

SOCIAL GROUP:

SOCIAL WORKERS DISCUSSION GROUP

Myamoto

INTRODUCTION

This group has had no official name, but generally has been called together under the name of the Social Workers Meeting. Its purpose has been to give more training to social workers by means of lectures and discussions. When the Project was first started, there was a need for setting up a Social Welfare Department to take care of social problems that were arising and that would increase as the population increased. To staff this department social workers were necessary, but there were only a few who had had any experience in the field of social work at all, and none who were fully-qualified social workers. To train those interested in doing social work this discussion group was started.¹

1. J.S. Journal,
6/25/42, "History of the group"

UNIFORM WAYS

Meetings were held every Monday and Thursday evenings, except when there were conflicting activities, such as the Community Forum. Discussions usually lasted from an hour and a half to two hours. When

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and were held in a recreation hall. When Dr. Jacoby/
~~he~~ lead the discussion, usually he centered it around

1. J.S. Journal 6/18 an abstract point, such as "What is Good Social Work,"¹ 6/1
"Social Welfare
Meeting." or "What Constitutes Social Work."² Usually he talked

2. J.S. Journal
6/22/42, "Social
Group Meeting." for a short while, and then asked questions/ to see
if he was getting over his point. When they were not,
and which was usually the case, he asked leading ques-
tions, but never stating the major point directly. He
was evidently trying to get the group to think through
the questions for themselves. Usually the group could
not grasp the abstract points and was constantly get-

3. J.S. Journal 6/18 ting off the track.³ There were complaints among the
"Social Welfare
Meeting."
Ibid, 6/22/42
"Miyamoto and
Shibutani"
4. Ibid, 6/25/42 advanced group.⁴ One difficulty with the discussions
"Social Group
Meeting." was that as the population increased new people were
constantly added to the group, while others dropped
out, making it necessary to repeat some of the past
discussions.

Sometimes when Dr. Jacoby was not present, Mrs.
Halle, head of the Social Welfare Department, con-
ducted the meetings. Mrs. Halle's discussion was not
organized around a central theme, but drifted from
topic to topic as questions were asked by those pre-
sent, ending up without any conclusions being reached.
At one meeting the history of the group, methods of
improving the discussion, sectionalism and other pro-
blems were discussed, until finally someone suggested
that the meeting be adjourned.⁵

At another meeting

Ibid, 7/2/42
"Social Work
Group Meeting"

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"The Need for a Juvenile Court System" was scheduled for discussion, but Dr. Jacoby could not come to take charge of the ~~at~~ meeting. Mrs. Halle preferred to let the discussion drift from transfer cases, schools, housing, to food. Her aimless and long-winded discussions were boring to some of those present.¹

1. Ibid, 7/20/42
"Social Welfare Meeting," "Food"

For several meetings ~~case/histor~~ actual cases were presented to the group and means of approaching these were discussed. This arrangement was satisfactory to the group as it was not too theoretical or too disorganized.²

2. Ibid, 7/2/42
"Social Work Group Meeting"

Those interested in getting into the Social Welfare Department were told to sign up for interviews. The workers were interviewed by both Dr. Jacoby and Mrs. Halle. Usually they were given ^ahypothetical cases and asked what they would do as a social worker handling it, besides being asked what training and experience they've had. When J.S. appeared for his interview he was asked how he would handle a group of Kibeis who did not work. J.S. had made a study of Kibeis and was able to discuss the case quite intelligently. Dr. Jacoby wanted him to be on the staff for other reasons, too, and was desirous of impressing Mrs. Halle with the fact that he was competent. During the interview, however, she had a visitor, to whom she talked for a while. Dr. Jacoby was irritated because she did not pay more attention.³ He was very careful of his selection of social workers and expanded the staff only gradually. Mrs. Halle was accused of being partial in her selection.⁴

3. Ibid, 7/1/42
"Social Work Interview"

4. Ibid, 7/28/42
Mrs. Halle

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MEMBERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

The size of the group has varied from 6 to 30, but usually has been about 15 to 20. While Issei block managers have been invited to attend ~~to~~ meetings, they have not showed up more than once or twice. The comment of one of them was that the group was handling important social problems in a frivolous manner, and they thought that there should be a group especially for Isseis. The age ranged from 19 to 25 or 30, with a few Isseis. ~~The girls/pat~~ Women outnumbered men about two to one. Most of the members seemed to speak Japanese as well as English, but it was not a "Japanesy" group. Apparently there were no Kibeis in the group, while several had lived among Caucasians a great deal. The intellectual and educational level was probably only slightly superior to the high school level. The girls were definitely not the attractive or sociable type found on the dance floor. There seems to be a general trace of personality maladjustment within the group.

Dr. Jacoby and Mrs. Halle offer an interesting contrast in two different types of leadership. Dr. Jacoby was a professor of sociology at the College of Pacific, and understood some of the major differences between the Japanese culture and the American, recognized cultural conflict situations, and moreover was sympathetic toward the Japanese. As a sociologist, he did not assume that Japanese were necessarily inferior, as was the case with so many lay Caucasians. He himself was intelligent and evidently free from a sense of

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insecurity, and was able to direct the group without a great deal of bias. He recognized that the group was not highly qualified for social work, but he was very patient with it. In spite of the fact that he was thought to be too theoretical, the group on the whole responded favorably to him.

