantly to the wildest rumors and strangely enough, some of the wildest ones turn out to be true and that means that other wild ones get believed. The result is unhappy and fearful confusion. In the eastern newspapers, there has been running a syndicated column that has good possibilities, I think. They call it a "Rumor Clinic" and people write to the paper the various rumors they hear and those who run the column try to trace down the actual facts and publish them. I think it has a very good effect.

That is one thing that is a possibility. They of course there is the possibility in casual conversation in classroom work and in meetings of the teachers. It might be that some organization could be set going that would make it its business to track down some of the more outstanding rumors every week or every day as they come up and get at the real facts and spread them instead of the rumor. This is very important because what people do in any situation, in any crisis, is conditioned not only by the immediate situation but also by the influence of the whole train of events in the past on the formation of pre-

conceived ideas and if those pre-conceived ideas are largely built on rumors, the resultant action will be equally faulty and misguided.

Another thought that I had was very similar to that which Dr. Cary described in connection with learning about the regions into which the people are going in the re-relocation program. Only, I had thought of it a little more broadly and probably not so practically. That is - to understand what is going on in this country and in the world right now as much as possible. I suppose you could express what I mean by the words "current affairs". It seems to me that no topic is more important than that. Nobody can tell anybody else in this community or in any community in the United States what he should do in order to prepare for the future. We don't know. But we can place in the hands of people, the material, the information and the knowledge on which to base their own judgments as soundly as possible, and I would think it very advantageous to have current affair classes and seminars break out all over the camp like measles. Material can be found easily in subscriptions to Time, United States News, New York Times - Sunday Edition. - we don't need history books or profound treatises. You can start with the current news and they take problems out of that and go backward in history as seems desirable. But begin with living problems. Different individuals can work up different themes and present them to the group. They can write for pamphlets and digests. It's wiser to start from current issues and extend back to the past rather than start with Adam and Eve and just hope you can get to the present before you die of old age. Take the recent article in Life on geopolitics - that is a subject about which all high school pupils should know. Such a popular article is a start and should be followed up in more detail by some one interested who would summarize his findings for the rest. Out of current affairs can come greater understanding and out of greater understanding, inside and outside, you and others can form some ideas about how to define your purpose. The purpose for you as an individual will bind you into a purpose for your family. A purpose for your family must be bound into a purpose for the community.

I can't, as I said, tell anybody what his purpose should be. I know what my own is - as a social scientist I can see the future has thousands of roads open to me out of which a few will be presented actually by opportunity and chance, and out of those few that are actually presented I shall try with the best understanding I can muster to pick as intelligently as possible the best one to achieve my purpose which is the application of my trade, social science, so as to contribute some small amount toward making a better society. By a better society, I mean one in which the individual has the maximum opportunity for self development, happiness, satisfaction in his life with the emphasis not on the rights of the individual but the obligations of the individual. Society can't exist on individual rights. It can only exist when individuals have a sense of obligation and the difference between democratic obligation and other obligation is that it comes from within the individual whereas elsewhere it is imposed from above.

My own personal slant on the present struggle is that it is a conflict between the past and the future. I don't mean just the war but also the period after the war. We are not fighting for democracy as it is, we are fighting for the opportunity to continue to develop the individual personality and a society build on that kind of personality and sense of responsibility. We are fighting for opportunity and against having to go backward, against going back to Louis the 14th, against going back to Augustus Caesar, against going back to Babylon,
(1309)

against going back to Rancosis. We may fail. We won't fail in the war, but the peace after it is a different matter. If we do fail; don't forget that just as evolution goes on, some day, some group of people are going to achieve- and we will have just missed the bus.

In conclusion, I should like to quote some comments on postwar education by the English Psychiatrist, R. D. Gillespie. They are from his book, "Psychological Effects of War" published by W. J. Norton and Company, Inc.

