

SCHEDULE OF CHICAGO CONFERENCES

Evacuation & Resettlement Study (Subject to adjustments)

| Date | Hours | Room | Report by | Subject |
|--|--------------|------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| Thursday Dec. 2 | 2-4 p.m. | 106 | Tsuchiyama | Poston Report |
| Friday Dec. 3 | 3-5 p.m. | 108 | Miyamoto | Tule Lake Report |
| Saturday Dec. 4 | 3-5 p.m. | 108 | Sekoda | Segregation Report |
| Monday Dec. 6 | 3-5 p.m. | 107 | Kikuchi | Case Histories |
| Tuesday Dec. 7 | 3-5 p.m. | 108 | Chicago Staff | Report on Chicago Study |
| Wednesday Dec. 8 | 3-5 p.m. | 108 | Shibutani Tanaka | Pre-evacuation Report |
| Thursday Dec. 9 | (unassigned) | | Staff | General Methodological Problems |
| Dec. 10-14 (Miscellaneous conferences) | | | | |

All rooms are in the Social Science Building

CHICAGO STAFF MEETING (Dec. 2, 1943)

Tamie Tsuchiyama said that she is collecting data at Poston for possible future research work. In explaining the political structure at Poston she declared that Poston was unique in that it had a working agreement between the WRA and the Indian Service. The Indian Service has the power to hire and fire if they conform to the WRA policy.

Poston has the project director at the head, an assistant project director and three unit administrators, one for each of the three units. The unit administration has the Block Manager supervisor with the Block Manager Executive Committee of 9 which meets every Wednesday and a Block Manager Council of 36 which meets every Tuesday. Each block has a block manager. Until October the block managers were appointed by the administrators and later they were elected. The previous block managers were nisei but now the issei are eligible for election. The block manager idea is a pet of the Indian Service.

Being under the WRA and Indian Service, Poston has four liaison officers in Red Has and N. James of the WRA and McNickles and McCaskell of the Indian Service. The WRA and Indian Service differ in policy. For example Colliers believes in the long range program of 10 years. A few days after Colliers made the announcement, Myer stressed the fact that he desires to see 6000 ~~evacuees~~ evacuees relocated by February, 1943. There have been many conflicts between the WRA and Indian Service.

The WRA and the Army have their conflicts, e.g., Poston never did have watchtowers and they resented the putting up of barbed wires. The barbed wires were not completely put up until late this year.

There are three distinct cliques at Poston: "WRA", Indian Service, and "Hawaii". The "Hawaii" group is headed by Nell Findley and Dr. Carey (education chief), both formerly of Hawaii who have a missionary ~~idea~~ attitude toward the evacuees. The "WRA" group is very popular with the evacuees now. They fraternized with the evacuee office workers while the Indian Service patronized the Japanese. The "Hawaii" group usually joined the WRA clique. They had liberals who objected to the fences, etc. The Indian Service group was against fraternizing with the evacuees. They had about 500 Caucasian employees.

Some evacuee groups arose in Poston after the November strike. A brief history of the history of self government will be included in the section on evacuee participation in political organizations. (Poston had a City Planning Board from the end of May.)

In the informal phase of evacuee participation in political organizations, Poston had four "yushi", one from each of the four areas, dictating and formulating policies for the council. Decisions were made in the blocks before the meeting. The Kibei in Unit II attempted to wrest the power but failed. (The "yushi" were formerly of Imperial Valley, Los Angeles, Salinas and Orange County). When the Spanish Consul incident came up the realization of the "yushi" appeared. There was much political wrangling as the issei sought power. The big strike solved many problems.

One of the big mistakes of the WRA was in not giving the issei leadership in the community government. After the strike the issei got more power and now there is a tendency of getting de-Americanized. Religion has a small role in the community.

Question was raised: if the issei were in power from the be-

ginning, would there have been no trouble? Answer: In Manzanar the issei were in power at first and yet they had a strike.

There is a strong group feeling. Pro-Japanese feeling is obvious but there is an ambivalent tendency.

Charlie asked: If evacuation had not come, would the process of integration been faster?

The financial ~~was~~ situation ~~is~~ did not affect the rural groups very much in seeking to relocate. The urban group believe they won't get indemnity from the U.S. government, which means post-war security for them. The treatment of the evacuees on the outside has been exaggerated. The financial element is important. The nisei, however, don't think much of it.

The issei community stressed savings to an abnormal degree. They stressed economic life. Evacuation uprooted them and now they are very concerned about indemnity. The issei have always wanted to save and go back to Japan to retire. Those that did go back returned to U.S. in a year or so.

Do you have any running account of the short wave reports?
Tamie: I got quite a few. On Dec. 8 or thereabouts Tojo's speech urged the people not to think or worry about post-war. This evidently led the people to believe that they would receive indemnity. A detailed report on relocation came about Christmas, urging the people not to concern themselves on relocation as the Meiji Shrine grounds had been set aside for them, etc. They also mentioned that the Spanish Consul was investigating Tule Lake which was exhibiting the typical type of brutality of the U.S.

Dec. 2, 1943

AN OUTLINE FOR A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE COLORADO RIVER WAR RELOCATION PROJECT

I. Introduction

- A. Origin of project
 - 1. WRA-Indian Service agreement to establish project on Colorado River Indian Reservation.
 - 2. Intakes (i.e. date of arrival of various groups)
- B. Physical set-up of project.
 - 1. Division into three camps.
 - 2. Description of block system within a camp.
 - 3. Accommodations for food and shelter.
- C. Character of population.
 - 1. Numerical strength.
 - 2. Geographical origin.
 - 3. Age distribution and marital status.
 - 4. Occupational background.
 - 5. Religious background.

II. The Political Structure of Poston

- A. Formal administrative structure.
 - 1. WRA-Indian Service relationship.
 - 2. Project organization.
 - a) Description of administrative departments and subdivisions.
 - b) Analysis of appointed personnel (character, background, duties, etc.)
 - 1. Indian Service personnel.
 - 2. WRA personnel.
 - 3. Administrative policies.
 - a) WRA-Indian Service conflicts in policy formation (Washington level)
 - b) WRA-Army conflicts (Washington and project levels)
 - c) Washington-Poston relationships.
 - d) Local administration-evacuee relationship
 - 1. Formal relationship.
 - a) Unit administrator system.
 - 1. Block manager supervisor.
 - 2. Block manager Executive Committee.
 - 3. Block manager council.
 - 4. Block manager.
 - 2. Informal relationships.
 - a) Attitudes of "WRA", "Indian Service" and "Hawaii" cliques toward evacuees and vice versa.
- B. Evacuee Government.
 - 1. Formal evacuee political organization.
 - a) Brief history of self-government.
 - b) Analysis of political groups (personnel and their background, purposes, duties and functions, achievements, etc.)
 - 1. Civic Planning Board.
 - 2. Temporary Community Council.
 - 3. Issei Advisory Board.

4. Groups arising as result of November strike.
 - a) City Planning Board.
 - b) Honor Court.
 - c) Labor Relations Board.
5. Post-strike Temporary Community Council.
6. Permanent Community Government.
 - a) Community Council.
 - b) Local councils.
2. Informal political groups.
 - a) Informal pre-temporary council (esp. Unit II).
 - b) Role of yushi in determining camp policies.
 - c) Kibei organizations.

III. Social Organization

- A. The Family.
 1. Analysis of pre-evacuation Japanese family.
 2. Family disorganization as result of evacuation.
 - a) Disorganization as result of camp conditions.
 1. Difficulty in disciplining children.
 2. Growth in juvenile delinquency.
 3. Growth in marital splits.
 4. Loss of male authority and consequent emancipation of women.
 - b) Analysis of "mixed" marriages in Poston.
 - c) Analysis of families of internees.