Mrs. Halle, on the other hand, had done actual social work among Caucasians, but did not have much understanding of the Japanese people. Complaints that came to her she often thought unreasonable. She did not sympathize with the people. In the discussion of the food shortage her answer was that the people should realize that people on the outside are suffering, too. For instance, they had sugar rationing,

1. Ibid, 7/20/42 while here that was not done.¹ Moreover, she was a nervous woman, with some sense of insecurity. When someone suggested that the meeting be adjourned once because it was becoming drawn~~ing~~-out and it was chilly, she retorted, "You can always walk out if you want to, you know."² Her discussions^{tended to}/~~centered~~ around problems which had come up in the Welfare Department, and about ~~the~~ which she had complaints to make. The group did not respond favorably to her.
2. Ibid 6/25/42 "Sectionalism"

ANALYSIS

The principle motive in conducting the class is to get better social workers for the Social Welfare Department. The members come to the discussion,~~the~~ mainly in the hopes of getting a job in the Welfare Department. ^{personality} If the/maladjustment of the group is general, it would point to a desire for compensation

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through helping others. Lack of qualifications on the part of the group, shows for one thing that Japanese have not gone into this field to any great extent.

It may also reflect the fact that among the Japanese social problems have^{been} to a great extent, handled within the family or circle of close friends, or by the local Japanese community, instead of asking the services of social welfare departments.

The most important problem brought up by this discussion is why do people go into social work and what kind of persons are they. A list of those in this group and those in the Social Welfare Department, can be traced for background history, especially for personality adjustment. How this group dissolves should also be observed. *The family - welfare fund should be followed up.*

Miyamoto

RECORDS OFFICE

Introduction

The Records office was set up in the early part of July in order to take a complete census of residents of the Colony. This was done under the direction of the Regional Office in San Francisco. First a certain Mr. Gilbert came to set up the office, but he did not seem to have done very much. Then Mr. Heath, who was here evidently for some other business, was given the task of actually setting up the machinery for interviewing the colonists. Having been employment service worker, he chose his interviewers with care. He tried to choose college graduates and college students and older persons who could speak both English and Japanese fluently. Unfortunately, however, he did not know very much about the actual process of organizing the ~~Interviewers~~ Records Office or about this particular interviewing technique, except what he could get from a set of instructions sent from the Regional Office. On July 8 about 20 interviewers received instructions. On the next day the instructions were continued. On July 10 actual interviewing began, with two interviewers acting as "checkers," to look over the finished schedules for errors. Then on July 13 a certain George Shigekawa arrived and called a halt to the whole procedure. As the ensuing disorder is

of interest in itself, it will be followed in more detail.

Internal Conflict

When George Shigekawa first ~~at~~ walked into the office, he appeared a tall, thin, well-dressed man, evidently from the outside world. He came in with an air ^{of} importance and impatience. We interviewers learned that he had been in Manzanar, directing the taking of the census there. He was evidently working for the Regional Office, and was sent here to organize the Records Office here. He was from Sacramento, and someone said that he was the sort that borrowed money, and never paid it back. Also, he was a smooth talker who could talk himself out of almost anything.

He took a look at a few of the schedules that had been filled out, and he thought that they were almost useless, and probably would have to be done over ~~at~~ again. He asked how many interviews were being done every day and learned that it was ~~less~~ only couple of hundred. He said that five or six hundred would have to be "run through" every day, so that the whole census would be completed within five or six weeks. He talked of efficiency--of a steady stream of interviewees coming in through one door and leaving out of the other, and none of the interviewers loafing on their job. He mentioned proper office etiquette, where interviewers would not talk to each other, and only communicate with their supervisors by raising their hands and not rising from their seat. Nothing was being done to his satisfaction, and he called a halt to the interviewing that was already in progress. There would have to be a period of retraining, when much of the things already learned would have to be "unlearned." More interviewers would be

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necessary, and many more applicants to allow for screening.

One of the first things he decided was that he wanted an intelligent secretary to take the place of Ruby Kawasaki. After looking through the list of practice schedule for education, etc., he picked Kiyo Aiura for his prospective secretary. He said that Ruby was too young to handle the job adequately. The work consisted of supervising the crew of typists and clerks. Ruby was efficient, but could not get much cooperation from her workers because she antagonized them.¹ / She was accused of being bossy by the workers, while she complained that they were lazy and wouldn't do anything properly, if at all. Ruby was a secretary ~~for the~~ ~~typing~~ to Mr. Smith, head of the Housing and Employment Division, and had been "loaned" to the Records Office. Ruby immediately threatened to go back to her original job and take her mahogany desk with her, and took the matter up with Mr. Smith. The latter asked her to wait a couple of days before she did that.

See Case History

As head of the Housing and Employment Division the Records Office was put under the supervision of Mr. Smith. This was made clear by Mac Entire, head of the Regional Office, in his instructions to the interviewers. He said that he was sorry that so many different persons had come to set up the Records Office. ~~Mr.~~ Shigekawa was given the title of Technical Consultant, and presumably was to have the final ~~say~~ say on how the ~~schedules~~ schedules were to be filled out. It was never made clear whether he had the power to hire and fire the office force, although he seems to have done this in Manzanar where he was in charge.

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Shigekawa

~~George~~ had talked of making Ruby a receptionist and putting Kiyo in her place as secretary, but she was able to retain her job. Kiyo said that she didn't want to work under Shigekawa and did not want to take Ruby's job away from her. The interviewers did not get along with Ruby, but after Shigekawa arrived, they began to talk to her. She kept them informed on some of the inside happenings. She told Shigekawa ~~if~~ that half of the workers wouldn't turn up just because of him, and she reported that he said that he hoped that they wouldn't. She was asked to come back to work at night, but she refused, saying that she wanted to attend the community forum. Before this she had worked nights and over weekends just to keep things going.