"It is a psychiatric axiom that the approach to life should be realistic; much education at present tends to exalt the secondhand and the bookish, usually at the expense of direct observation and experience. Children are notoriously acute observers, while so many adults seem stupid in this way. It is not the fading of some function in the way that eidetic imagery fades, but rather the dulling of observation, the exaltation of authority in place of fact, the promotion of secondhand knowledge induced by emphasis on bookwork, that produces this atrophy. Biology and general science well taught should be part of every child's education. We know this before, and had we applied it then our community at large might have had a more realistic appreciation of the perils that might confront it from the devices of technical science and the failure of economic organizations.

"Firsthand knowledge of the development of the butterfly is possibly of greater value for life than academic acquaintance with the dialogues of Plato. To be able to identify the song of a particular bird may be of more value than the nice appreciation of a Latin quotation. Our children who have gone to live in the country, year in year out, since our cities were bombed are not likely to return to schools in town, if they do return, with the same attitude to bookwork as they had before. They have had firsthand field experience of simple biology, and many of them have developed a quickened sense of wonder and a new set of values, however unconscious, including an appreciation of beauty and usefulness. Education along these lines, coupled with instruction in the elements of scientific methods, should give a better basis for judgment on all sorts of topics in which many individuals in our community are apt to err in an extravagant way. It is notorious that people with the most expensive sort of education are most apt to run after false gods in medicine and religion. This is not confined to any one country. Some of my readers may have read of the blue glass craze that followed the Civil War.

"But, above all, education should aim at character building, and character building, if the evidence of psychotherapy is to be believed, should concern itself at least as much with the structure of the ego as with the nature of the instinctive impulses. The evidence from cases of war neuroses shows that tradition counts considerably. Even those who are temperamentally not very suitable for front-line service endure hardships and dangers much longer if they have been brought up in the tradition of service. Tradition implies a debt to one's ancestors and tendency to minimize the importance of one's own ego. Education of recent years had emphasized less than formerly that present comforts and privileges are inherited from those who brave all kinds of dangers to secure them for their children and their children's children. It had allowed people to forget to praise "famous men and our fathers that beget us." The influence of the kind of upbringing which surrounds us with security, and gives us what we want only

apparently because we want it, makes us forget that the liberty we enjoy our fathers had fought for, nay more, had died for. Our ego becomes inflated in proportion as we take these comforts for granted. From the Victorian attitude that the child owes everything to the parent, we have swung to the opposite attitude that the parent owes everything to the child. Is it not time that we struck a balance and our children be taught again what they and we owe to the self-sacrifice of the soldiers and the patient artisans of the past? It seems to me that this kind of tradition makes egotism less likely and neurosis less possible. It certainly makes war neurosis less likely. The history of recent years shows that it would make war itself less likely since aggressors do not readily attack those who appear to be ready to defend themselves to the utmost."

(A.H. Leighton)



P E R S O N A L I T Y
S T U D Y



A. H. LEIGHTON

EXPLANATION

The following is an outline of general topics for studying the individual human being in his environment.

It is not intended to be a method of investigation, but a way of grouping data. The questions are not designed to be asked the subject, but to be active in the mind of the investigator.

A. H. LEIGHTON

I. FRONT SHEET

Full name
Age and sex and marital status
Address
Racial stock
Education and religion
Occupation
Date of beginning study
Circumstances of beginning study
Person or persons conducting study

II. OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

This should include the subject's stand on important general questions in which most individuals participate in their lives. These include customs, social relationships and orientation in biological matters.

The purpose of this section is: 1.) to get a cross-section of the subject's opinions before he becomes critical of them through the personality study. 2.) to lead up to discussion of personal matters by starting with general political and moral issues.

Throughout the study one must watch for the origins of these opinions, and should ask the subject for his idea of their source. An attempt should be made to distinguish conviction from convention, giving due attention to each. The subject should be asked if any of these opinions have caused him special trouble or happiness.

Concrete examples should be cited wherever possible, avoid generalizations.