IV. Economic Organization

- A. Project Employment.
 1. Types of jobs available and compensation.
 2. Labor Relations.
- B. Agriculture.
 1. Farming
 2. Fish Culture
 3. Hog Farming
 4. Chicken Farming
- C. Industries
 1. Camouflage Net Factory
 2. Tofu Factory
 3. Moyashi Factory
 4. Pickle Factory
- D. Community Enterprises
 1. History of the co-op movement in Poston.
 2. Description of bodies incorporated under C.E.
 - a) Canteens
 - b) Barber and beauty shops
 - c) Radio and electrical shops
 - d) Shoe repair shops

V. Community Services

- A. Health and Sanitation
 1. Hospital
 - a) Personnel
 - b) Facilities

2. Public Health Services.
3. Community attitude toward health facilities.
- B. Education
 1. Brief history of Education in Poston.
 - a) Status of Poston schools.
 - b) Preparation of teachers for Poston schools.
 - c) Construction of school buildings.
 2. Organizational set-up of Poston schools.
 - a) Personnel (background, qualifications, duties, etc.)
 1. Director of education.
 2. Supervisory heads of three units.
 3. Teachers (Caucasian and evacuee).
 3. Policies of the Education Department.
 4. Curriculum and extra-curricular activities.
 5. Attitudes toward Poston schools.
 - a) Community attitude.
 - b) Students' attitude.
 - c) Teachers' attitude (Caucasian and evacuee).
- C. Recreation
 1. Issei activities.
 - a) Adult education.
 - b) Shibai, utai, goh and other forms of Old World entertainment.
 2. Nisei activities.
 - a) Sports (American and Japanese)
 - b) Club activities.
 - c) Movies
- D. Public Welfare
 1. Formal organizations
 - a) Social Welfare Department.
 - b) American Red Cross.
 2. Informal organizations devoted to public welfare.
- E. Fire Department.
- F. Post Office.

VI. Religious Organizations

- A. Brief analysis of pre-evacuation religious groups in California.
- B. Analysis of religious groups in project (Buddhist, Christian, Catholic, Protestants including Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, Tenrikyo and Seicho-no-Iye).
 1. Numerical strength.
 2. Organization.
 - a) Personnel
 1. Number of ministers, their background and prestige in community.
 2. Type of Congregation.
 - b) Activities of group.
 3. Prestige of group in community.
- C. Role of Religion in Camp Activities.

VII. Law and Order

- A. Definition of "crime" in project.

1. WRA instructions concerning crime.
2. Code of Offenses for Poston.
- B. Analysis of Law enforcement agencies in Poston (personnel, functions, duties, etc.).
 1. The Legal Department.
 2. The Internal Security Department.
 3. The Judicial Council and Judicial Commission (including its offspring, the Youth Counselling Board).
 4. The F.B.I.
- C. Analysis of "crimes" committed in project.
 1. Gambling.
 2. Theft of government and personal property.
 3. Sex crimes (adultery, prostitution, rape, abortion)
 4. Smuggling of liquor into camp.
 5. Assault and battery (with emphasis on beating-up of Inu.
 6. Operation of private enterprises.
 7. Traffic violations.
 8. Juvenile delinquency.
 9. Other crimes.
- D. Informal modes of law enforcement.

VIII. Communicative Systems.

- A. Analysis of administration-evacuee communication.
 1. Techniques employed by administration in disseminating news to community.
 - a) Administration instructions via the block managers or members of local council.
 - b) The Poston Chronicle.
 2. Techniques used by evacuees to communicate with the administration.
 - a) The block manager system and the local council.
 - b) Other means in times of crises.
- Informal means of communication.
1. Gossip and rumors.
 2. Role of Japanese papers in spread of news.
 3. Inter-center communication.
 4. Role of short-wave broadcasts in life of community.

IX. Out-Group Relations.

- A. Parker evacuee relations.
- B. Arizona-evacuee relations.
- C. California-evacuee relations.
- D. U.S.-evacuee relations.

X. Relocation

- A. Statistics on relocation.
- B. Analysis of administrative instructions and bulletins re relocation (Washington and project levels)
- C. Analysis of offers of outside employment and evacuee response.
 1. Seasonal
 2. Indefinite

D. Analysis of attitudes toward relocation.

1. Reasons for relocating.

2. Reasons for hesitating or refusing to relocate.

3. Analysis of letters from relocatees.

E. Student Relocation.

XI. Analysis of Major Crises in life of community.

A. The November strike.

B. Registration in February.

C. Segregation

XII. Theoretical Implications of the study.

II. The Political Structure of Poston

I. WRA-Indian Service Relationship

Poston unique among 10 relocation centers in being under the supervision of both WRA and Office of Indian Affairs. In agreement signed by Eisenhower and Ickes on Mar. 14, 1942

Part of Colorado River Indian Reservation to be turned into a relocation center - to be administered by the Office of Indian Affairs. Indian Service to have power to hire and fire officials and to run center according to its wishes in general conformity with WRA plans.

Agreement may be terminated within 60 days written notice.

As in other 9 centers, MP to do external policing.

Chart of WRA-Office of Indian Affairs Relationship

II. Project organization

Below project director - 8 divisions of authority:

1. Administration - Emple
2. Employment - Kennedy
3. Community Services - Findley
4. Press - Norris, James
5. Engineering - Puphey
6. Sociological Research - Leighton
7. Agriculture and Industries - Mathiesen
8. Legal Department - Ted Haas

III. Administrative Policies

WRA-Indian Service conflicts in policy formation

1. Collier - 10 yr. program - "colonial enterprise of U.S."
2. Myer - 6,000 relocated before June, 1943

WRA-Army conflicts

Barbed wire fence, watch towers

Invasion of MP's during strike

Washington-Poston relationship

Head's revision of many WRA regulations

WRA adopting many Poston practices for other centers

Ex. Block manager system

IV. Informal relationship

"WRA" clique - made mistake of fraternizing with office workers, so hated in beginning.

"Indian Service" - paternalistic attitude

"They treat us like inmates of real concentration camp"

Evans' speech to A.P.

"Hawaii" clique - sentimental. Came here inspired by humanitarian motives.

Dec 2, 1943

Problems for Future Research at Poston

One of greatest mistakes of WRA was not to give issei representation in community government last summer. Deculturation studies show that when deep-rooted social institutions are changed overnight by government decree or by missionary zeal, we usually have a chaotic result. When November strike analyzed from long-range perspective it seems that greatest factor responsible for early disturbances and difficulty of management of evacuees stem from refusal to let the issei take the customary leadership.

After the strike Issei regained most of their lost prestige and Poston began to become more and more Americanized. Nisei who could not stand the restrictions of a Japanese community fled to the outside. This had a sort of de-Americanizing effect on the community. Those who remained behind had to conform to the Japanese social or leave. I want to know how far this Japanizing tendency can go, especially in war time - and when the change in tide of war will have any appreciable effect on this tendency, i.e. when it appears inevitable that Japan will lose, will the issei parents strive to make their children more Americanized or will they continue to Japanize them?

Evacuees in many centers have been very defiant and uncooperative with the administration and its policies because they are convinced that Japan will emerge victorious in the war. Should the tide change one of these days, will their attitudes toward the administration and Caucasian in general change? For instance, will more relocate, and will the administration have an easier time administering the centers?