The day after interviewing was called to a halt, Shigekawa began to reorganize the office. My journal for July 14 relates:

"This morning we were all gathered together, 22 interviewers, in one group, typists and receptionists in another, and Ruby at the desk. George explained that he had to reorganize the whole setup. He said that he might have to do it all over again. He said that Mr. Heath had given him to understand that all of the appointments were tentative, but we said that Mr. Heath hadn't mentioned it. George also ~~xxxx~~ said that he wanted a personnel of about 60 or 70 and run through about 600 people a day. He also said that we would have to unlearn a great deal of what we learned. He sent us home and told us to return at 2.30. He asked Kiyo to remain, probably to be his secretary. Some of the interviewers were saying that we should all quit if one person were fired.

"The force is demoralized. There is an attitude of defiance against Shigekawa's method. When he asked how many of us could bring in interviewers, none of us answered. He has a once-tracked mind and cannot understand human nature. He does not know that in a situation like this the workers have the power and things can be gotten accomplished only if they are enthusiastic about their work. This means that they must have a hand in the formation of some of the decisions; the head man's concern should be the quality and efficiency of the work done. Otherwise the workers should have as much say as anyone else."

"Another thing/ that caused some stir was the fact that George had brought 3 girls as his typists, when there were typists already."

In the afternoon Kiyo reported that George had hired 22 more people in all and had already chosen 3 of his 5 supervisors from that group. Since there were only 30 interviewers necessary in all to make the planned five units, it seemed as though a good part of the original interviewing staff would have to be fired. Mac Entire spoke that afternoon and at the close he asked Shigekawa whether he was going ahead with the instructions right away. He tried to stall it off for a day and wanted to ^{explain} ~~give~~ the office setup first. I ^{felt} ~~was~~ that he wanted more time to get more applicants so that he could "screen" more of the poor interviewers.

My journal for the next day reads:

"Four of the expert interviewers from the Placement Office didn't come back today, but went back to the jobs they came from. Others were talking of resigning. Ruby told the interviewers to stay on: if any of them were fired without good reason, she would complain to Mr. Smith. One man tried to quit, but she persuaded him not to. There is a feeling of staying in as a group so as to be able to file a group protest when the right time came. In our conversation we talk of Shigekawa as a human of a low type and joke about socking him in the face at night."

"Ruby said today that Shigekawa had told her that 3/4 of the original force would be fired. The original typists were not asked to attend the instruction session today, and several of his typists were here to do what work was necessary. The girls said that his girls didn't have much experience and weren't any better than the original staff typists whom Ruby had chosen. Even the interviewers were indignant about the typists."

"We went through most of the instructions today. He knew his stuff, but got stuck at a few places and had to change his mind about it. At the beginning he asked how we should seat ~~your~~ ourselves. I suggested a way, and he said "You go ahead and do it." Then after we were all seated he said that for the sake of compactness we should change it about completely. It couldn't have been done any more compactly. When he saw that everyone was against him, he dropped the matter. Reminds me of J. N. who always had to oppose everyone. Ruby made arrangements for workers to eat in mess halls, while Shigekawa made arrangements to take them home."

That afternoon word was passed around that all old interviewers would meet at 8.30 at Ruby's place. I'm pretty sure that it was Ruby's idea. We return to the journal for a picture of the meeting that evening:

"Most of the old staff was there already. One game of cards was going on. I started another with Kiyo, May and Mas, while the older men started to play poker. Ruby didn't come home ~~very late~~, and we had a regular social gathering for awhile.

"Ruby came home around 9.00 and the place was called to order. Mas kept a lookout on the door to see that unnecessary visitors did not come in. At one end of the room were older Issei men. Roy and Mas were close together, while Kiyo, May and I were together. The few typists were together at the other corner, while Ruby was alone at the other corner of the room.

"The first point brought up by Ruby was whether we would walk out together if someone of us were fired. The general agreement was that we would. I suggested that we be fair and let one or two people be fired if for reasonable reasons. Roy and Mas thought that it was all or none, no matter what. Roy argued that we were all competent as far as we knew and that George couldn't be trusted.

"Roy also suggested that we should stick by the old typists, too. The question of their competence was brought up, and it was decided that they were competent enough for us to stand behind them.

"Mike Imbe was suggested as already hired, but we found out that she hadn't yet, although Mr. Heath had interviewed her.

"The list of new typists was run through, and it was learned that some of them were brought by people with the group. Ruby said that these people were not hired yet because their forms had not gone through Placement Office. Also, Mr. Smith had all the power of hiring or firing people and not Mr. Shigekawa. It was revealed that many of his friends were among the new applicants. Ruby says she just won't take two of the typists, because they're incompetent.

"May said that she thought we should not be the cause of Mr. Shigekawa being fired. After all, she felt, he was a Japanese who had managed to get along among Nakajins, and she felt that he shouldn't be pulled down. Roy came back with a retort that he didn't have the right to mistreat us. Ruby explained that if we walked out, then Mr. Shigekawa would be allowed to handle things his own way, according to Mr. Smith. May's sympathy, however, was overruled. Mas hinted that he'd like to tangle with him some day.

"I felt that the whole affair was being a bit unreasonable and ruled by a mob spirit. I said that we didn't have the right to select the staff. Some of them even thought that we should be the five supervisors. I suggested that the reason why a person was fired by looked into before walking out. I was asked by Roy and Mas whether I was against the all or none principle. I did not say that I was, but in turn suggested that we let Ruby investigate the matter before taking action. Automatic action, I said, was dangerous. Most of the older men agreed with me in being more reasonable about the matter. We even came to a decision that Mr. Shigekawa be given a chance to reconsider in case he tried to fire one of us. In this way, the walkout was taken out of mob control and put in the hands of a leader.

