

PART I

KNOWN FACTORS RE SEGREGATION PROGRAM

1. Tule Lake has been designated as the segregation center.
2. Those to be segregated:
 1. All persons who have formally asked for repatriation or expatriation to Japan and have not retracted their requests prior to July 1, 1943.
 2. All persons who, at the time of the registration for Army service and war industries purposes, answered question 28 of Form WRA-126 Revised, or DSS Form 304A in the negative, or failed or refused to answer it, and (a) who have not changed their answers prior to the date of this instruction, and (b) who are in the opinion of the project director loyal to Japan.
 3. All persons to whom the director has denied leave clearance.
3. Only persons in group 2 will be given hearings. Object of this interview will be to determine whether the individual interviewed should reside in the segregation center on account of his being loyal to Japan.
4. For the persons listed in group 3, leave clearance hearings will be held as rapidly as possible so that the segregation program with reference to them can proceed with reasonable speed.
5. Persons in residence at the Tule Lake Center will not be eligible to receive seasonal or indefinite leaves.
6. Resident government policy in relocation centers will not apply to Tule Lake. However, all other WRA policies with respect to food, clothing, health, education, employment, evacuee property, public assistance grants, and consumer enterprises will continue.
7. Movement between centers will commence in September and will probably extend well into October.
8. War Department will handle the movement. Their responsibility begins when the evacuees are placed on the train and ends when evacuees reach their Center of destination.
9. Members of the immediate family of a person who falls within one of the three categories of segregatees shall upon their individual request be permitted to accompany such person to the Tule Lake Center. However, minor members of the immediate family, who do not fall within one of the three categories, who object to residence at Tule Lake, every possible assistance will be extended to them to work out other appropriate arrangements in order that they may remain in this Center.

10. Ill persons slated for segregation and members of his family will not be moved without clearance from the Medical Officer certifying that his removal would endanger his life or seriously impair health.
11. In general, persons will be moved to the Tule Lake Center in the following order of priority.
 1. Group one
 2. Bachelor Kibei in groups two and three
 3. All others
12. The first movement to the Tule Lake Center of persons falling within group one shall be from the following centers: Granada, Minidoka, Jerome, Rohwer, Heart Mountain, and Central Utah.
13. Residents of Tule Lake will be given preference of Center, if possible. Following will be the Centers listed for available choice: Central Utah, Granada, Heart Mountain, Jerome, ~~Rohwer~~, and Minidoka.
14. All belongings of segregatees shall be crated and transported to the center of destination at Government expense.
15. The Director will arrange for common carrier facilities and military escort, where necessary, as well as obtain military permits for travel in the evacuated areas.
16. The Project Director will complete all other arrangements and select a WRA representative to accompany each movement--this person to be responsible to the Director while enroute.
17. All persons who are transferred to the Tule Lake Center, or who remain there, will be entitled to have their cases reviewed under an appeals procedure.

PART II

POINTS OF EMPHASIS AND UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF THE SEGREGATION PROGRAM

1. Persons to be segregated will consist of people who prefer to be Japanese, i.e., those who favor Japan in the present war or who wish to go to Japan now or when the war is over.
2. The segregation center is definitely not a punishment center, nor is it a place for trouble-makers. Leupp is the isolation center for this purpose.
3. It is essential that adequate time be allowed all segregatees for such social matters as farewell parties, etc. Such formalities are important to the Japanese and a recognition of this will do much to reduce the social shock of large-scale segregation.
4. Use of evacuee-segregatee leadership is recommended. The services of leaders among the repatriates should be enlisted.
5. Assure a flow of adequate information to the non-segregatees to avoid misunderstanding or resentment on their part.
6. Avoid any situation that would tend to place blame for segregation of any of the residents.
7. Incoming residents may face resentment or feel resentment. An effort to overcome local prejudices must be made prior to their arrival.
8. Special problems will be presented by non-segregatees who elect to go to the segregation center. Positive phases of the program should be stressed for these persons.

PART III

PROPOSED PLAN OF ORGANIZATION TO EFFECT SEGREGATION PROGRAM IN THE CENTRAL UTAH RELOCATION CENTER

I. Committee on Segregation

A. Purpose

The purpose of this committee will be to set procedures and coordinate the efforts of each division, section, and unit who will participate in the carrying out of the segregation program.

B. Membership of the committee and their duties

1. Project Director

Charles F. Ernst, General Chairman and Coordinator

Responsibilities:

1. Assure uniform understanding of all aspects of the segregation program by every member of the appointive staff.

2. Project Reports Officer

Russell Bankson, Secretary of the Committee

Responsibilities:

1. Prepare minutes of all meetings of the segregation committee and distribute copies to each member within 24 hours.
2. Prepare all news releases
3. Prepare information bulletins (for Director's signature) to be announced and posted in dining halls.
4. Prepare all other interpretative material that will give the residents the fullest information possible on the segregation program.
5. Make special effort to track down and refute all rumors concerning the segregation program.