There is marked group feeling among the evacuees. Every major move in the community is viewed in terms of whether it will be helpful to the Japanese or not. They use the term - "Nihonjin dooshi dakara, otagaini" (Since we are all Japanese....) They have this "compartmentalistic" attitude - shutting out all outsiders. When a Caucasian appears - no matter who he may be, they shut up and refuse to continue their conversation. Has this strong group feeling been always characteristic of the California Japanese or has it developed or been enhanced with evacuation? I know that Cleveland and New York Japanese are not this clannish. Is it characteristic of all persecuted groups?

There is a great deal of ambivalence in attitudes among the evacuees in Poston. Their utterances are extremely pro-Japanese - yet in their actions they frequently exhibit a very pro-American tendency. Has the long history of discrimination in California made them this way? Or is it because Japan is a world power and it is difficult to choose between two great powers? Will a shift in the war have any appreciable effect in destroying this ambivalence and forcing them to be more consistent in their behavior?

Revival of Japanese culture - akin to Ghost Dance?

Evacuee Participation in Community Government

Formal evacuee political organization

History of self-government in Poston: In several memos and circulars published in March and April, 1942, residents of relocation centers promised self-government. Sol Kimball's idea.

Civic Planning Board created in Poston composed of 8 members (1 from each quad). Board considered several proposals submitted by Sol Kimball, Legal Dept. and Dr. Mitani. While still working on the plan, WRA on June 5 issued Administrative Instruction #34 establishing set of regulations for self-government in centers. This order led to disbanding of board. It provided only citizens of U.S. could hold office; relationship to administration in advisory capacity. Election held July 21 in Unit I and first meeting of T.C.C. held July 23. Subsequent meetings held weekly-36 members.

Issei advisory board of 9 (1 from quad) elected Sept. 28. When Nov. strike occurred, TCC and block managers resigned as body so no organized group to negotiate with Administration. Executive Council of 72 delegates (2 from block) elected. After strike most of these were ~~resettled~~ reelected to City Planning Board (72 delegates: 1 issei, 1 nisei from block) They created C.E.C., L.R.B. and Honor Court. Then C.P.B. disbanded.

In conformity with WRA regulations another T.C.C. elected with issei members of C.P.B. as I.A.B. Held meetings separately - in important cases jointly.

In May, 1943 charter for permanent government approved by Washington and ratified by 36 blocks. May 26, 1943, election held for local councils, resulted half issei, half nisei. Out of local councils 5 elected to represent them in overall Community Council. Later most nisei dropped out so issei in character. In last election held Oct. 11, 1943, all but 3 are issei in local council.

With proposed transfer of Poston from Indian Service to WRA hands on Jan. 1, 1944 - unit administrator's job has been transferred to an evacuee since the unit administrator is not present in the WRA set-up elsewhere.

Relationship of Council to Block Manager System

Council - legislative

Block managers - administrative

Informal Political groups

Informal pre-temporary council (esp. Unit II)

Wanted equal representation of issei and nisei in TCC

Wanted to resist WRA regulations by refusal to vote

Role of yushi in detention camp policies

Spanish Consul report

Noodle factory controversy

Kibei organizations

WI has a comment to make in regard to one of your points in your letter of November 6.

"Tamie's hypothesis of the ambivalence of attitudes, raised and developed by X in his letter of Nov. 6, may perhaps turn out to be the most important psychological aspect of the study.

"Evidently the attitudes will be influenced both by the past history of the immigrating group and the character of the reception in the country receiving them. The Jews, for example, hardly have an ambivalence, because they have no homeland and may be said to be attached to no country. The Scandinavians have had no wars for a hundred years, no oppression, no frustrations at home and were received here cordially and without struggle or discrimination. They preserved for a time an affection for Scandinavia, but passed over into Americans, it may be said, imperceptibly. The Poles, on the other hand, had an acute and almost morbid national consciousness growing out of the historical oppression by Russia, Germany and Austria, and inflamed by propaganda of the Hitler type, so that their attitude, or at least the attitude of their leaders at home and here, was that the Poles in America should never become Americans but should constitute a Poland in America. (This was largely in the hope that they would assist the homeland in future rebellions, etc.) Italian propaganda attempted similarly to preserve the Italians in America as part of Italy.

"In the case of the Japanese, the approach of Tamie and X is very important in this connection. (I take it that they have in mind especially the Issei and the Kibei.) Now, I raise the question whether he and Tamie should not compare the ambivalence of the California Japanese with that of Hawaiian Japanese. That is, there are three adult generations in Hawaii, the discrimination has not been the same as in California. ~~In~~ Hawaii was not, so to speak, a nationality but a community, etc. In other words, compare the abivalent attitudes of the Californians and Hawaiians, having in view the historical aspects, the temporal (that is, the dates of the migrations), the occupational aspects, etc."

A STUDY OF COLLECTIVE INSECURITY
AMONG EVACUEES AT THE TULE LAKE RELOCATION CENTER

Problem: What was the nature of the restrictions that disturbed the evacuees of the Tule Lake Center, and how did they attempt to maintain personal and social organization under these conditions?

I. Introduction: to consider the WRA's selection of the site, general physical setting, and the characteristics of the population.

II. The nature of the restrictions that disturbed the evacuees.

A. The administrative organization and policies of the WRA.

B. The influence of the restrictions on the main channels of community life, and the resulting disturbances and conflicts.

1. Family activities.

2. Economic " .

3. Political " .

4. Recreational " .

5. Religious " .

6. Educational " .

C. The influence of the restrictions on the main lines of cleavage in the community.

III. The forms of collective action with which the evacuees attempted to cope with these restrictive conditions.

A. Predisposing conditions in the definition of the relocation center situation.

1. The historical experiences of people of Japanese ancestry in America before the war, before evacuation, at the assembly center, that influenced their adjustments. To consider the image of the world as related to themselves of the issei, ni-sei and kibe.

2. Insecurity as the outstanding characteristic of the relocation center situation.

B. Some typical modes of adjustment among the evacuees.

1. Satisfy individual interests.

2. Satisfy desire for a good time, and creative impulses.

3. Organize the community, and get along as well as possible.

4. Seek vengeance for injured self esteem, and regain rights.

C. The process of achieving a collective definition of the situation.

1. Modes of communication.

2. The evacuee formulation of the issues.

3. Pressure groups and their techniques.

4. Polar definitions: trust and distrust.

D. The function of collective action in release from frustration and control over insecurity.

IV. Typical careers of experience of evacuees in their effort to maintain personal organization.

To add social history.

A STUDY OF COLLECTIVE INSECURITY
AMONG EVACUEES AT THE TULE LAKE RELOCATION CENTER

Problem: What was the nature of the restrictions that disturbed the evacuees of the Tule Lake Center, and how did they attempt to maintain personal and social organization under these conditions?

Human beings try to maintain social organizations. They try various methods to keep going. People have to have some social organizations in order to get along together.

In Part I, the introduction, I will consider the WRA's selection of the site, general physical setting, and the characteristics of the population. I will consider the nature of restrictions which disturbed the evacuees and its effect upon community life.

In Part II, I will take up the nature of the restrictions that disturbed the evacuees. There are three main topics under this: A. the administrative organization and policies of the WRA; B. the influence of the restrictions on the main channels of community life, and the resulting disturbances and conflicts; and C. the influence of the restrictions on the main lines of cleavage in the community.

Under section B. are six sub-divisions: 1) Family which covers housing, mail censorship, mess hall, all written up chronologically; 2) Economic activities which will cover various phases of economic life of the community; 3) Political activities which will be largely on the formal political organization and political life of the community; 4) Recreational activities which will be both formal and informal; 5) Religion activities; and 6) Educational activities which will be informal.