"Barriers, of course, were broken down. One Issei said that ~~if~~ if he should be dropped, because he was not a Nisei that we should not quit. The cry was then that it was all or none.

"Ruby's position has improved tremendously. From one of power and consequent isolation, it has taken that of real leadership. She has worked very hard with Mr. Smith to keep us in, and it has reaped rewards for her. If she was unable to get results from her typists in the past, it is going to be easier henceforth. How Mr. Shigekawa's friends react to the whole situation is difficult to say."

The next day the practice interviews which were done by the prospective interviewers were rated. Shigekawa had already chosen his five supervisors, who were:

Henry Ichimura, Frank Nakamura, May Sato, Yazo Ishizaki,
The last three were old interviewers and the first
and James Sakoda. / He gathered them together, and ~~they~~

two friends of
Shigekawa.

the six began to rate the practice interview schedules. In all fairness to Shigekawa it must be said that the rating was fair. Several persons were eliminated because they were below 20 and thought to be too young. The others were graded on a five-point scale for education, experience, and practice, the last given as much weight as the former two put together. Since the final rank was determined by the average of the ranking of six persons, personal biases could not operate too greatly. In all 35 persons were rated, when only 25 were needed. One of the old

interviewers was ranked 27th. Another was not even rated but the three old interviewers persuaded Shigekawa to rate him with because he was thought too young. Evidently Shigekawa had the others.

been warned that if all of the old crew was not hired they would all quit. He mentioned that all of the interviews were good, and he thought it was a good idea to make another unit, which would require six more interviewers. And he thought that the other four would have to be kept on as substitutes. In other words, ~~no/no~~ everyone was selected, and there was really no need for an elaborate scoring system.

Ruby said that she saw the list of interviewers that Shigekawa had made out for himself and which he would have put into effect if he had his way. Only two of the supervising interviewers were from the old crew, while of the interviewers there were only a handful from the old crew. Shigekawa took us home on a car and he mentioned how fair the rating had been. Then he wanted to know where the old crew got the idea that they were going to be fired.

The assignment interviewers to units was an interesting procedure. First he gave Ichimura his choice, and then Nakamura, both of whom were not on the old crew. They were able to choose the top-ranking interviewers. May had her choice next, and when it came to my choice fourth, I had to do some thinking to choose a staff that would work well together. Four of my selections were from the old crew--Shinsuke Izumi, Masayoshi Tanaka, Masako Itogawa, Tadashi Ikemoto. Miyoko Ito was new, but I chose her because her record seemed to indicate that she was intelligent. The last unit, of course, got what was left.

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Mr. Smith assigned Ken Takemoto, an accountant, to head the Records Office. Ken came in the afternoon to see what the work was all about. He was reading through the instruction sheet, when Shigekawa commanded him to make out appointments for 600 persons for Monday. Ken became very angry. He said he wouldn't do it. He admitted that he didn't know what it was all about, and he wasn't going to let Shigekawa make a fool of himself by going ahead and something he didn't know. This matter of selection of the personnel was something Shigekawa did not like. He felt that he could not run an office properly when there were a lot of "figureheads."

The old staff had agreed to meet again in the evening at Ruby's place. All that was necessary was to announce that everyone was selected as interviewers. Everyone began to play cards as soon as they arrived. There were two games of bridge going and the older men began to play hana (a Japanese card game.). Kimiko, Ruby's sister served refreshments, and the evening ended in a social gathering, no one leaving till after eleven.

The first day of interview was a busy one. Evidently 600 had been scheduled for the first day, as we were kept constantly busy. I had explained to my unit that no one could be made to work, and good work could be achieved only if each worker realized the necessity for it. I also said that the first few days I would point out all of the errors so that they would not be repeating them all of the time. So in the morning I was kept quite busy, pointing out all the errors that appeared on the schedules. The interviewers took pa

took pains not to repeat errors, and by the next day, there were very few corrections to make.

On the second day of the interview Shigekawa came up to me and wanted to know if there weren't an able boy who could handle the appointment. He said that the present fellow was not capable of handling it. I asked him whether he wouldn't learn in time to space the interviews correctly, and he thought not. George Kawano, the appointment clerk, had been handling the social data sheets and master housing list ever since the Records Office was set up by Gilbert, and was more or less in the position before Shigekawa came. Shigekawa seems to have resented this and considered him another "figurehead."

That evening Shigekawa called a meeting of the whole working force, possibly with a ~~plan~~ plan to reorganize the whole office. But he called it off when he learned he had been deprived the use of a car because it hadn't been checked in at night. We were glad because we did not think that we should have to work at night.

The next morning we learned that Shigekawa had left for San Francisco with the threat that he was going to bring back two men to kick Smith out. According to Ichimura, his friend, Shigekawa thought that he could not work with either Ken Takemoto or George Kawano, who were more or less put in by Mr. Smith. He felt that he couldn't run the office properly unless he got rid of "figureheads." He didn't like the fact that Smith was put in charge of the office and interfered with his work too much.

The office was left without any head, as Ken Takemoto

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was not around. According to Ichimura Shigekawa left the supervisors in charge of the technical part of the work. We got together and chose Mr. Ichimura ~~Xp/xx~~ as chairman to carry on for the present. We discussed the matter of calling in Mr. Smith, who was responsible for the office, and both Ichimura and Shigekawa were against it because it would complicate matters when Shigekawa came back. But the interview had to go on. New sections had to be covered next, and no one seemed to know what to do.