3. Deputy Project Director

James F. Hughes

1. All fiscal matters pertaining to segregation

2. Work assignment for replacement of segregatees, particularly those in key positions, and the reallocation of available workers to assure continuation of project activities immediately following departure of segregatees.
3. Assignment to Project Employment of incoming residents to jobs fitted to their abilities.
4. Checking in of WRA housing equipment of all segregatees prior to their departure.
5. Issuance of housing equipment to incoming residents on their arrival--equipment being properly cleaned and sterilized prior to their arrival.
6. Collaborate at block level, through block managers, in the interpretation of the segregation program.
7. Make available adequate facilities for induction of incoming residents.
8. Return to housing all apartments not being used for essential purposes.
9. Immediately after departure of segregatees, prepare report on condition of each vacated apartment, listing necessary renovations in order that the Assistant Director in charge of Operations may proceed immediately to put the apartments in order.

4. Assistant Project Director
Roscoe Bell

Responsibilities:

1. Supervise and furnish all transportation necessary at the project level for the segregatees and their belongings.
2. Provide crating material and prepare crates and distribute to segregatees.
3. Supervise movement in and out of center at time of departure and arrival.
4. Restore all apartments to good order immediately following departure of segregatees.

5. Assistant Project Director
Lorne Bell

Responsibilities:

1. All matters concerning segregatees' property
2. All relations with the City Council. Full interpretation of the policy and procedure for segregation given in full detail.
3. Interpretation of segregation at the block level through the Council representatives.
4. Plan, organize, and stimulate farewell parties for segregatees within operating and service sections. Organize camp-wide, organizational parties, etc.
5. Obtain all medical clearances necessary for segregatees on request of the segregation office.
6. Plan welcome and receptions for incoming residents.
7. Form committee of non-segregatees residents of Topaz.
8. Supervise induction and assign housing to new residents.

6. Project Attorney
Ralph Barnhart

1. Schedule segregation hearings of all those in group 2 and proceed to have hearings as rapidly as possible.
2. Peruse and edit, prior to submitting to Project Director for final approval, reports of segregation hearings.
3. Act as legal adviser to segregation committee.

7. Statistician
Chiyoko Yoshii

Responsibilities:

1. Gathering of all necessary data for each individual segregatee.
2. Prepare all lists necessary to the segregation program

3. Prepare records for transmitting to segregation project.

8. Head Counselor
George Lafabregue

Responsibilities:

1. Organize office to be known as segregation office.
2. Coordinate the entire segregation program under the direction of the Project Director

C. General information to members of segregation committee.

1. The segregation committee will meet each Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday morning promptly at 9:00 a.m.
2. Each member of the segregation committee will set up within his operating or service division the necessary machinery to assure the carrying out of his responsibilities.
3. A weekly report will be prepared by each member of the committee reporting progress of his phase of the program. These reports will be routed, in duplicate, to the Project Director on Monday morning of each week.
4. It must be kept in mind constantly that time is an extremely important element. Our responsibilities must be carried through promptly and expeditiously.
5. All members of the committee, with the exception of the Project Director and the segregation officer, will serve with others appointed by the Project Director on the segregation hearing board.
6. Additional duties will be assigned from time to time to the members of the committee as the segregation program proceeds.

II. Segregation Office

A. Planning Office

1. The administrative office will be established in the center of the connecting wing of the administration building
2. This office will be occupied by the Segregation Officer (Head Counselor), a secretary, and a record clerk.

3. The segregation office will act as a coordinating office for the segregation program under the direction of the Project Director.
4. All questions regarding policy and procedure must be cleared through the segregation officer.
5. Instructions and requests for materials, equipment, etc., emanating from the segregation officer will require priority attention. This is to be strictly observed since time is the essence.
6. In this office, or closely adjacent to it, will be set up a segregation record file made up of the individual records of potential segregatees, as well as the necessary master card file of all segregatees, and a breakdown of the different categories of segregatees.

B. Segregation Office--Operating

1. An office to be known as the segregation office will be established in Rec. 4. This office must be ready to operate on Monday, July 26.
2. In this office, all segregation interviewing (excepting the segregation hearings) will be held.
3. The segregation office will perform all the welfare interviews outlined in the July 15 instructions.
4. All residents seeking information on segregation must be referred to this office.

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C O P Y

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SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN REGARD TO
EVACUEE ATTITUDES AND THE SEGRE-
GATION PROGRAM

(These remarks are simply notes on a talk at the Denver meeting of July 26 and are not to be regarded as in any way a full or official report on the subject -- John Embree)

ADVANTAGES IN REGARD TO THE SEGREGATION PROGRAM IN
CONTRAST TO THE REGISTRATION PROGRAM

1. Segregation is something which is expected at all the centers. Most people in the centers have been expecting the move for some time, so it will not be the surprise and shock to the centers that registration was.
2. The program is a complete WRA program in contrast to registration which was a combination Army and WRA program. Complications arising out of directives from different authorities will be avoided.
3. The segregation program does not involve the filling in of any lengthy questionnaires - a sore subject with evacuees.

PROBLEMS OF SEGREGATION SIMILAR TO THOSE OF REGIS-
TRATION

1. There is now and will exist for some time a lack of any clear understanding of the problems of segregation on the part of the evacuees. The motives of the government will be suspected. The reasons why particular people are to be segregated will be given varied interpretations.
2. The evacuees suffer from a feeling of persecution and will look on segregation as one more discriminatory measure just as they did registration.
3. There is a fear on the part of the issai in connection with the segregation program similar to that during registration that they will

be forced out of the centers. Indeed, there are some repatriates now who are trying to persuade their friends to sign up for repatriation and go to Tule Lake because there they may feel secure from the pressure to relocate. Such activity may be sincere and is not to be dismissed as merely anti WRA activity.