Insofar as opinions and attitudes represent both ideal and behavioral patterns (see Kluckhohn) they are important as definitions of the subject's actual and potential behavior.

Items A to F (Muncie's book) of Dr. Meyer's preliminary orientation of the personality study should perhaps come before these opinions and attitudes in the order of approach to subject. If they

are covered, even if nothing else comes, we have a basic sketch of a person -- something on which to base ideas of functioning of that person. Data on opinions alone is likely to be a less usable fragment.

Conception of Right and Wrong

What are the general rules of living (Golden Rule, "carpe diem", might is right, etc.)? What is the rigidity or pliability of the outlook and on what topics? Are standards different towards different people or types of people? If such different standards exist, define each as well as possible, and the persons or classes of persons concerned. Are there persons or classes of persons with an inherent tendency to do wrong who must be treated as such (e.g., negroes, Mexicans, Catholics, Protestants, Etta, Okinawas, etc.)? How do sexual standards compare with other standards? What is cruelty; when is it wrong and when justified? Attitude towards weaker persons, children and animals. What arouses protective feelings, and under what circumstances? What is the role of conscience? Role of religious feelings and beliefs? Does the end ever justify the means? How do reward and punishment balance in life? Can wrong-doing go consistently unscathed and virtue without reward? Is justice inherent in the universe, and if so how does it operate?

Religion and the Supernatural

What is the subject's concept of religion and what part does it play in his life? What relationship does it bear to right and wrong? Any discrepancy between religious ethics and those performed or possible in real life? The role of ritual, revelation, inspiration, intuition, and logical reasoning. What does it satisfy? Amount and nature of comfort. How much direct effect can be obtained? How personal is God? What role does religion play in subject's sense of security? What is concept of paradise and reward in this life? Punishment here and hereafter. Role of religion in control of others. Social value of religion. Questions of tolerance and non-conformity. Attitudes towards other religions. Does religion and its form produce conflicts with everyday living and reasoning? If so, what and how handled?

What belief in good and bad luck, superstitions (spilling salt, etc.), charms, and spells? How important are they, what needs do they satisfy, what are the dramatic qualities concerned? Role and nature of witchcraft. How important. Do the spirits of the dead visit the earth and what is their influence?

Government and Law

How is the government run? How should it be run? (Take up

local government first). Translate subject's stand on local and current politics into general terms. What are the rights of the individual and the state? Any correlation between subject's attitude toward government and his attitude towards parents in early life?

What ideas has subject on how law should be administered? And how is it actually administered in his opinion?

What is the relationship between force of law and moral behavior? How does it compare with force of custom and the opinion of others? Relationship between government and religion.

To what extent and how should and does government interfere in regulating economic conditions? When and how should tariff and taxes be levied, and on what groups? Who should receive subsidies? Should help be given the needy? How? Who should be considered needy? How should the health problems of the public be taken care of?

Should the government operate on the principle that "all men are born equal"? Should it try to give everyone an equal chance? What is meant by "equal chance"?

How actually and how ideally is government position obtained? What standards and means of testing fitness?

What graft exists and what should be done about it? What security is offered individuals by political machines and patronage (influence with magistrates, etc.)?

On the whole what benefits and what penalties does the subject get from the government as it exists?

Sexual Orientation

Man's place and woman's. How do they differ and what do they share? How is the world's work divided between them? What personality and temperamental differences are usually observed? The position of the family and their responsibilities towards it.

What is the nature and role of the sexual deviant? What attitudes towards chastity and promiscuity, bareness and fecundity? Is there a double standard? Relationship of these matters to morals, religion and law, and to general social safety or needs. Attitude toward illegitimate mother, position of illegitimate child. Nature of incest, definition and attitude toward it. How is masturbation regarded and its relationship to insanity.

Family

Opinion as to the general form and personnel of the family.

What are the various mutual responsibilities and privileges? What is the economic structure?