For the next few days interviews continued smoothly, although all of the workers were tense yet. Shigekawa would be expected back anyday now, and we had to show him that the office could be run without him. George Kawano increased the number of interviews assigned from 600 to almost 700, and some of thought that he should do this just to impress ~~Xp~~ Shigekawa. The latter did not come back to the office, and instead the Regional Office sent the coding expert, named Miss Bonack. A short little lady, but efficient, easy to get along with, and ~~Xp/xx/xx/~~ considerate.

Those who had worked overtime were given days off. The number of interviews were cut down to about 500 a day so that interviewers would have some time to spare at the end of the day. Interviewers were coached in coding of occupations. Soon Ward V and VI were completed, and the office moved to Ward III. Ken worked harmoniously with Miss Bonack and the rest of the force.

What happened to Shigekawa is not definitely known. He was back in Tule Lake the same day that Miss Bonack came to the office, but went to

to the office, but went out again, according to his little daughter. In August he was back again, but he did not show up at the office. Bill, the doorman, who is his friend, said that he had dropped census work and was taking up something else. He was not going to Gila to set-up the records office there as he had originally planned. He was going possibly to Washington.

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One way to see the conflict is in terms of the role of "boss" that Shigekawa attempted to play and the ensuing demoralization it caused. A knowledge of his background and how he got into his position as worker for the Regional Office would be of interest.

Another way of viewing the conflict is in terms of the loyalties that it created among the workers. The shifting of Ruby's position, the solidarity of the old ~~workers~~ interviewers, the obliteration of some barriers are interesting. While no definite causal relationships can be established, they give insight to the method in which groups are formed and kept together. Some of the groups formed within the Records Office will be analyzed more closely.

Issei-Nisei When the interviewers first came to the office and did not know each other very well, the obvious division was along Issei-Nisei line. ^{About} ~~More than~~ a third of the interviewers were at first Isseis, some as old as forty or fifty, and they used to get together during lunch time. The Niseis used to keep together, too. But this tended

to break up into smaller cliques of close friends. Even among the interviewers there was a definite split between the older and younger girls when it came time to go to lunch.

Interviewers--clerks There was always a gulf between the interviewers and the messengers, clerks, and typists. On the whole the interviewers were definitely older and more educated. The messengers, especially, were young boys of about high school age. There was hardly any contact between the two groups during the course of work, and the gulf always remained.

Ruby As was mentioned before Ruby was in charge of the clerks and typists, but she did not get very much cooperation from them. They resented her bluntness and apparent "bossiness," as some of the clerks put it. The interviewers did not go out of their way to be friendly to her. In fact, it was the general opinion that she was different and hard to get along with. The fact that she had always lived among Caucasians until she was evacuated probably explains much of her source of friction with her co-workers.

When Shigekawa arrived on the scene, Ruby threw in her lot with the old workers, especially the interviewers. She worked hard against Shigekawa, and arranged a meeting of the old crew when she saw it was necessary to keep ~~the~~ part of the old crew from becoming fired. This put her on speaking terms with the interviewers, where formerly they had been indifferent or even antagonistic toward her. She was able to play a leadership role, which she ~~was~~

Old Crew v.s. New Crew When Shigekawa appeared on the scene and the office was in a process of reorganization, there was a definite gulf between the old ~~old/new/c//~~ crew and prospective interviewers. This was especially true with the interviewers, as the old force was afraid of losing their jobs. This barrier was enhanced by the fact that it was thought that there were many friends of Shigekawa among the new recruits who would be given first consideration. During the crisis the traditional gulf between the first and second generation was forgotten. And even after it there was a more free mingling between the two generations.

While the feeling of sticking together to meet the opposing forces was general among the old crew, there were several persons who were especially for group action. Jack, one of the most outspoken for the "~~no~~ all or none" principle, had already had unpleasant words with Shigekawa, and was almost sure that he would not be hired if Shigekawa had his way. He argued that we were all competent because Mr. Heath had interviewed us and had selected us from a group of job seekers. Also, he had an evident streak of insecurity which probably contributed to his stand for the old crew to stick together, even if Shigekawa had good reasons for firing one of them. Jim was another who stood up for Jack's principle. He was the youngest in the group, and probably the least qualified in terms of education and the work done, although he did do a fairly good piece of work. His command of English was only fair, as he had been to Japan for several years. He, too, seemed to be bothered

by a sense of inadequacy.

After the crisis, however, the barrier between the old crew and the new crew disappeared entirely. In choosing ~~the~~ members for his unit the supervisors did not choose all old or new workers, but tried to choose the most efficient ~~crew~~ workers. In time the incident was apparently forgotten, and the solidarity of the old crew, as such, vanished.

Unit Solidarity The units were separated, except for the fact that two supervisors sat next to each other and the tables for their two units were next to each other. The interviewers were responsible only to ~~his~~ their supervising interviewer, who in turn was responsible to the director of the office. This prevented contact with other units and with clerks and typists, and strengthened the solidarity of the unit. Our unit got along together very well, in spite of the fact that it was composed of an Issei, a married Nisei, ^{woman} ~~and~~ two Nisei boys, a girl, and myself. Although I was supervising interviewer for only a short time, when I left the office when others were leaving too because interviewing was about over, I was given a party by the members of my unit.

Ruby K.