4. As with registration, the problem of alarmist rumors will be present and is, indeed, already developing.

NEW PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH SEGREGATION

1. Segregation involves the uprooting of communities. Most centers have now developed a certain community organization and solidarity and segregation, which will dip down into the populations of almost every block of every project, will create serious problems of social readjustment.
2. There is also the problem of assimilating the people of Tule Lake into the other nine centers. Each project has a certain local pride and the resident population of a center may be rather critical of newcomers from another project.

SOME SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS:

1. In order to overcome false ideas concerning the program on the part of evacuees, clear and complete information on the subject of segregation, its aims and procedures should be made as early as possible at the project. This should include some mention of what living conditions will be like at the segregation center, emphasis on the non-punitive nature of the program, clarification of the citizen status of nisei children who go to Tule Lake.
2. A primary need for the successful overcoming of obstacles such as were met during the registration program involves a full understanding on the part of staff members as to the reasons

for and the procedures of segregation. Furthermore, once such a common understanding is reached, there should be a consistency of interpretation reinforced by frequent project staff meetings. School teachers in particular should be well informed on the program. Every staff member should have copies of Administrative Instruction No. 100 and a set of Questions and Answers.

3. It should be emphasized that segregation is for the benefit of evacuees. Certainly the government has nothing to gain from it. It is not a punitive measure and so is not to be regarded as a blot on the family record to go to Tule Lake (as it is, for instance, to be sent to Leupp). Repatriates were once told that if they applied for repatriation, they would not suffer discrimination because of it. Segregation is not to be interpreted as a discriminatory measure; rather it is simply a putting together of people who wish to live as Japanese rather than as Americans.
4. It should be made clear that segregation is not a procedure for forcing relocation, and it should be pointed out that so far as we can tell now, there shall be no forcing of an individual out of a center against his will.
5. The element of choice should be emphasized. We are segregating those who have asked to be repatriated or expatriated. We are also segregating those who wish, after an interview, to maintain their "no" answer to question 28.
6. Concerning Hearing Boards: One of the first questions that comes to the mind of many evacuees is that of who will be on the Hearing Boards to interview those who answered "no" to Question 28. A careful selection of responsible and respected men who have a reputation among the evacuees for fair-mindedness may go far to alleviate this anxiety. It might even be desirable at the Hearing Board to have one or two older evacuees present as witnesses who can serve later to squelch rumors

of unfairness. The interviews should, of course, be conducted in a friendly and patient manner.

7. The aid of Community leaders should be enlisted not only for information purposes but also to keep the administration abreast of problems which arise in the center in the course of the segregation program, and who can be called upon to assist in solving these problems. A leader without responsibility is scarcely more than a messenger boy and, of course, can be no more useful. In this connection leaders both from the group to be segregated and from the groups not to be segregated should be used. Such evacuee leaders should be kept abreast of developments in the program and it would be well to call them in for some staff conferences.
8. Every attempt should be made to keep a check on rumors as they develop and attempt to refute them before they do too much damage.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS AT TULE LAKE

In the light of our experiences with registration and the special attention to detail which is being given to the segregation program, there will probably be little serious difficulty in connection with segregation at most of the relocation centers. However, at Tule Lake there are a number of special problems to be considered and they may perhaps lead to more difficulty than will be met with at other centers. These special problems involve particularly those persons who are regarded as good Americans or as persons wishing to live in American communities.

Tule Lake is a well-organized center, being older and larger than most so that it will be more difficult for individuals and groups to pull up stakes and leave. Most of the residents retain vivid memories of some of the bitter experiences of registration and a feeling of antagonism toward anything proposed by the WRA. There is a general feeling among some groups that those who cooperate with the WRA always lose out. There is also a feeling that WRA does not always know what it is doing or is insincere, or both.

Another problem to be faced by those to leave the center is that of loyal citizens being shipped in hot coaches under armed guards like prisoners of war. All these factors taken together could possibly lead to a general passive resistance on the part of the residents of Tule Lake.

To begin with, it would be very desirable to explain fully to all concerned just why Tule Lake was chosen. Emphasis should also be placed on the element of choice for those persons who are not to remain at Tule Lake. They have a choice for instance as to whether or not they wish to relocate on the outside. If they do not wish to relocate on the outside, they still have the choice of going to one of six different centers. (This is grasping at straws, don't count too much on it.)

There is a further complication at Tule Lake in the relocation drive which will be going on at the same time. In this connection, it is essential that all members of the Tule Lake staff, residents and visitors, segregation people and relocation people, keep in touch with one another daily in order that they may be aware of one another's problems and not be pursuing policies which are mutually contradictory.

DESIRABILITY OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION OF TULE LAKE

The administration of the Tule Lake Center has certain international aspects. It is the people from Tule Lake who may be expected to return to Japan after the war. We will be maintaining international relations with that country and some people for us to work in such relations might well be among the repatriates who return to Japan from Tule Lake. If they go back to Japan with respect for the American government, relations between Japan and the United States will be considerably better than if they go there with a feeling of disrespect and bitterness.