Under what circumstances should children be born? How raised? How much attention from father and mother? Kind and extent of education? Introduction to work, responsibility, religion. Their responsibility to parents and vice-versa. Their value.

Structure of Society

What social and economic positions occupiable by an individual can the subject define? What is expected of each?

What is the nature of class barriers and attitudes toward them? Main levels of prestige. On what does prestige depend? What is "social prestige" as distinct from wealth and power? What qualities make for personal attractiveness and charm? Attitude towards show and ostentation? Who are the greatest men and women alive in the world today? Are class and status lines fixed or are they rungs on a ladder?

What is the value and function of social clubs, religious clubs, trade unions, business clubs, benevolent clubs, etc.?

Conflict

What are the commonest causes of friction between individuals? Between groups? What kinds of people cannot be trusted? Who are likely to cause trouble?

What in-groups and out-groups are recognized - regional, occupational, denominational, social?

What are the rules, written or unwritten which govern "fair" fighting -- physical, verbal or economic. Relationship to religion and law?

What is the subject's attitude toward national war? What war is justified and what unjustified? Ideas about horrors and glory.

Death

Attitude toward death - how to meet it in self and others. Feeling toward those who have died. How much awareness of threat of death always hanging over one?

Value of life - self and others. What persons and types have low value and high? What things are worth giving life for?

Economics of Subsistence

How important is earning a living? What are the best ways to make a living, and why? (Farming, fishing, tradesman, etc.) What constitutes a good living? What are the financial returns and what prestige goes with the different methods? What are the relationships between various trades and professions - how economically interdependent? What are the subject's ideas about fair profits?

Health and disease

What is the importance of health? What is the best way to maintain it? What things are harmful and what contribute to a long life? What types of healers are recognized and what is their success? What are the reliable remedies?

What types of disease are recognized and what are their causes? What part is played by religion in health and disease? Is disease ever a punishment?

How should the sick be treated and by whom? Who should look after those unable to earn their own living?

Security - Anxiety

What do people worry about? What helps?

Nature of the Universe

What is the subject's concept of the nature of the universe? How does man fit into the picture? How does subject fit into the picture?

III. LIFE STORY

Secure an approximately chronological account of the subject's life. Ask him to stress everything that has been important to him.

The free association method as used by Dollard has the advantage of including no leads in the questions and the disadvantage of making the material voluminous and difficult to organize. As Dollard himself says, it is best used after direct methods have been adequately employed.

Following the life story should come a summary and a statement of which elements from the wide range of potential human experience are important in this particular person and the best order of tak-

ing them up in more detail. Ask the subject to make an independent summary of his own.

Since the biography is still going on, have the subject give particular and detailed account of 24 hour spans at appropriate intervals. Encourage diary keeping.

Before taking up each of the subsequent headings, consider what may be filled in from the material so far gathered and make under each heading a brief summary of data pertinent to it.

IV. ENVIRONMENT

An adequate account of the environments, physical and social, that the subject has experienced.

(Note: In the following sections, the part from standard works need be done only once for a group of subjects from the same general environment.)

Physical

If there have been several, take up each in turn. From standard works:

The part of the world concerned and its geography. Climate - temperature, and amount of rain, snow and sun.

To what extent was the subject exposed to the environment? What direct effects has he noticed produced by physical environment? Has he been subject to abrupt changes and any difficulty in acclimatization?

Any hay fever or other seasonal allergic phenomena? What endemic diseases, insect pests and parasites?

Any mood changes that seem conditioned by physical environment? What occupational and social activities are dictated by physical environment? Can any of this opinions and attitudes be certainly or plausibly traced to environment?

What of exhaustion and opportunities for rest provided by environment?

Social

Summary ethnographic, historical, sociological account of the environment, with more details on any particular element that turns

out to be important.

Who raised subject? What was their social status and how long was he with them? With what sort of people has he mixed? What kind of schools has he attended? Any strong denominational influences, such as Catholic? Any important racial influence, such as Irish or colored maids, or groups of playmates, or visits to other countries? Any telling occupational influences?