Ruby's position in the office is unique, and is worth taking up in detail. She brought a different background with her, and the changing role that she played in the short history of the Records Office brings out her mode of adjustment, as well as the repercussions of the crisis

that Shigekawa created. My relations with Ruby has never been intimate, but I have talked things over with her in a friendly manner--and I was probably as friendly with her as anyone else in the office. She has told me something of her background, her trouble in adjusting herself to a Japanese community, and her future hopes. I have heard gossips about her, and have been able to observe her in the office occasionally.

Ruby was brought up on a farm near Sacramento where there were few Japanese. There were two other Japanese families close by, but her family did not associate with them, except perhaps on New Years Day, when they had to do it as a matter of courtesy. In spite of the fact that her folks were farmers and were typically Issei-looking, they both spoke English most of the time. Her friends had always been Caucasians, and her chum was a Caucasian girl. She did not associate with Niseis. She went to a business college in Sacramento, but here again she did not mingle with the handful of Japanese that attended the same school. Before the war she worked for several months for the State as a receptionist, and made her adjustment in a purely Caucasian world. She got along with her boss and her friends very well.

Then evacuation came along, and she found herself with other Japanese in the Walerga Assembly Center. She got a job as receptionist to the manager of the center, I believe. She had enjoyed doing that type of work for Caucasians, but didn't so much among the Japanese. She wasn't allowed to send everybody in to see the manager, and people were indignant when she prevented them from

doing so. Word went around in the Walerga Center that she was "snooty" and hard to get along with. One girl said that she wondered what sort of girl she really was, but found out ~~she~~ "she wasn't bad at all." She thought that the Japanese were narrowminded. Also, her concept of Japanese as being honest was destroyed when she left her apartment door open and things began to disappear. She had tried to make an adjustment to the Japanese at Walerga, but she did not succeed. Her aggressive ways, her blunt manners, and her air of superiority ^{were} ~~was~~ not acceptable to the other Japanese.

It should be noted that her adjustment to life was in terms of Caucasian ideals and way of life. Her way of thinking, her attitude was typically Caucasian. On top of that ~~if~~ was super-imposed an attitude of superiority over other Japanese who kept among themselves. The fact that she had Caucasian friends and that she worked for a Caucasian probably gave her a feeling that she was superior to other Japanese. She was proud of the fact that she spoke English and acted like Caucasians. Her blunt ways, which were typically American, would not have been so objectionable to others if ~~she~~ had not adopted an air of superiority. Her aggressive behavior, which is partially evident in her volunteering in the advance work crew and getting a job as receptionist was more acceptable in an ~~American~~ Caucasian society, although it cannot be said to be the cause of such behavior. Her fundamental adjustment to life can be said to be aggressive, otherwise she would ~~be~~ not have been able to achieve

her adjustment in the Caucasian world.

It should also be noted that much of her attitude can be traced to the environment in her home. Both her father and mother spoke English and did not mingle with the other Japanese in the district. It is easy to understand why the children shyed away from other Niseis, and took an attitude of superiority in their mode of adjustment to the Caucasian population.

Here in Tule Lake Ruby had gotten a job as secretary to Mr. Smith, head of the Housing and Employment Division, and seemed to get along very well with him. When the Records Office was set up, she was sent to take charge of the clerks and typists. My first impression of her is jotted down in my journal for July 3:

while

"In the afternoon I went to 2408 to look for Mr. Gilbert. He was out, and I went to speak to a young lady at a desk, where others were clustered together at a large table working with piles of social data sheets. There was a wooden decoration with the letters JYO in front of her nect, so I presume that it is her name. If it is, it is a very interesting name because it sounds like JYO from OJOSAN, which is used toward a daughter from a good family. Could it be that her folks gave her that name because they felt that she was from a better family than other Japanese in this country....

"I noticed at once that her attitude was rather curt and arrogant. When she gave commands, it was very bluntly, except that she said please occasionally. She was wearing slacks, while the other girls wore dresses. She sat at a mahogany desk by herself, doing nothing in particular at the time I spoke to her, except to supervise the work of others. She had someone bring in a bottle of coke and ice-cream for her, and didn't seem to think of the others."

while

Ruby could not get much cooperation from her typists and clerks. They were playing around a great deal of the time, and when she did have them do something for her, she was not satisfied with it. Often she had to

do the work over again to her own satisfaction. She worked nights and over weekends at times to keep up with her work. When the interviewers started to work in the office, they did not go out of their way to talk to Ruby. Ruby was in a superior position, but she did not have a following. Her desire for a leadership role was thwarted because she was resented by her subordinates.

When Shigekawa arrived and tried to demote Ruby and threatened to fire part of the old crew, Ruby ~~consulted~~ sprang into action. Not only did she make sure that she was not taken out of her job, she saw to it that the rest of the old crew were not fired. She kept the old interviewers in touch with Shigekawa's moves, and for the first time put herself on a speaking term with them. Then when she saw the necessity of the old crew acting together, she called a meeting at her own apartment. She lead the meeting, and it was decided that if any of the old crew were fired, they would all quit together. Ruby was to see to it that none of them were fired, and she was to give the signal as to when we should quit. She was now playing a leadership role which was suited to her ~~nature~~ frame of mind. Her efforts had been momentarily rewarded.

After the crisis was over, however, and the work in the office flowed smoothly, relations returned to normal. While the interviewers still spoke to her, it was only civilly. There was hardly any contact with her during the course of work, and it was left at that. Her relations with her typists and clerks evidently never improved. Some were heard to remark how "bossy" she was when

when she had no authority at all. The more extreme despised her; the others ignored or merely tolerated her.