SEGREGATION QUESTIONS

1. Father is Issei and answered "yes." Daughter, who is a Nisei, answered "no" "no." The son is a Nisei and answered "no" "no." But the son changed his to "yes" and is outside now on temporary leave. This family would like to know if they can get together and moreover, they would like to know if their son who has a farm contract will be able to cancel the contract in order to join the family and be with them.
2. Head of the family is in an internment camp. The wife answered "yes" but stated she would go back to Japan if there is any chance. However, she did not apply for repatriation until now. The son has applied for repatriation. The family would like to know if they are to be separated. When the husband is released, is he allowed to join the rest of the family at the segregation camp?
3. Whether the "no" "no" will be segregated in a different camp from the repatriates.
4. What is the limit of size and weight of baggages or belongings?
5. Can they take their pets along?
6. For a "no" "yes" male, how will the draft affect him?
7. A Nisei with dual citizenship answered "yes" "yes." Will he be drafted even though his Japanese government recognizes his Japanese citizenship?
8. Until what time will application for repatriation be accepted?
9. Paroled men and families--will they be segregated or will they be exceptions?
10. A man, who is a Kibei, applied for repatriation, and he is engaged to a girl who answered "yes." If he is sent to another camp, will she be able to join him?

The following questions were asked by individual Councilman to be clarified by Mr. Ernst:

1. If the wife of a U. S. soldier answered "no" to questions 27 and 28, what will happen? Will she be segregated?
2. A person who went out on indefinite leave wants to come back into the center. What chance has he?
3. Will the segregation people get packing boxes this time?
4. Will a Nisei wife who answered "no" to question 27 and "yes" to question 28 be segregated?
5. In one family, the wife signed for repatriation, and the husband has not signed anything yet, but he will repatriate later on. The daughter, who is a Nisei, answered "no" to question 27 and answered question 28 as follows: "Signed for repatriation." The son, who is a Nisei, answered "no" to questions 27 and 28. This family would like to know if they will be segregated at the same time or be segregated individually.
6. A Nisei wife signed "no" to questions 27 and 28, and her husband is an Issei. In order for the wife and husband to get together, has he a chance if he signed for repatriation now? Can they get together?
7. Would like to get clarification of the date of June 1. Will a person who signed for repatriation after that date be able to go with the group who signed before that date?
8. How soon can the hearings be held?
9. Right now, boys over 17 years of age can get drafted. What is the status of the parents' right over this? Has the parents anything to say?
10. If an alien evacuee relocates and gets into some kind of court trouble, what protection will he have if he cannot sue anyone in court during the war? And by whom?
11. Can a person with dual citizenship express his choice of citizenship if he or she is over 21 years of age?
12. Is there going to be a change in the alien status after segregation to those who will not be segregated?
13. Husband is Issei and his wife is Nisei and did not sign the questions at all. She was called about three times, but did not go to the office. They have two small children. They would like to know if the wife and children will be taken away and the husband is to remain here.
14. The parents signed "yes", and they have a son and daughter over 17 years of age who signed "no" to questions 27 and 28, and they would like to know if they will be separated. If possible, they would like to be together.

15. A husband, who is an Issei, has a wife, who is a Nisei, who answered "no" to questions 27 and 28. They have very small children. They would like to stay together somehow.
16. Parents and the son applied for repatriation, but the son's wife signed "yes." Will she be left here all alone?
17. A wife of a Nisei soldier answered "no" and will be segregated. If her husband is dead, will she get financial compensation?
18. Are sick people and pregnant mothers allowed to leave later when their condition improves?

Topaz

"Segregation will be undertaken because it should promote harmony in the relocation centers and facilitate a program of outside relocation for loyal American citizens and law-abiding aliens among the evacuees," said Mr. Myer in his telegram to Director Ernst.

"The Senate on July 6 passed a resolution asking the President to instruct WRA to 'segregate those evacuees whose loyalty to the United States is questionable or who are known to be disloyal, from those whose loyalty has been established, for the purpose of establishing additional safeguards against sabotage by such persons.'

"This indicates that our segregation plan is in accord with the will of the legislative branch of the government."

Director Ernst announced further that notices will be sent as soon as possible to those who have asked for repatriation and have not withdrawn their request prior to June 1 so that they will be appraised as early as possible that they are definitely to be segregated.

All others who are to be given individual hearings will be notified as soon as possible, Mr. Ernst said.

As rapidly as further information of the segregation program is available, it will be transmitted to the residents of Topaz through the medium of the "Topaz Times," Mr. Ernst concluded.

SEGREGATION QUESTIONS

VOLUNTEER GROUP

1. In one family, the wife signed for repatriation, and the husband has not signed anything yet, but he will repatriate later on. The daughter, who is a Nisei, signed "no" to question 27 and answered 28 as follows: "Signed for repatriation." The son, who is a Nisei, answered "no" to question 27 and "no" to question 28. This family would like to know if they will be segregated at the same time or be segregated individually.
2. A Nisei wife signed "no" to question 27 and "no" to question 28, and her husband is an Issei. In order for the wife and husband to get together, has he a chance if he signed for repatriation now? Can they get together?
3. Would like to get clarification of the date of June 1. Will a person who signed for repatriation after that date be able to go with the group who signed before that date?
4. Husband is Issei and his wife is Nisei and did not sign the questions at all. She was called about three times, but did not go to the office. They have two small children. They would like to know if the wife and children will be taken away and the husband is to remain here.
5. The parents signed "yes" and they have a son and daughter over 17 years of age. Both of the children signed "no" "no", and they would like to be together.
6. A husband, who is an Issei, has a wife, who is a Nisei, who signed "no" "no". They have very small children. They would like to stay together somehow.
7. Parents and the son applied for repatriation, but the son's wife ~~sig~~ signed "yes". Will she be left here all alone?
8. Head of the family is in an internment camp. The wife answered "yes" but stated she would go back to Japan if there is any chance. However, she did not apply for repatriation until now. The son has applied for repatriation. The family would like to know if they are to be separated. When the husband is released, is he allowed to join with the rest of the family at the segregation camp?
9. A man, who is a Kibei, applied for repatriation, and he is engaged to a girl who answered "yes". If he is sent to another camp, will she be able to join him?