To what extent have others screened him from physical requirements of life and created leisure for him? For example, what possessions has he had, what sort of clothes, how much help from servants?

Which of his opinions and attitudes are common to, or can be traced to his social environment?

V. SUBSISTENCE

This is intended to be an account of the subject's struggle for a living from the earliest recollection to the present. Its basis is the fact that man must eat to live. Therefore, we begin with the history of this biological process in the subject and then trace the things he must do to get food and the marks left by the experience, from mother's milk to his present occupation.

Although the outline is arranged chronologically for clarity, it is best to begin by gathering material about the present and then work backward as far as the data is reliable. Since some of these studies will be done on children, there will be an opportunity in such cases to observe the early phenomena instead of relying on retrospective accounts.

The first thing to study and of first importance because it is capable of most accurate and reliable scrutiny is the present situation of the subject in regard to subsistence.

Before taking up subsistence, shelter and others, it might be well to get data on action tendencies without the prejudicial grouping. - Then follow after with subsistence and shelter, etc. in mind.

Consciousness of Food

What are the earliest recollections (pleasant or unpleasant or neither)? Has food been scarce or plentiful, a source of comfort or discomfort? When? How important has it been compared to other things? What were the food dreams as a child and now?

Pursuit of Food

First recollections of spontaneously pursuing food instead of passively receiving it. Any struggles concerned, any stealing? Any resistance and violence? Regularity of meals, the role of food in treats and parties. Food ever used as a bribe? Or its absence as a threat?

What part does food now play in life?

Food and Value

Earliest recollections of perceiving that things had different values. What articles first seemed most valuable, and how has this changed? When did he appreciate exchange? Origin of realization of the meaning of money? What were the early means of trying to obtain money? Why? Any allowance? What uses was money put to? Place of food in scheme of values in childhood. What values does food have now in addition to being a means of subsistence? (Means of social enjoyment, taste, ostentation, etc.)

Chores

What were the regular assigned jobs of childhood? Any pay in money? Any consciousness of having to do the work to maintain family love and own security, or other rewards? Nature of all little jobs and attitudes towards them. What permanent effects were left?

Jobs outside the Family

What were the first outside jobs, why were they taken, and what did they mean to the subject? What was the attitude of all the others who were close to the subject? What was his relationship to superiors, peers and inferiors in the jobs? What have been his subsequent jobs?

Has the making of a living had any influence in making him aggressive or the reverse?

What did each job mean to the subject? Why did he take it? What did he learn from it? How did it change him, and what effects are still evident to him in his character, knowledge, or temperament? Why did he leave each job? How has his working experience moulded or changed his point of view? What has been his experience with success and failure? Do any attitudes or experiences tend to be repeated? How does he feel about the saying "You can't keep a good man down"? Who is to blame for unemployment? Does the type of thinking required by his work pervade other spheres of living,

and how? Does he carry over his technical jargon and simile into everyday life?

Give most attention to his present occupation.

An appendix should be attached giving information on the character of the work, not merely from the subject, but from other sources such as observation, informants, and literature. This should be cross-referenced to the description of the physical and social environment.

VI. SURVIVAL

The history and development of the struggle for self-protection. To be closely cross-referenced to the subsistence data.

Shelter

What is the nature of present shelter? What is the history of the subject's need of shelter or association with it, beginning with the fundamental protection from the elements provided by a house and fire, and leading to more remote forms of shelter such as habits of winter and summer living, apartments, camping, etc. Has shelter ever been seriously threatened? Is enjoyment of home an important item, and why? Is homesickness significant and what are the elements? What does the subject enjoy in a home, what is his ideal? What things are in his home besides shelter - prestige, ornament, family, etc.?