Under section C there will be a stratification of issei, nisei and kibeï distinctions, showing in influence of restrictions varying in each case.

Part III will deal with the forms of collective action with which the evacuees attempted to cope with these restrictive conditions. Material will be offered so others can analyze them. I will show how restrictions led to the formation of collection active.

What do I mean by collection action? I really am thinking of that form of action which is not individual and an implied notion of a group of people with certain common issues involved with a certain approach to a problem. A group of people plan action to solve a problem, a centralized point of how people in a collective situation come to define their situation. ^{In their} ~~Individual~~ lives ~~are~~ people were separated so much that they ~~didn't~~ have a common problems, but in the center they were thrown together and the condition created a problem; one part may be collective activity. Example: boiler breakage or the food problem. In the center the collective situation of the people was emphasized.

The first main subdivision under Part III is A. Predisposing conditions in the definition of the relocation center situation. This has two parts: 1) The historical experiences of the people of Japanese ancestry in America before the war, before evacuation, at the assembly center, that influenced their adjustments. To consider the image of the world as related to themselves of the issei, nisei and kibeï; 2) Insecurity as the outstanding characteristic of the relocation center situation.

Sub-division 1) is the subjective side, the background of personal experiences which enter into the situation of the people; the culture

the cultural background, variation in experiences; differences in the experiences of the issei, kibe and nisei; interpretation of the world they live in and picture themselves vary. For example: the issei came with the intention of going back to Japan but somehow they can't seem to get back, consequently they developed a morbid concern of making money and exclude other activities. Their chief identification with the United States tends to be their family and economic life. They get an assimilation and inculturation the issei are not aware of. The image of himself in America is that of a foreigner in a strange land where there is no need to learn English and no hope of returning to America. The nisei differ here. Their identification is with the United States with a limited locale. They don't intend to go to Japan. They see the limitations in their sphere of life and see the uncertainty of life in the United States or Japan. They go through various changes and shifts. The kibe see differently too. They ~~lack~~ feel the lack of uncertainty with the United States or Japan and try to assume a neutral policy.

Sub-division 2) will present the objective side of the picture as it existed in the relocation center; the insecurity and uncertainty of the people. For example: the individual had no control over the getting of food; that was up to the WRA. The prospect of being moved from the center bothered them as well as the predisposing conditions under which the people found themselves in the relocation center.

Section B will cover some typical modes of adjustment among the evacuees. Under this section will be 1) Satisfy individual interests. It was an interlude in the life of the Japanese. Some said, "I don't want to be concerned with political issues" and

they looked after their own interests only. 2) Satisfy desire for a good time, and creative impulses. This was prevalent among the nisei, e.g., the women went in for the satisfaction of creative impulses. 3) Organize the community, and get along as well as possible. The people who frequently were the leaders were the more stable type. They maintained stability so the people could get along. 4) See vengeance for injured self esteem, and regain rights. We got an abundant expression of this type. The people carried little of every one with emphasis on certain ones but some of them did tend to dominate in the center. For example: Suppose Tule Lake people decided to organize and stabilize the community but they sought vengeance as the dominant view which came about.

Under Section C I will present the process of achieving a collective definition of the situation. Certain definitions came to dominate in the community.

1) Modes of communication was important. Tule Lake had many large scale work projects. For example, the construction crew employed 1000, the farm project, 650. They brought together the largest number of people concerned with certain problems. The construction crew had lots of time and they sat around and talked. the "latrine philosophers" discussed things. They were harmless, but definitions were being created. The short wave broadcasts, newspapers and radio were other means of communication.

2) The evacuee formulation of the issues. The initial issues were rather vague. They discussed issues but there was no concentration of issues on certain points. During the farm strike such expressions were heard: "We're Japanese and we've got to give our lives to give Japan victory". They had a characteristic way of expressing issues. The issue started out in diffused issues. Dis-

cussions in meetings influenced groups.

3) Pressure groups and their techniques. In most instances people felt that pressure groups as such but there was also the issei versus nisei and nisei versus kibe. For example: the nisei favored the theatre building but when a vote was taken it was voted down.

4) Polar definitions: trust and distrust. As a consequence you couldn't sit on the fence forever. People with neutral attitudes were forced to one extreme or the other. In the end there was a bi-modal variation. The issei distrusted anything from the WRA, government and administration. The nisei didn't trust the WRA completely. I want to analyze the nature of this distrust which grew out of this distrust.

Section D is on the function of collective action in release from frustration and control over insecurity. There is an assumption that activity serves some purpose for human beings. The actions of the people were serving some function.

Part IV is devoted to the typical careers of experience of evacuees in their effort to maintain personal organization. I am contacting mostly Tule Lake people here. I'd like to get a variety of people, kibe, those who reflect certain views in the community, the JACL people and the way in which they adjusted themselves to life in the center.

The following are informal notes taken during the open discussion which followed the presentation of the outline by Frank Miyamoto:

W.I. - Frustration? You get frustrated when you can't reach your goal. The term is used in psycho-analysis. If you're resentful, you're not frustrated. Despair is not frustration. I think of it as a check.

J.S. - When evacuation came along people felt bad and in camp they were helpless to do anything and the whole thing was to take it out on the Caucasians.

W.I. - Revenge and resentment.

S.M. - Collective action, before it was bi-modal.

W.I. - How did individuals take this? In the formation of leaders, there is a decision of policy made in some way. One who transfers his definition to a group and getting concerted action.

F.M. - Choice of leadership is hard to describe and understand.

W.I. - Leighton showed the person who had all the qualities of leadership and yet wasn't accepted.

DST - If we had known what we wanted, we could have gotten a perfect report. Analyzing things from the mass thought, the Farm Security people said, "It is natural to take losses. But if the whole town lost, then it's different."

F.M. - Take the case of Takatsui, a kibe. He seemed intelligent but mystical in expression. He had the influence of the Toyama group. Takatsui returned to this country before the war. He evacuated to Puyallup and joined a volunteer group to Tule Lake. A large number of people who were dissatisfied at Puyallup were behind him. He joined the police force and organized the kibe group known as "kiku-tsui". At the time of registration the kibe

got 400 at the meeting and Takatsui became the intellectual leader of the outfit.

DST - Registration was the immediate cause of segregation.

F.M. - I will write the report chronologically but will treat II and III different. In II I will show the particular conception of issues and problems at Tule Lake, showing how things developed.

DST - In III-B, bring in what actually happened chronologically. If III is interpretative, then social history will be necessary.

T.T. - There is a tendency to distort material in stressing certain things.

DST - I feel there is something still lacking in III, especially in section C.

F.M. - In S- II-B, situations which had bearing to relocation centers were not necessarily all happy. From this type of atmosphere it goes to something else. It shows the difference in the difference phases of the community. I am not interested in showing the comparison but showing the shift from one to another.

DST - The important thing is to get things done in a concrete, historical way.

T.T. - Write it chronologically and topically; theoretically in the last chapter.

F.M. - The outline may look unbalance now but Part II will be elaborated.

SEGREGATION PROGRAM AT TULE LAKE

I will trace back steps in the segregation program. At the time of registration I knew segregation was coming. While I was at Gila I heard that Tule Lake was to be the segregation center. It was at the May conference that Tule Lake was definitely chosen. I got the first inkling of this when the community analyst asked me what I thought would happen if Tule Lake was chosen as the segregation center. I knew then.

So when registration came I looked for family splits; How they were split and what forces were instrumental in splitting families. Family ties are strong among the Japanese. The nisei were tied to the United States while the issei were tied to Japan. The issei's economic interests were here so they knew they must look after their interests.