MISCELLANEOUS GROUP

1. If the wife of a U.S. soldier answered "no" "no" to questions 27 and 28 what will happen? Will she be segregated?
2. Can a person with dual citizenship express his choice of citizenship if he or she is over 21 years of age?
3. Is there going to be a change in the alien status after segregation to those who were not segregated to friendly Aliens?
4. A wife of a Nisei soldier answered "no" "no" and will be segregated. If her husband is dead, will she get financial compensation?
5. Father is Issei and answered "yes". Daughter, who is Nisei, answered "no" "no". The son is a Nisei and answered "no" "no". But the son changed his to "yes" and is outside now on temporary leave. This family would like to know if they can get together and moreover, they would like to know if their son who has a farm contract will be able to cancel the contract in order to join the family and be with them.
6. What is the limit of size and weight of baggages or belongings?
7. Can they take their pets along?
8. People segregated--will their funds be blocked?

14
MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK
in the

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY SEGREGATION PROGRAM

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MO

In a mass movement of families involving thousands of individuals of all ages, there are necessarily many social problems related to health. When the War Relocation Authority organized its segregation program in order to separate evacuees of Japanese ancestry in accordance with their political affiliations, a significant part of the plan for the movement dealt with health factors. As a part of the medical service program, medical social work was assigned a definite function in planning and carrying through the movement.

After the people of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the West Coast following Pearl Harbor and established in relocation centers, it was learned that the great majority wished to follow the American way of life and were loyal to the United States. Some, however, indicated that they were neither loyal to this country nor sympathetic to its war aims. In order to fulfill its obligation to each of these groups and its obligation to safeguard and further the national interest, the War Relocation Authority decided upon a program of segregation of those who wished to be American from those whose interests were not in harmony with the United States. By setting aside one center as a segregation center, the remaining relocation centers would become more homogeneous as to population and both

their administrative and relocation program would be facilitated. The movement was scheduled to take place in September and early October, 1943, and Tule Lake Center in northern California was selected as the segregation center. The choice of this center was made partly because of its capacity to house a large number of evacuees and partly because the project farm was large and productive and this could make a valuable contribution to the food supply of the center. Inasmuch as segregates were to be sent in from nine other centers, it was necessary to plan the removal of the evacuees who were American in their loyalties and sympathies concurrently with the arrival of those declaring their lack of allegiance to this country. Those leaving Tule Lake were moved to other centers or were granted permission to relocate to communities outside of the Western Defense Command.

To the residents of Tule Lake Center, segregation came as another upheaval in their already uprooted lives. The majority had experienced severe emotional trauma when evacuation had caused them to leave homes, farms, and places of business where they had invested so much of their life effort. Despite heavy financial losses and hostile attitudes in some of their former communities, many cherished the hope that at some future time they might be able to return to their earlier homes. Segregation

now meant leaving a community where they had gained a degree of security, organized a remarkable amount of community life and established a place for themselves. Again they found that they must break up homes which they had maintained for over a year, separate from friends and relatives, and travel to unknown parts of the country.

In order to help the evacuees meet the many social and emotional problems involved in segregation, a broad social case work program was carried out. Each family scheduled to leave was interviewed by a worker from the family case work section of the organization and an effort was made to base a plan on the needs of the individual family. Where health problems were recognized by the family interviewers, the individuals were referred to the medical social worker. Other referrals came from the medical and nursing staff, from other cooperating agencies and directly from patients. During a seven-week period, seven hundred and twenty-four medical social interviews were held with persons having health problems which affected their segregation plans and fifteen hundred and seventy-eight medical social reports were sent to cooperating agencies in the Center.

Many of the situations fell into routine categories. For example, in many cases medical recommendations were necessary in order that special sleeping accommodations might be arranged

in traveling, and in others, plans had to be worked out for entire families to remain in the segregation center until ill members were sufficiently recovered to travel. Even in these routine cases, however, there were frequently symptoms of anxiety and fear and it was necessary to give interpretation and reassurance. In a large number of situations, more intensive case work was required.

There was a great deal of resistance to moving which came as a response to community attitudes that Tule Lake Center was superior to the other centers in respect to climate, altitude, and general living conditions. Others were reluctant to leave California inasmuch as they thought that by remaining they would have more opportunity to return to their former homes. Many feared that by going to a relocation center, they might be in a position whereby they would be forced to relocate even though they were not in a position to do so. A number of unfounded rumors also arose regarding conditions in the other centers, and there was a great demand to go to two specific centers which were particularly popular. Many evacuees tended to solve these problems by projecting their needs, real or imaginary, upon a health basis. It was observed that patients with asthma and hypertension in particular requested that they be permitted to remain because they had undergone such marked improvement since coming to this center. It is possible that the emotional and

psycho social component of these illnesses was directly affected by the protected environment of the center. Here in the past year they had found release from the tension and anxieties of pre-evacuation days, and financial security. Because of the nature of center life, individuals who had not been self-maintaining in the past experienced a transfer of economic dependence from parents and relatives to a paternalistic type of authority representing the government. Ulcer patients, however, complained of recurrences and aggravation of symptoms following their traumatic experiences in evacuation and the difficult adjustment of the succeeding months. In most instances, careful consideration of the complaints, interpretation of the reality factors of the segregation program and reassurance as to the facilities both in traveling and in the various relocation centers were sufficient to work through the resistances.