Evidently it had come to a point where she could stand it no longer. She asked Ken for a termination slip, but he seemed to be reluctant to give it to her. Words were circulated that she had "squealed" on Mr. Fagan about the inefficiency of the office in an attempt to get herself thrown out of the office. It was said that no one did anything about it because they knew of her intention. Finally toward the end of August she ceased coming to the office. There was no fanfare made. No party was given~~ed~~ her for the effort she made to keep the old crew in ~~office~~ their jobs. Hardly anyone mentioned that she had dropped her job.

My journal for August 21 describes the mood she was in before quitting:

"Today I was talking to Ruby as we sat outside, cooling off toward the end of the day. She seemed to accept me as someone she can talk to. She said that she was going to get her termination next week. Said that she expected to go out, perhaps, next month. Said she was getting her termination because she thought that she wasn't getting any place. She wasn't learning anything. She thought that I was. I said that she was getting fed up with being with Japanese and she admitted it. She tried to change her attitude at Walerga, but she says that she can't seem to be able to do it.

"She preferred to stay in her room. Her boy friend was in the Army now. He was like her and hadn't associated with Japanese. She said that she was going to his place, but was not going to get married to him just yet. Was going to work in Minneapolis, while he was moved from place to place.

"She said she wanted to learn economics and sociology, and offered to be in my class if I taught psychology."

Ruby's adjustment to the opposite sex needs mentioning, even though the information is mostly from rumors. Ruby is not particularly attractive, and this is sometimes noticeable because she used very little makeup. Her personality, while it may be attractive to some Caucasians, is repulsive to most Japanese. Undoubtedly, she feels inadequate because boys are not attracted to her. In spite of the fact that she has said that she does not go out much in the evenings and is not interested in boys here, there have been many rumors about her. She has been seen at talent shows with fellows. Girls have been heard to snicker that she is an awful type of woman; ~~that~~ she has been dubbed "that warehouse girl" by some, while others have connected her with wardens. It may be that in her loneliness she has accepted companionship indiscriminately. Her social maladjustment, at any rate, is definite.

See As They Await Evacuation, an unpublished term paper.

Ruby is an extreme example of the type of personality Stonequist termed as "marginal personality," or what I ^{called} ~~termed~~ "Progressive!"¹ Her adjustment to the Japanese group, however, was forced by evacuation, and not her maladjustment to the Caucasian, which is so often the case with people who attempt an adjustment wholly or largely with the Caucasian population. Her desire to play a leadership role within the Japanese and her aggressive nature are group/is typical of this type of personality. Her attempt and failure to adjust herself to a Nisei society is indicative of the gulf between the Nisei and the Caucasian, in spite of the fact that Niseis

are supposed ~~to~~ to be Americanized. Her apparent attitude of superiority, which is probably enhanced by ~~the~~ ~~the~~ a sense of insecurity in the face of a multitude of unknown and different people, made her adjustment difficult. This again is found in many personalities of this type.

Status of Supervising Interviewer

One of the most interesting problems created by the economic setup in the Colony is how to get people to shoulder responsibility or work hard with little pay. Two problems can be posed. One is how to get people to work hard or to do unpleasant tasks. The other is how to get people to shoulder more responsibility on the same amount of pay. When the uniform wage scale was being discussed, it was argued by many that if wages were made uniform no one would take over the more responsible jobs. While more corroborating data must be gathered, here the status and position of the supervising interviewer will be discussed to throw what light possible on this question.

The selection of supervising interviewers by Shigekawa was purely arbitrary and it was at first thought that both supervising interviewers and interviewers would receive the same amount of pay--namely \$16 a month. But later it was learned that supervising interviewers were to receive \$19, which was top pay. As it turned out, there was very little discussion of this matter of pay in the Records Office. The supervisors had to shoulder more responsibility and was satisfied with the

extra pay, while the interviewers did not seem envious of the supervisors' position.

In my unit I was supervising interviewer for about a week, and then turned the job over to one of the interviewers in the unit. This was done because I wanted the experience of interviewing the people rather than the job of sitting apart at a little desk. This was before the reassignments had been made, and it was understood that all ~~of~~ interviewers were to receive the same pay. During the first few days there did not seem to be much dissatisfaction on the part of the supervisors because they had to shoulder an extra burden. Sometimes they had to stay behind at the end of the day till all of the interviewers were through. Perhaps the amount of work they had to do in comparison with the interviewers was not excessively ~~much~~ enough to produce any complaints. I explained to my unit in the beginning that one of them would have to take over the task of being ~~the~~ supervisor, and that I would allow them to choose their own head. I was careful to explain that the head should be, not someone with authority, but one whom the others wanted to be their head. It was not a position of privilege, but one with added responsibility which must be filled by someone within the group of workers. Tad was doing the best work during the first few days, and I decided that he should be the supervising interviewer. He did not seem to be too willing to take over the job, but on the other hand he was not greatly against taking it. When the time came, I asked the others whether it

was all right to make Tad the supervisor. There was no disagreement. Tad took over, and carried on efficiently. Soon after he was reclassified to \$19 pay.

No conclusions can be drawn from this account, but similar situations should be observed to find out what some of the incentives are for which people take on added responsibilities.

Reclassification of receptionists

At first receptionists and file clerks were classified in the \$16 group. In the reclassification, they were put in the \$12 group with the doorman and messengers. There was noticeable grumbling when this occurred. One important factor is, of course, that no one likes to be demoted, however unworthy they may be of the higher pay. Another factor/ was that their task was just as hard as that of the typists. While the latter only had to sit and type, receptionists had to meet all sorts of people and introduce them to the interviewers. For one thing it required a knowledge of both Japanese and English, which no one could call unskilled work.