I looked for the general attitudes of the evacuees; how the evacuees reacted to the program. I broke the evacuees into categories: Japanese and Americanized and compared their reactions.

For example: there were the agitators (Type A), the real leaders and pseudo-leaders; then there was the marginal personality, a product of the social situation. These latter were born outside the Japanese community and associated with Caucasians and identified themselves with the Caucasian group. In grammar school they were accepted by the Caucasians, in high school they were dropped somewhat and in college they were dropped entirely by the Caucasians. This type of nisei are frank and ^{found it} hard to adjust themselves among the Japanese.

In this group I want to find out to what extent they were able

to get along with the nisei; did they associate with the nisei much, if so, with whom; did they feel suppressed and uneasy in the nisei group; did they feel disturbed, not knowing why; their attitude toward the Caucasian group; did they accept American culture.

(DST suggested calling the marginal personality the assimilated nisei. W.I. ~~ssa~~ said that issei are marginal personalities; they have one foot in one group and the other foot in another group.)

I lived in Block 25 where the people came from Isleton, Walnut Grove and the Delta region. They are more or less Japanesey. When registration came I told them that they should register if they wanted to live in America. After that the people would not talk to me. During the segregation program the people talked to me except those who intended to stay. The block manager came to me for advice. I got first hand picture of the families I have been studying. I gathered material through contacts in the block. I was chummy with Opler, the community analyst, Carter and Jacoby. I knew what the administration thought. I was the contact man for the evacuees and the administration.

Through these contacts I got stories of intrigues going on among the administrative personnel. I saw a struggle between the liberal and reactionary cliques. In the beginning the reactionary group was in charge, later the liberals took over. Best (project director after Coverly) let the liberals run the project. Washington and outsiders began to step in. Then Best listened to Brown and Zimmerman (farm group), a reactionary and Best was influenced. The liberals had less and less to say after this.

Toward the end Montgomery had two bosses over her; Carter was

vice supervisor of community activities and Jacoby didn't like his set-up. The two wings battled for power.

There was a difference in attitude and the way they handled the project. There was tacit recognition among the reactionaries that they had more rights than the evacuees. For example: the liberals were always trying to get more privileges for the evacuees. Dr. Pettigord cut services at the Hospital to the minimum. The liberals felt that the whole segregation program was a mistake and was being done to appease the reactionary group. The reactionaries said that the orders came from Washington and must be carried out. Pettigord said that anyone able to travel must leave while the liberals gave various reasons for keeping them in the hospital until they were really well.

The segregation hearings determined loyalty and disloyalty. Those who wanted to live in the United States must leave. Those who wanted to live in Japan were said to be disloyal. Those who wanted to stay at Tule Lake said that they were disloyal, only because this was one means of being able to stay at Tule Lake.

In the segregation procedure the whole idea was to segregate the loyal and disloyal. From the political standpoint it was loyalty to America or Japan and those who said they were loyal to Japan were to remain. The WRA tried to make the segregation center cultural. They said those who wanted to live the Japanese way will go to Tule Lake and no stigma would be attached to them; they would not throw the segregates to the dogs; they were to be given their choice.

Actually the most of the segregation was based on registration. For the nisei it was loyalty to the United States; for the issei it

was to obey the laws of the United States. However, the nisei and issei were treated alike.

Four categories were set up: (1) expatriates and repatriates; (2) Those who answered "no-no" or who had not registered; (3) Those who answered "no-no" and later changed their mind, or who registered later; (4) Those who answered "yes-yes".

The "no-no" group was given hearings. (1) were to stay, (2) were to have hearings but could leave, (3) also included anyone who lived in Japan since 1935 and was educated in Japan (they could leave other centers but would have separate leave clearance hearings) (3) and (4) could leave automatically.

Most issei were to leave, having answered "yes-yes". They were told to go to other centers and then sign repatriation papers. There was no talk of Crystal City eligibility. Those who fell in category (2) were the only ones who had a choice to go or stay.

Many nisei would say, "I wanted to stay, I'm disloyal". Dr. Jacoby knew they were lying and said that just because they wanted to stay. Others tried to show them as being loyal.

Loyalty is determined by which side you would fight for. The issei's concept of loyalty was different. There were rumors that those leaving Tule Lake would be disloyal to Japan. Opler told them, "You needn't fear about leaving or staying at Tule Lake. Everything is confidential." To this the issei said, "If they're going to hide records, we'd rather stay."

The issei believe in certain fixed relationships. He owes loyalty to his country. The son has respect for his parents. The Japanese are loyal to those of Japanese blood. Issei stressed these relationships.

When I was in Japan I was asked, "What would you do in case of war between Japan and America?" Some issei said to this, "You're Japanese, you should fight for Japan." There were others who thought nisei should fight for America. The issei showed their approval of draftees before the war by their big send-offs given to recruits.

Issei who were staying at Tule Lake said, "We're only loyal Japanese here because we're staying here." People had to rationalize in their own minds.

Some were heard to say, "If this country is invaded, be calm and be a credit to the Japanese;" "If you go out and work in the war effort, you're being disloyal to Japan." Loyalty was affected by the newspaper reports of the war situation.

I was a social welfare interviewer. I was close with Harry Mayeda and Father Dai, leaders of Tule Lake. I got hold of official stuff, interviews, rumors and complaints.

In the resistance cases the administration feared that the loyal group w did not want to leave. Plans were already made so they couldn't be changed. They were told that jobs would be given to Tule Lake people first; they would be given their choice of centers to go to. For the interviews, 25% failed to show up. In these cases, second notices were given.

Resistance was never organized. They were afraid to have meetings. Opler and Carter were careful in checking origin of resistances. The liberal leaders said, "No force must be used. We don't know what's going to happen." There were 1000 resistance cases. Key workers were asked to stay. There were about 370 in all. Some of the resistance cases are still there.

Those who wanted to stay together were told they could do so if they applied for group leave, however, would not be given a choice in the centers. This group was booked for Arkansas. The social welfare department was filled with complaints. Best made a statement saying that there would be no more changes in the train list. Carter held a conference with the leaders. He listened to all complaints and then he announced that there was nothing he could do. Carter send out a letter to this effect and the people had to take it and they were resigned to it.

Best announced that he would work through ~~the community plan-~~
~~ing-board~~ a committee. The planning board chose two from each ward. Dr. Ichihashi was chosen chairman. The committee recommended that the travelers be given more baggage space and that the people be assured of jobs in other centers. The committee decided to hold a mass meeting. When they asked for a permit to hold a meeting, they were told that they could hold a meeting if an official translator from the translator's committee was used. In this way the meeting was controlled. Best was asked to appear. He took his whole staff. Many questions were asked. When the subject of loyalty came up Best answered that he was just carrying out orders.

This report will be written up chronologically and topically. In the introduction there will be a history of segregation. The report will contain, rumors, social interests, baggage and resistance and how carried out, comparison of the liberal and reactionary groups and how they carried out, types of people in various categories and types of responses. Emphasis will be placed on family splits: what forces tended to split families. I will get data on why people left and why they stayed and end with interpretations

and comments. I will reach conclusions in certain phases. Because of insecurity evacuees may be forced to leave the next center. The nisei had no reason to stay. They they had families there, then they would stay. Then too, they were afraid they may be drafted.

I will have a separate physical situation from (1) education, (2) administrative handling, (3) evacuee participation through committees and (4) evacuee reactions and behavior.

The following are notes on the open discussion which followed:

F.M. - Are you going to describe how the people came to decide to stay?

J.S. - In the section on the analysis of resistance group, I will put that in. I tried to get how they looked at matters.