Leaving Tule Lake Center was most difficult for aged people and particularly those with chronic illness. Many of them had exhausted their resources and had no relatives on whom to depend. Others had close ties to segregees remaining in the center and knew no one elsewhere. Because of their age, they knew that they would be unable to relocate and re-establish themselves in new communities and they feared travel and the adjustment to the strange environment of another relocation center.

Mr. Sakutaro A., sixty-two years of age, had a history of a crippling arthritic condition for a number of years. He was unable to walk or use his hands or feet to any great extent. His family consisted only of himself and his wife who was much younger and in excellent health. When interviewed, he told the worker that he wished to remain in the present center because his condition was such that he would never be able to relocate. He also did not think that he was well enough to experience a long train trip. He had never been known to the Base Hospital but had been told by his physician prior to evacuation that there was no treatment for his condition. His wife, who had assumed full responsibility for his care, was obviously confused over the decision the family was making. She said, however, that she wished to follow the plan that would be best for her husband's health and that she would remain if he wished to do so. At the same time she showed some apprehension at the prospect of remaining in a segregation center. The worker discussed with Mr. A. his wife's feelings and also the political and social implications of remaining in a segregation center. It was obvious that he had not yet thought his decision through in the light of these factors.

He was assured that going to another center would not place upon him any pressure to relocate and also that if he was able to travel, he would do so in the most comfortable manner possible. For example, he would be transported from his home to the train by ambulance, a lower berth would be arranged, and there would be medical attendance en route. Mr. A. agreed that he would attend the clinic for an examination and if the evacuee physician declared him able to travel, he would accept the plan. Accordingly he was examined, and apart from his arthritis, he was found to be in remarkably good condition for a man of his age. After the examination, he and his wife were satisfied to make plans for their departure.

In some cases, there was sufficient reason from a medical social viewpoint for individuals to remain in the center even though they were eligible to leave as far as their physical status was concerned.

Mr. Otakichi Y., 65 years of age, was a repatriate whose immediate family was in Japan. He was, therefore, scheduled to remain at Tule Lake Center. During his stay at the center, he had had surgery for carcinoma of the larynx and following the operation was unable to talk. He had been living with his brother, a 58 year old bachelor, and had been cared for by him. Mr. Y. had no other relatives in this country. Through his indication of loyalty, the brother was scheduled to leave. However, he stated that he was willing to remain and care for Mr. Y. provided that he could leave the segregation center in the event of the patient's return to Japan or death. On the basis of the medical social recommendation, this plan was followed.

Mr. and Mrs. Mangaro T., 80 and 70 years old respectively, were also scheduled for removal. They both had treatment in the clinic from time to time and while neither had any serious ailment, both were quite feeble. They had three married daughters, and they requested permission to stay with the one who was a repatriate and was remaining at Tule Lake Center. Another daughter was still in Japan and the old couple hoped that after the war they could rejoin her and end their lives in their homeland. The third daughter and her family were leaving the center and planning to relocate. Her relationship to her parents had never been a close one and neither she nor her husband wished to assume any responsibility for them. Besides, the parents had always lived with the daughter who was a repatriate, and she told the worker that she had always expected to care for them as long as they lived. The medical social worker clarified with Mr. and Mrs. T. the status they would have as segregees and when it was apparent that they were satisfied, permission was granted for them to remain.

There were many requests for permission to go to a specific center because of health reasons. Some of these reasons were valid but others were quite unrealistic. For instance, there were many misconceptions regarding altitude and climate. During

the course of a single morning, one elderly evacuee requested a certain center because he had hypertension and he thought the altitude was low, whereas another man asked to be removed from the list for this center as he had hypertension and he considered the altitude too high. In reality, the center was slightly higher than any of the other nine but not enough so that altitude would be considered a significant factor in planning. Exploration revealed that both men had valid reasons for going to the centers of their choice but that they were not based on health factors. A great many people thought because of their health needs, the travel distance should be a factor in the assignment to another center. Here again, fear and misconception were dispelled by giving factual information and by respecting the feelings of the individual through acceptance of his participation in the plan which was developed. Frequently adjustments could be made where it was desirable to join relatives at another center who could assist in the care of an ill member of the family. Other patients were assigned to a particular center where they would have the required medical facilities.