Clothes

What is his concept of the use of clothes? What is his development of awareness of clothes? When did the idea of ornament enter and what is its present significance? Relationship of clothes to prestige, aesthetic sense, convention, sexual attraction. Any sense of stability provided by the use of clothes? Any refreshment from changes of types of clothes, or any other mood created by them? How big a role do clothes play in his life? Has there been a deprivation? Was it superficial, or extreme in the sense of leaving the subject exposed to the elements?

Health History

1. Medical history, including developmental.
2. Medical examination.
3. Mental status examination.

4. Hygiene of present living conditions. (Diet, methods of disposing of excreta, etc.)
5. Fitness (see Dr. Meyer's outline)
Sleep - present general nature and items which disturb
Dreams
Attention - fluctuations, and things which influence it
Endurance
Work)
Leisure) (Muncie - p. 98)
Energy)
6. Opinions and attitudes) about medicine and health
7. Information and misinformation)

Threats

Has subject ever had any serious threats levelled at his life? If so, what nature - chronic or acute? What has he done to protect himself, and what have others done to help or hinder? Who were the people that participated? Has he had a strong sense of security - that "death comes to others but not to me"? Terror and pleasant dreams. What are his securities and risks at present?

VII. REPRODUCTION

This section includes the sexual life of the individual and family life. It comes naturally after the subsistence and survival data. (See Dr. Meyer's Personality Study, Section V, pg. 9).

Current Sexual Life

What are his present sexual urges and how are they satisfied? Is this haphazard or regular? A source of satisfaction or uneasiness? How great a role does sex play in his daily consciousness? Sex dreams - nature and frequency.

Sex History

Earliest information and awareness of taboos. Earliest sensations. Sex adventures and attempts at adjustment. Masturbation. Menarche. What is his present sex code, and how well does he achieve it? What is his attitude toward those who do and do not live up to it?

Family Formation

What is subject's role in the family? (i.e., mother, father,

uncle) How does he perform it? Describe all members of his family, and his responsibility, financial and otherwise, to each member. (How well does he fulfill them?)

What is the relationship between subject's sex life, concern with children, and concern with a working life partnership?

Examine very closely the harmonies and disharmonies, and closely cross-reference the partnership with subsistence and survival data.

How does religion enter the picture? Any consciousness of responsibility to society in sex matters?

The attitudes about cooperation - rivalry in family are very important in connection with the social life for the individual (place in society beyond family).

An accurate accumulation of data on early life in family would likely be ground for predictions about later loyalties.

VIII. HABITS (Action tendencies, conation)

Here to be considered are the patterns of behavior that tend to be repeated, both overt and implicit. What is their importance in the subject's life? What evidence of "conditioning" similar to that seen in conditioned reflex and how persistent is such apparent "conditioning"?

Daily Living

Describe all the current essential daily habits, including, eating, sleeping, defecation, sex, washing, dress. Approximate time devoted to each? How have these developed since childhood? What is their relative importance?

Thought

What are the learning habits? How does he approach new problems? How does he study? Does he tend to think of certain things when doing certain acts which may be totally unrelated? (Such as thinking of a certain person whenever he goes to brush his teeth?) If so, what is the origin of these habits?

Does he have an habitual way of coming to a decision?

What techniques of thinking can he describe?

Habits of Work

Describe method of going at work. What is the routine, how are new situations handled? What is the role of habit in his particular work? What changes from childhood to the present?

Play

How are leisure moments spent? Formal vacations and time off? What has been the transition of child play habits to the present? Have any of the play habits of childhood turned out to be helpful or the reverse in later life?

Stimulants

The use of alcohol, its development and the reason behind it? What happens when it is withdrawn? Social significance?

Ditto for: tobacco, tea and coffee, drugs.

Social

What is your customary way of dealing with people? Greetings, partings, expressing sorrow, congratulations? What would you say at a wedding, funeral, to a new mother or father, to the newly married? How do you speak to superiors and inferiors? Habits of address and endings in letters. Under what conditions can your etiquette be laid aside? How is it modified when you know people very well? Any social habits peculiar to the subject's work (for instance sailors)?