DST - There was confusion of language and misinterpretations; mistranslations as leave clearance hearing for group 3 before going out from the second center. In the Japanese translation, it read "those who refused to relocated would be sent back to Tule Lake".

J.S. - Ward 5 was the quietest and most of the people stayed. Ward 7 had the most rumors. There were many splits. The mothers were willing to side with the children but the father was the bottleneck.

CASE STUDIES

I've gotten 23 cases completed, 12 males and 12 females; of which 21 were nisei and 3 issei. All these cases were obtained at random. Of the 23 cases 12 were in the same type of work before the war as they are doing now; six improved their status and six lost in occupational advancement. For example: a beauty operator became a domestic.

How were my contacts made? Get people you know, get people with common attitudes. I've gone to the hostel and I've gotten a person when he is feeling low and he is apt to talk more.

My procedure is to ~~know~~ get to know the person. They may be casual social acquaintances. I get their response. It may be a week, even months before I approach them. I explain the whole program. I find ~~that~~ I tend to be biased if I write my case studies from ~~memory~~ so I take extensive notes, but I do ask first. I tell them that I can't remember dates so I would like to write them down. Sometimes I write key words, later I jot down everything down while it is still fresh in my mind. At first I didn't show the form at all but now I do show the form. I ~~emphasize~~ that I am not interested in probing into the case and make a personality. The schedules sometimes scares them out. I explain the study and tell them that the whole thing is confidential. I ~~have~~ from three to six interviews with one person. Each person is taken differently. I type the person in my mind to determine the best approach. The outline is easy to follow but the big problem is the history of the individual. It takes a lot more time than ~~one~~ expects. It is hard to interview nisei. Maybe they didn't have

vivid experiences; they led drab lives. I ask a lot of questions and then the interviewee may get on the defensive. I avoid asking leading questions. I find it hard to interview girls over the week-ends. When I'm interviewing a girl and I find that she looks tired, I stop and make some kind of excuse. It is better not to spoil chances for future interviews. I don't ask too many questions because people get suspicious. It is all right for those who have only one problem. In follow-ups I can use hidden interviews.

I have been asked, "What do you get out of case documents?" I give them propaganda. I tell them that the public don't know the Japanese American and we want to show them that the nisei are Americanized.

Many have expected me to solve their problems. I tell them I can't do it but I can make suggestions but it is up to the individual to decide what to do. The more problems they have the easier it is to interview them. In regard to social adjustment I let them talk. I give them my own opinion and ask for their views.

The following are notes on the informal discussions which followed:

Blumer - The impression the interview makes counts. Get the material the best way you can and it does not have to be the formal way every time in a person to person relation. It depends upon the adeptness in making the relationship. There are oddities in the response of the people. For example: the nisei are not outspoken as the Caucasians. This immediately points to the psychological make-up of the nisei. Getting into the defensive signifies the general orientation to people in general. The nisei are likely to

to break off sentences; this is highly significant of something. (This was in reply to Charlie's mentioning that the nisei would be talking on one subject and suddenly switch to another subject before even completing the first sentence.)

C.K. - the nisei have difficulty in speaking in general.

W.I. - Is that characteristic of the Japanese?

J.S. - No. The nisei do have the handicap of learning two languages at the same time.

Blumer - Why pick on those; to boost their ego? It must tie in with something.

W.I. - See the Cook testimony on educational level.

Blumer - Pressure? The more congenial sort would not talk so much.

W.I. - How general is it?

Blumer - Instability reflects the general psychological state.

F.M. - Nisei have a hard time expressing themselves. They have the bi-lingual problem. Inhibitions prevent the free flow of language. The conversation often becomes dull and it has to be pushed along.

Blumer - Free expression is very significant psychologically in the mind, not referring to conflicts. Condition has a great deal to do with inhibitions. They lead to ambivalent expressions.

C.K. - They talk freely on boy-girl relations. They lack political consciousness. They talk on housing and jobs if it is an immediate problem with them. They have a feeling of insecurity but they give the impression that they are optimistic.

Blumer - They didn't feel that way in the three cases I read. I was impressed by a certain kind of numbness on the part of the

people prior to the war. It seems obtuse. It led to the thought of a great deal of ambivalence, unrest, insecurity, confusion. Select a half a dozen Caucasians and nisei and ask what their feelings and thoughts are on (1) Japanese race, (2) American race, (3) Japan as a nation, (4) United States as a nation, (5) parental control, (6), family, (7) vocational future and (8) general future.

I have a suspicion that the nisei would have ambivalence. I refer to the feeling of reservedness of the Japanese race affected by the Caucasian attitude; feeling of exaltation, the Caucasian with his supreme arrogance, congeniality and family attachment, the Japanese's uncertainty before the war on vocation. It's almost bound to be a state of ambivalence and uncertainty. This led to the general condition of uncertainty. How did they meet it before the war? By developing numbness and shutting their eyes to it. Granting this is ^{the} true, the background, uniform experience, confusion, stay at the assembly center, experiences at the relocation center and resettlement all tended to produce this numbness.

What I'd like to do is not to try to get the individual and see how he passed through this experience but find out the feeling from the Caucasian and nisei and see whether it tends to this ambivalence. Try to ~~devel~~ delve into the problem of how the Japanese are meeting this insecurity and ambivalence. Is the numbed attitude on the increase? Find the ~~escape~~ tendencies and how they are shaping out. Is there an increased protest tendency? (Fight ambivalence this way) Find the inner-group tension.

The alternative is to see if there is increased realism as a result of this problem. The autobiograpny account is relied upon for this. It is a matter of judgement on who to select. Use your

own powers and analyses.

DST - Certain records are more reliable. What happened before may have been colored.

Blumer - I don't feel as pessimistic as Dorothy. The documents oriented to this point..

DST - Kids were young before the war. The age distribution was peculiar.

Blumer - Allowances can be made for that. Don't regard them as insuperable.

J.S. - All nisei are not the same. Some are Americanized and on the whole the adjustment is toward relocation. The kibeï are definitely toward Japan and those who are ambivalent.

Blumer - Break the Japanese into types. Follow the nisei types, follow the series out in experiences and outcome.

DST - The nisei left in camp are timid, Japanese and speak worse English than the kibeï. They behave like issei. Lots of them are staying because of economic reasons.

W.I. - Referring to numbness, it is that minority group which has a high level of culture like the German or Jew would equal or surpass those of natives. The Jews make life competitively hard. The whole organization of Jews bore fruit intellectually. The ^{Japanese} ~~Jews~~ had a level of culture also, included learning. The Jew didn't turn face to Europe. The Japanese sent their children to Japan. The Japanese students were brilliant before the war. The tendency of the Japanese is to be distinguished. This was very noticeable. Many people hate ~~the~~ Japan and things Japanese. Interest is shown in letters. Documents are therefore information. The vogue of documents is not new. The hospital psychiatrists had documents.

Go back in the life of the child and family. Find that section of dislocated life, some are voluntary. The Study may serve educational purposes.

Blumber - I think numbness is a poor term. Let's call it intellectual capacity; the way the individual is inclined to face in a situation over which they have no control. The experience of the Japanese American will be like the child encouraged to do something to get slapped in the face. The child finds it hard to get orientated and gets confused. The Japanese American here for a period of time finds no discrimination against them, then something comes along and hits him in the face.

W.I. - The Nisei are more alert.

Blumer - The nisei are encircled and rather secluded. They didn't go out for a lot of things. The Japanese American are different from the Jews. I get the impression that the Japanese Americans are timid.