The problem here can be looked on as why people become concerned about their classification. Is it because of the change, of the value in terms of dollars and cents, in terms of prestige, because of relative status within the department, ~~or~~ or relative status in the whole community.

Uniform Ways

As a group of white collar workers, the Record Office ~~xxxxxx~~ workers are a distinct occupational group. The messengers and typists and clerks tended to be younger

and with only high school education. The interviewers, however, were for the most part over 21 and had some ~~N/g~~ college education. The Isseis were of the more educated and intelligent sort. Some of the activities of the Records Office force is worth observing.

While the office was in Ward V, it was too far for some of the workers to walk home, and it was customary for them to eat at some nearby messhalls, where a table was reserved for them in advance. Both boys and girls ate with some thought to proper eating manners, not stretching their hands ~~X~~ out or taking too much of the food on the table. I think the waitresses treated us with some ~~d~~ifference, even though we~~x~~ were, in a sense, intruders. At ~~s/x~~ the messhall I used to eat, there was one pot of artificial flower, and it always used to be placed at our table.

The favorite pasttime of the workers seemed to be bridge for the Niseis and hana for the Isseis, although they cannot be called prestige-getting. Although there were some funny books around the office to read when there was no interviewing to do, Japanese newspapers, Pacific Citizens, and even books were read. Discussions on the topic of marriage was common, and it was a familiar sight to see Isseis give their advice to young people or to see Rev. Tanabe's marriage class and the forum on marriage discussed. Of the interviewers only a ^{bare} handful went to public dances. Several boys from the clerk-messenger group attended them.

The first affair put on by the office was a hike and a punch and cookie party afterwards, for which the

Records Office--25

workers paid 25 cents each. A very successful weenie/bake, for which they paid 35 cents, was also held.

May Ohmura was put up as candidate for the queen contest, and all of the office ~~workers~~ forced worked hard to make her queen. She qualified for the semi-finals and became an attendant, but lost out to Shizue Tamaki. It was the opinion of the office force that May had dignity and class, which other contestants did not have. A public dance was held to boost May as queen. Some of the workers regretted that it had to be a public dance, since they had hoped for a private one. Stags, however, were kept out till ten o'clock, and the dance was a relatively quiet one.

One interesting phenomenon is the type of job that workers ~~workers~~ have moved on to as work in the Records Office became scarce. Fourteen interviewers and two receptionists have taken other types of work, most of them which can be called white-collared. None have gone to work in a messhall. Here are the list of new jobs to which they have transferred:

- Hospital receptionist--3
- High School teacher--3 4
- High school stenographer--2
- Office clerk--3
- Watchmaker--1
- Radio repairman--1
- Interviewer--1
- Timekeeper--1

No comments are offered at this time on the behavior and attitudes of the Record Office crew. This account should serve as a good contrast to other occupational groups such as messhall, warehouse, /farm workers.

Sakoda
R20.86

Segregation Report Footnote: Estimate of the number of

Resistance Cases

January 11, 1946

There are two lists available on which an estimate of the number of resistance cases can be made. One is the list of those who reported for their interviews, but who refused to give a choice of destination. Another is a list of those for various reasons failed to report. Both are lists of heads of families all of whose members were on the cleared list and therefore had no legitimate reason (except perhaps for medical reasons) for remaining in Tule Lake. These two lists were compiled by the Community Analysis Section between August 19 and 26. The Reported But No Choice totaled 220 families or 559 individuals. The Failure to Report totaled 165 (number of individuals unknown). Both lists included persons who were known to have reported their choice of destination as the lists were being compiled. These two lists do not include all of the possible resistance cases since, as was observed in those who reported while the list was being compiled, even those who stated a choice or ~~was~~^{were} even placed on a train list did not always leave Tule Lake. At present there is no way of estimating how many there were in this group.

A sampling of families on the two lists was made to see how many stayed in Tule Lake. Taking names of family heads beginning from A-K, the Tule Lake Roster for September 30, 1944 was checked to see whether they were still in Tule Lake. Of the 69 families on the Reported But No Choice list 54 were listed, making a percentage of 78.3 per cent remaining. The 54 families represented 136 individuals, an average of 2.52 persons per family. On the basis of these ratios, it is estimated that there are 172 families (220×78.3) or 433 individuals (172×2.52) from this list remaining in Tule Lake.

Of the 47 families, A-K, on the Failure to Report list there were 14 or 29.8 per cent listed in the Tule Lake Roster. On this basis it is estimated that 49 families (165×29.8) or ~~49~~ 123 individuals (49×2.52) remained in Tule Lake. The total for the two lists is 221 families or 556 individuals.

The total of 221 families or 556 individuals means roughly 3.5 families or 9 persons per block. It does not seem likely that more than twice this number of persons remained behind in Tule Lake as resistance cases.

T. L. Resistance Cases in Segregation Program.

sampling of A-K's.

	Reported But No Choice				Failure to Report		
	Families	Individuals	ratio		Families	Individuals	ratio
<u>Total</u>	220	559	3.94		165 D.K. 61 Known 104	too many unknowns → 256	4.06
<u>A - K sampling</u>							
Listed In Tuhe Lake Roster 9/30/44	54	136	2.52		14		
Not listed	15				33		
Total A-K	69				47		
%	78.3%				29.8%		
<u>Total Estimate</u>							
	220 x 78.3				165 29.8		
Listed in T.h.	172 families x 2.52 = 433 indivs.				49 families x 2.52 = 123 indiv.		