What is the feeling on breaking a social habit? Origin of reason? Does subject recognize in himself any habitual methods of dealing with others that are idiosyncrasies of his own?

Include samples if possible, such as letters dealing with common life situations - marriage, death, etc.

Body

Describe subject's personal mannerisms, gait, ties. What is his attitude toward them?

Obsessive

Are there any habits that cannot be dropped without great discomfort? Are there any habits that the subject suspects are silly,

yet carries out because he is so uncomfortable if he does not? If so, explore history and significance.

IX. COGNITION

The "intellectual" life of the subject. (See Muncie's book especially "Tools of the Personality", pg. 74.)

Work and Hobbies

What aspects of subject's work or hobbies demonstrate his intellectual capacity? What factual data can be secured showing his capacity in 1.) learning, 2.) information, 3.) memory (holding what he learns), 4.) ability to systematize, 5.) clearness and complexity of thinking and planning, 6.) concrete action, 7.) executive ability. From others and observation try to assess his curiosity, initiative, and originality. How does he compare with his fellows? How does he handle advice and criticism?

History

Secure history of subject's learning from walking and talking to present. Most available and reliable data are school records, but try to get as much data as possible about other types of learning.

X. INTELLIGENCE TESTS

XI. AFFECT

The subject's moods, emotions, and personality traits, and the role they play in his living. (See Meyer's outline, pg. 6, and his list of emotions.)

Predominant Emotions

Make a list from subject, from others, and from observation, of the predominant emotions and moods of the subject with all data possible on the stimuli that produce them and the effects they have.

History of Affects

Trace through his life the development and part played by the emotions which seem most important from the above list.

Evaluation

Examine emotions and moods for those that make for difficulties and those that make for contentment. What methods of control has the subject?

XII. SOCIAL LIFE

The individual performing in the environment of other individuals.

Current Situation

The subject's present social and economic position and responsibilities entailed, club and church memberships. This is really an expansion of the description of the subject in his family. Who are his best friends? His attitudes to superiors, inferiors and newcomers.

Where does he find the maximum and minimum prestige? Whom does he imitate?

What are the sources of satisfaction and anxiety he finds amid the people he lives with?

How does he participate in various public opinions of his group and waves of feeling? His relationship to leadership, what cliques does he belong to?

Social History

(See Dr. Meyer's outline pg. 3, and Chassell's Experience Variables).

Trace history from infant in arms to present position in group. What social levels has he passed through? Role and nature of punishment?

Family History

As much data as possible on his parents and grandparents - physical, personality and social situation.

XIII. PLAY

This should receive enough attention to balance the section on work. Answer the question "what are his returns from struggling

for a living?"

Present Use of Leisure

What are the nature and condition of his amusements? Exhausting or relaxing? Haphazard or planned? How does he look on it; just time passing or the thing for which one lives. Is his play productive? Of What?

What relationship does it bear to prestige?

What are his resting points of satisfaction?

Play History

Trace the development of his playing from earliest childhood to the present. What has changed, what has persisted?

XIV. DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL TESTS

Binct
Jung
Rorschoch

Synthesis

1. How is he functioning in life - group factors making for waste (to his disadvantage and that of others) and factors making for his happiness.
2. What are the outstanding experiences of this person? What statement can be made about the origin of his opinions and attitudes?
3. How could he function better?
4. What have been his enthusiasms and how and why have these changed?
5. What anxieties and lack of security does he feel? Consider big frights as well as chronic worries, and with the big frights - what put him in the mood to react with such fear?
6. What things does he value most?
7. What statement can be made as to his fitness for specific positions and unfitness for others?

8. What have been the major influences on his life?
9. In what ways has he persistently resisted change that would be for his benefit?
10. What would have been the shortest method of obtaining the most valuable and most accurate data produced by this long study? (See page 127 in Muncie's book).
11. What appears fixed and what appears modifiable?
12. Construct a life chart.
13. Construct a dynamic chart.