F.M. - I agree with Dr. Blumber that the nisei are timid. It is not clear to me if the numbness is a characteristic of the second generation group or nisei alone. For example: the JACL was the basis of much criticism. They had nothing new to say. The leaders dragged out loyalty which have not meaning. Emotional numbness is something that holds them back.

Blumber - Many Japanese before and since the war have come up against a condition of plight. They are up against a stone wall. The general social condition in a baffling world was such that they didn't face it realistically. I suspect it was forewarned. If possible I would like to try to evaluate the effect of the whole war crisis and determine its effect. I'd like to find out if a tendency to increase this escape mechanism as a result of war and

a tendency for the Japanese American to become less prepared to analyze the world and be realistic about it. Conditions anti-date war itself.

W.I. - There is no control over juvenile delinquency. There is no quality of opportunities. We have a superior civilization with discriminations, a flagrant discrimination. What happened to the Japanese will happen to the Caucasians.

F.M. - Timidity on the part of nisei is a fact, ~~whetha~~ there is a certain cultural background. This is a Japanese characteristic. There is a stress on quietness. Certain suppressions are forced upon them.

J.S. - The nisei children pick up fine mannerisms. For example, they use the term "Sumimasen".

W.I. - How about substituting indeterminateness for numbness?
Blumer - Essentially it is ^{lack of} a/willingness to take part.

W.I. - I mean indeterminateness outside of their world, carried over even when resisted.

Blumer - Has this group made any attempts to study yogores?

J.S. - They are hard to get. They don't want to be interviewed.

Blumer - The cliques are strong. It get the impression that huge nets are put out but you lack some definite objectives.

C.K. - We've discussed that. We don't know what we're aiming for.

S.M. - What would you want to get out? Adjustments, patterns, see what was in their previous life?

Blumer - Take the people, the pre-war types and see how they react in crises?

S.M. - See how ~~they~~ assimiliable they are?

F.M. - Define the types in terms of individuals, identity them with Caucasian society, strongly bound to parents.

S.M. - Degree of dependence they have in the Japanese community?

C.K. - Should we get fewer and better cases or go in for greater range with a shorter number of cases?

Blumer - I suggest that you go into a range until you hit the exceptional cases because they tell a lot. Unearth the exceptional cases. Get cases from exceptional individuals. Get information chronologically now, organize inquiries so they yield information in that line.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Conference, December 7, 1943

Inasmuch as we do not know at present what actually will eventually happen to the resettlers in Chicago, our present task is to describe those activities of resettlers as they are carried on in association with each other.

I. Types of activities to be covered.

- A. Caucasian service groups
 - 1. War Relocation Authority
 - 2. American Friends Service Committee
 - 3. United Church Federation
 - 4. Hostels
 - 5. Private groups assisting resettlers
- B. Resettler activities carried out in association with each other.
 - 1. Informal gatherings
 - a. Sponsored by Caucasians
 - b. Sponsored by resettlers
 - 2. Informal groups of resettlers
 - a. Residence groups
 - b. Friendship groups
 - c. Relocation center groups
 - d. Sectional or regional groups
 - e. Occupational groups
 - f. Accidentally formed groups
 - 3. ~~Nisei~~ collective enterprises & voluntary associations
 - a. Political enterprises
 - b. Economic enterprises
 - (1) Catering to the general public
 - (2) Catering primarily to resettlers
 - c. Recreational enterprises
 - d. Service enterprises
 - 4. The resettled family in Chicago

g. Religious Groups
h. Groups Brought
together by
enterprising indi-
viduals

II. Points of emphasis in the study of these groups

- A. Circumstances of origin or reformation in Chicago
- B. Major activities of the group
- C. Major preoccupations of the members of the group
 - 1. Things to which members are sensitive
 - 2. Expressed interests and desires of members
 - 3. Dominant attitudes of the members
 - 4. Major discontents and prevalent fears
 - 5. Rumors and gossip
- D. Definitions of situations
 - 1. Historical factors entering into definitions
 - 2. Leaders as definers of situations
- E. Manner in which group fits into general picture
 - 1. Areas of association and communication
 - 2. Stereotypes

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

T.S. - Inasmuch as we do not know at present what actually will happen to the resettlers in Chicago, our present task is to describe those activities of resettlers as they are carried on in association with each other.

W.I. - Make categories as you go along. There is the extremist theory, to solve the problem before you start. My opinion is that of the survival of philosophy and show-off. After reading the cases you don't know what's going on in their minds unless you have contact with them. After you get leads, pursue certain parts.

Regarding career, the world is now in a crisis. We are cooperating with Communists. The world is involved in the participation of races. The problem of life is not solved until the reorganization of society and frictions of life are not removed until there is a recognition of Negroes and Japanese. Experiences show how careers are made and spoiled and the manipulation a government can do will not enter the minds in a conference but a study like this will form attitudes. The Japanese are to be free agents. I don't favor the congregation of Japanese together in Chicago or anywhere else. You can have ties with the culture of your own country. Immediate integration is not good either, make it slow.

DST - I am shocked when you say we don't have a problem. We have a problem, an imperical study in a group that had to be aroused. We allow a leeway so we can go on bypaths. The Japanese become numbed. If Charlie wrote this, he'd come out Freudian. What we want is a train of experience directed in lines related to certain concepts; develop additional problems as we go along. We're

only in the middle of collecting.

T.S. - When a group is disorganized by a crisis, it tends to reorganize. I don't know what the end product of resettlement is, but there's going to be some reorganization. I'll be looking for that along this line.

In types to be activities to be covered, first we have the Caucasian groups who would be interested in what the WRA is doing for us. The Chicago office functions autonomously. We are interested in the influence of these Caucasian groups on resettlers.

The second type of activities are the resettler activities carried out in association with each other. Under the informal gatherings sponsored by Caucasians come the International House tea, dance and individual parties. Communication takes place. Parties provide occasions for communication to spread. There is the informal groups of resettlers, those that had nothing in common before. Some live in same apartment buildings. For example, the Nishiyama group on Woodlawn, the Jerome and Tule Lake people here in Chicago have their own groups. They didn't have anything in common before but now they share the same kitchen, eat together, share clothes and go out together. Under friendship groups we have the Fujimoto group known as Esquires. Before the war they were known as Anchovies. They added a few more here but carried on. The relocation center groups got acquainted at relocation centers and called each other out here. For example: Barry is living with 11 boys. They all came from Rohwer. The Royal Dukes form the nucleus but others came in at Rohwer and now live within a half-mile of each other. Skunk is the leader of the group. They go out together. Under sectional or regional groups we have the Stockton boys out here.

There are 40-50 who were not such good friends in Stockton and they all went to different centers. They occupy three apartment houses and all Stockton-ites go to one of the three groups. The only common thing is that they all came from Stockton. There are several cliques within the groups. Under occupational groups comes those as the Cuneo Press group. Some are not social groups. The University of Chicago teaching group is definitely a social group. Under the accidentally formed group is one clique of 150 to 200 girls on the northside who were organized by Mrs. Waddell. They are mostly domestics. They have several cliques within the group. Five or six girls happened to be sitting together at the first gathering and they became friends and stuck together. Now they form a clique. Under religious groups we have Rev. Sai's group at the Fourth Presbyterian Church. In the church group membership is not constant. (Student groups who seem to seek each other and who are from various centers may ^{result in} ~~have~~ a common interest group. The Royal Dukes were interested in organizing a basketball team.) Under groups brought together by enterprising individuals we have Mrs. Izumi's group at the Platt estate or Mrs. Waddell's group on the northside.