The family of Mr. Hiroshi N. had long been known to community agencies. Mrs. N. had died some months earlier of a cardiac condition a short time after giving birth to a child. In addition to the new baby, there were four other children ranging in age from fifteen months to fourteen years. Mr. N. cheerfully assumed the care of the four older children but as

there were no women relatives who could assist, baby Fumi was left in the hospital as a boarder for the first ten months of her life. There was recognition on the part of the hospital administration that the child's affectional needs were not being met nor was she finding her proper place in the family constellation. Mr. N. was reluctant to take her home even with the services of a part-time housekeeper, nor would he consider placement in either a foster home or child care institution. As segregation time approached, however, a series of interviews was held with him, and he brought out his genuine attachment for his children and his enjoyment in caring for them. He made the suggestion himself that he take Fumi home in sufficient time before the segregation program so that he could better learn to care for her and help her to adjust to the family group. The other children also were eager and excited at the prospect of having their little sister at home. Shortly after the child's placement in the home, word was received from another center that if the family could be transferred there, Mr. N.'s sister who lived there with her family would assist in the care of the children and then it would also be possible for Mr. N. to secure employment. This was a happy solution, and accordingly, transfer to this center was arranged. Several times prior to departure, Mr. N. brought Fumi to the hospital and it was obvious that the child was thriving physically and emotionally.

In the case of Mrs. Eiko M., 53 years of age, opportunity to go to the center of her choice appears to have been an important factor in her recovery. She had no history of illness prior to evacuation but after coming to camp, she complained that her hearing was not as acute and that she had frequent headaches, tingling of the ears, colds and draining in the back of the throat. She had been born in Japan and had come to this country as a young woman. She had worked as a midwife until a few years ago, and about that time her husband had died following a cerebrovascular accident. Her two sons were grown and one relocated just before segregation. She planned to make her home with the other son who was married and had a child. In May, 1943, she entered the hospital for observation and it was the physician's impression that she had an active pulmonary tuberculosis. Diagnostic studies,

however, revealed only pleural adhesions and accordingly tuberculosis was ruled out. She showed limited improvement, however, and remained in the hospital until the time of segregation in September. Because there had been a question of tuberculosis, it was planned that her family be assigned to the center where this group of patients was to receive care. When the worker discussed this with her, she was highly disturbed, and it was learned that all of the people from her former locality had been sent to another center at the time of evacuation. She had no friends at Tule Lake or at the other center being considered. She wept bitterly when she found she could not go to the center of her choice, her temperature rose and her physical condition became worse. The worker arranged for the medical department to again review her case and when it was determined that there was no question of tuberculosis, a plan for change in assignment of centers was effected. She went from hospital to train by ambulance but upon her arrival at her destination, she went with her family directly to her new home. After a few days' rest, she began renewing old friendships, resuming some of her former activities, and participating in the life of the community. She is now almost symptom free and considers herself quite recovered.

In many situations, various members of a family differed in political loyalty and interviews were held both on an individual basis and with the family group. Feelings sometimes ran high and it was often necessary to handle acute situation, particularly in families where there had been a long history of incompatibility. A large number of these situations were dealt with by the family case work section and in some cases, certain members of a family elected to leave the center while others remained. The problem was a particularly serious one for adolescents who were not yet able to depart from the parental control

and yet who could not reconcile themselves to voluntary segregation contrary to their feelings of loyalty. Sometimes a plan could be worked out whereby a guardian would assume responsibility or whereby placement at a school was possible. A few cases had health problems and were either handled directly by the medical social service department or on a consultative basis.

Mr. O. had always been brutal and tyrannical toward his family. His marriage had been an arranged one--as is the case with practically all first generation Japanese--and in this particular case the social and cultural backgrounds of husband and wife had been very different. The children who were capable of doing so had left the home as early as possible and since coming to the center, all but two had relocated. One remaining was a twenty-seven year old son who was mentally ill and extremely fearful of his father, and the other was our patient, Maeko, twenty-four, who was tuberculous. Maeko was an attractive, intelligent, composed young woman who had always been helpful and cooperative as a patient and who accepted the prospect of transfer to another center cheerfully. One afternoon the worker was asked to see her on the ward and she was found to be in a highly disturbed, tearful state. She discussed her family situation freely for the first time and said that she was sure that her father's treatment was the cause of her brother's mental condition.

At the present time, the father was insistent on remaining in Tule Lake Center and he had threatened to kill the rest of the family if they attempted to depart. The mother was afraid to start packing and she was worried that she could not send her freight off on time. The son's anxiety was so great that his condition was markedly worse. Maeko said that in the past the mother had never considered leaving her husband because she wanted to hold the family together, but now she was anxious to separate from him permanently. Despite their difficulties,

however, the mother and children did not want Mr. O. to be arrested and thus lose his employment, inasmuch as he was doing a good job as the foreman of a work crew.

A conference was held with the head of the Internal Security Department and as a result, Mr. O. was not only warned about interfering with the movements of the family but also a police warden was assigned to observe his behavior. The mother and children were greatly relieved and Maeko was able to prepare for the transfer without further emotional strain. Although she had worried over the possible results of reporting her father, she did not indicate any guilt in respect to her feelings of aggression toward him, probably because she had not caused him to be punished.

In addition to differences in political opinion, other factors frequently influenced members of a family to disagree as to whether or not to leave the center. This was particularly true in cases where one person was mentally ill and either refused to leave or presented serious difficulties in moving. In a number of families, one member was still institutionalized for either physical or mental care in a public hospital in the state of original residence. Many people were under the impression that if they left California it would not be possible for their relatives to join them at a later point.

Interviews in which policies of the agency were interpreted and up-to-date medical reports supplied, were helpful in leading to the proper decision. Fear of permanent separation went very deep with this group of evacuees who were basically insecure and felt strongly rejected by society and, therefore, they re-

requested repeated assurances that the patients would be restored to them as soon as they were medically ready for discharge.

Mr. Tomio H. had a cerebrovascular accident immediately before the family was removed to the assembly center, and he was left with a complete paralysis on the left side. He was placed in a general county hospital and after a year and a half showed no improvement. His wife and children had great anxiety about the care he was receiving and were eager to have him at home. They thought that it would be unwise to leave Tule Lake Center unless he was permitted to join them before their departure. A medical report was secured which indicated that he was completely helpless, that he could not possibly be cared for at home, and that it was inadvisable to move him. Hospital facilities at the center were such that it was not feasible to transfer him there. This material was interpreted to the family, and they were encouraged to write to friends still living in their old community for a report as to Mr. H.'s care. They did so and learned that although the hospital was overcrowded and short of staff due to the war situation, Mr. H. was receiving satisfactory care and nourishment. The worker was able to supplement this report with information on the handicaps under which civilian hospitals are operating at the present time, and thus help the family to face the situation more realistically. They therefore made their decision to leave on the basis of loyalty and were secure in the knowledge that if it were possible at any time, the agency would take the necessary steps to restore the father to them.

Kenji D., 19 years of age, was very confused in his thinking when he came in to see the worker for help in deciding whether or not to leave the segregation center. He stated that until three years ago his mother had apparently been well, but at that time he made a visit to Japan and upon his departure she immediately began to show signs of mental illness. He was the eldest child and only son and had always been his mother's favorite. Her illness became so acute that the family feared she

would die and Kenji was called home. She rallied slightly upon his return but then sank into a sort of lethargy and since that time has been completely bed-ridden, has been unable to recognize anyone, does not communicate, and calls out constantly as if in agony. Kenji feared that if his mother was forcibly moved, the shock might kill her. However, he and his father and younger sister were very anxious to leave the segregation center, and Kenji himself was eager to relocate. He was conflicted, however, as he did not want to aggravate his mother's condition. After discussing the situation for some time, he decided that it would be best to remain until after segregation and then if his mother's condition remained unchanged, he would later apply to the appeals board for leave clearance for relocation. The worker pointed out that as yet no one knew what the possibilities would be for relocation after the segregation program was completed. Furthermore, the chances of his mother's improving without treatment were quite remote.

Kenji explained that the family had never considered commitment because his mother was not harmful to herself or others and also because the Japanese people attached so much stigma to mental illness. The worker gave him some interpretation of the type of care and treatment given in mental hospitals. She also pointed out that if the mother could secure adequate care, the other members of the family would be free to relocate and thus not only rebuild their own lives but again establish a home where they could give their mother greater comfort and security. Kenji decided to talk the matter over with his father and sister and try to make a plan for the entire group.

A few days later the situation was referred back to the Medical Social Service Department by one of the administrators of the program. Kenji had been in to discuss the situation further, and he had stated that the family did not wish to become segregees and they were anxious to move if possible. The administration, however, did not wish to take the responsibility of moving Mrs. D. without a medical recommendation that it was safe to do so. Accordingly, the worker arranged for a physician to call in the home to examine the patient. In his opinion, Mrs. D. was definitely psychotic and committable. However, he thought she could be moved safely if she could be placed on board the

train before the general loading and go directly to her berth where she could remain for the entire journey. Arrangements were worked out for her to be transported in this manner and the Army medical personnel in charge of the train were informed of her condition.

A few days before departure, Kenji returned to ask for further information about care in a mental institution. At the close of the discussion he requested that the worker aid in the commitment of Mrs. D. after the family arrived at the relocation center. He was reassured that a complete report would be forwarded and was given a note of introduction to the medical social worker at the new center. It was later learned that Mrs. D. had had an uneventful journey and arrived in good condition.

While the majority of loyal evacuees leaving Tule Lake transferred to relocation centers, a number relocated directly to new areas. Here, too, health problems required consideration both in relation to travel and readjustment in the new community. With the relocation officer (local representative of the War Relocation Authority) serving in a liaison capacity, it was possible to help evacuees to seek out and utilize medical facilities in the unfamiliar environment.

The U. family consisted of the widowed mother and three adolescent girls, all still in school. The youngest girl, 12 year old Kazuko, had had an accident some years earlier and had lost one leg. Prior to evacuation she had been under the care of the California Crippled Children Service and had secured a prosthesis through this agency. While in Tule Lake Center, she continued to receive service from the California agency. Mrs. U. had supported herself and the children in the past and when the segregation program was announced, she decided to try to relocate. The Employment Section found her employment as matron in a children's institution in the Midwest, and the position included room and board for the entire family.

Her only concern in leaving was in regard to continuing medical care for Kazuko. When she was given an interpretation of the function of Children's Bureau throughout the country and the Crippled Children Service in the state to which she was going, she was greatly relieved. Arrangements were made for Kazuko to attend Crippled Children's clinic in a nearby city and receive any necessary service for artificial limit.

By participating in the segregation program, medical social work was able to make a contribution to many individuals and families at a crucial point in their lives. They were able to utilize the worker's case work skills in making adjustments to a very difficult situation and in making decisions that would greatly influence the whole course of their future lives. As yet we can only make conjectures as to whether the post-war period will bring with it mass movements of people from one area to another; but if such movements are necessary, surely the traumatic aspects will be lessened and the experience can be made more positive and constructive, if situations are individualized and treated on a case work basis.