The third section under resettler activities is the nisei collective enterprises and voluntary associations. Under this comes any activity sponsored by the nisei, ranging from dances to business enterprises. For example: the JACL, restaurants, produce market and individuals selling food products to families. Among the recreational enterprises we have the dance band which plans to sponsor dances. We don't know of any service enterprises yet, but I am thinking of the Mutual Aid societies, the boarding house (Okamoto). If a pool hall were opened, it may become a meeting place and a

source of information. Rev. Kuzuhara holds weekly meeting of his Holiness Church group. The fourth section under resettler activities is the manner in which the family contributed toward relocation.

The second part of this outline is on Points of emphasis in the study of this group. (A) Circumstances or origin or reformation in Chicago, which has been discussed already. (B) Major activities of the group, has been included in the first part. (C) Major preoccupations of the members of the group is a series of collective definitions, such as (1) What gets them excited, what they are bothered by, newspapers, radio, socials, money, jobs, raise, stores, etc. (2) Expressed interests and desires of members. (3) Changes in attitude toward things. How do they take to labor unions? The nisei had certain attitudes, these may have changed. Understand the picture of a person by getting his definition of the world or things in general.

The procedure is the make a study of a few groups, select them. I am interested in a group of Stockton boys. They don't know me. They want to help the local boy get along. I hope to make a case study and get individual life histories too. I will concentrate on certain case studies, not the intellectuals but those who went to J.S.C. and dances and had fun; not yogores but those who dislike people who gamble for big money, the sensitive group who hate dirty clothes. From this large group I can learn about Chicago in general. I plan to use participant observation and get what they say spontaneously, get the content of communication within the group. Certain individuals will tell me their life history. Some of them ask for advice.

Other collective definitions are (4) major ~~distcontentment~~ and

and prevalent fears; (5) Rumors and gossip. Some we have to infer. Some don't like to use the word "Japanese" so they use the term "yabo, eh boochie, yogore, etc." Here is collective definition. They imply that something will jeopardize all other Japanese. It never occurs to some people that they are conspicuous

(DST - Get other groups too, not only the sensitive group.)

Another section in Part II is (D) Definitions of situations. Certain individuals are looked up to, not because they are professional men or traditional leaders but because they were star basketball players and generally what this leader says is followed.

(W.I. - The definition of big and little things are important. Participants in certain situations are attached to leaders. A sneer on a man's face is a definition of a situation. Bad habits on others you don't follow are definitions of a situation.)

Section (E) in Part II is the manner in which the group fits into the general picture; the way definitions spread and the stereotypes known as Yogores, Japasapa, the "Y" Bunch, Zoot Suiters, Boochies, etc.

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centered around the "Y". You always find nisei there. They have cliques too. The Cosmopolitan Club had half nisei and because of the nisei the Cosmopolitan Club was revived. The WRA is overly conscious in discouraging any large gathering in St. Louis. The farm boys were warned. It has affected the resettled people. The occupational group has a diversified background. Some were students who wanted to get out, they wanted to get away from parental supervision, wanted to make money. My reports will be predominantly student observation and ~~the effect~~ will touch on the effect of the treatment of Negroes on nisei. There are 75 nisei students at Washington U. The public has typed the nisei as students.

DST - Where do these people come from?

S.M. - Mostly from Central California and northwest. Five families relocated there. They have students in the family.

DST - Your problem is not easy. Decide to limit yourself to points that tie in with Chicago. Follow groups in the role of the JAOL, Caucasian service groups, the historical events such as those who fired Japanese working at the Country Club, and pre-war associations.

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

- I. Types of activities to be covered
 - A. Caucasian service groups
 1. War Relocation Authority
 2. American Friends Service Committee
 3. United Church Federation
 4. Hostels
 5. Private groups assisting resettlers
 - B. Resettler activities carried out in association with each other
 1. Informal gatherings
 - a. Sponsored by Caucasians
 - b. Sponsored by resettlers
 2. Informal groups of resettlers
 - a. Residence groups
 - b. Friendship groups
 - c. Relocation center groups
 - d. Sectional or regional groups
 - e. Occupational groups
 - f. Accidentally formed groups
 - g. Religious groups
 - h. Groups brought together by enterprising individuals
 3. Nisei collective enterprises & voluntary associations
 - a. Political enterprises
 - b. Economic enterprises
 - (1) Catering to the general public
 - (2) Catering primarily to resettlers
 - c. Recreational enterprises
 - d. Service enterprises
 4. The resettled family in Chicago
- II. Points of emphasis in the study of these groups
 - A. Circumstances of origin or reformation in Chicago
 - B. Major activities of the group
 - C. Major preoccupations of the members of the group
 1. Things to which members are sensitive
 2. Expressed interests and desires of members
 3. Dominant attitudes of the members
 4. Major discontents and prevalent fears
 5. Rumors and gossip
 - D. Definitions of situations
 1. Historical factors entering into definitions
 2. Leaders as definers of situations
 - E. Manner in which group fits into general picture
 1. Areas of association and communication
 2. Stereotypes

Shibutani Report
Dec. 7, 1943

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

T.S. - Inasmuch as we do not know at present what actually will happen to the resettlers in Chicago, our present task is to describe those activities of resettlers as they are carried on in association with each other.

W.I. - Make categories as you go along. There is the extremist theory, to solve the problem before you start. My opinion is that of the survival of philosophy and show-off. After reading the cases you don't know what's going on in their minds unless you have contact with them. After you get leads, pursue certain parts.

Regarding career, the world is now in a crisis. We are cooperating with Communists. The world is involved in the participation of races. The problem of life is not solved until the reorganization of society and frictions of life are not removed until there is a recognition of Negroes and Japanese. Experiences show how careers are made and spoiled and the manipulation a government can do will not enter the minds in a conference but a study like this will form attitudes. The Japanese are to be free agents. I don't favor the congregation of Japanese together in Chicago or anywhere else. You can have ties with the culture of your own country. Immediate integration is not good either, make it slow.

DST - I am shocked when you say we don't have a problem. We have a problem, an imperical study in a group that had to be aroused. We allow a leeway so we can go on bypaths. The Japanese become numbed. If Charlie wrote this, he'd come out Freudian. What we want is a train of experience directed in lines related to certain concepts; develop additional problems as we go along. We're

only in the middle of collecting.

T.S. - When a group is disorganized by a crisis, it tends to reorganize. I don't know what the end product of resettlement is, but there's going to be some reorganization. I'll be looking for that along this line.

In types to be activities to be covered, first we have the Caucasian groups who would be interested in what the WRA is doing for us. The Chicago office functions autonomously. We are interested in the influence of these Caucasian groups on resettlers.

The second type of activities are the resettler activities carried out in association with each other. Under the informal gatherings sponsored by Caucasians come the International House tea, dance and individual parties. Communication takes place. Parties provide occasions for communication to spread. There is the informal groups of resettlers, those that had nothing in common before. Some live in same apartment buildings. For example, the Nishiyama group on Woodlawn, the Jerome and Tule Lake people here in Chicago have their own groups. They didn't have anything in common before but now they share the same kitchen, eat together, share clothes and go out together. Under friendship groups we have the Fujimoto group known as Esquires. Before the war they were known as Anchovies. They added a few more here but carried on. The relocation center groups got acquainted at relocation centers and called each other out here. For example: Barry is living with 11 boys. They all came from Rohwer. The Royal Dukes form the nucleus but others came in at Rohwer and now live within a half-mile of each other. Skunk is the leader of the group. They go out together. Under sectional or regional groups we have the Stockton boys out here.

There are 40-50 who were not such good friends in Stockton and they all went to different centers. They occupy three apartment houses and all Stockton-ites go to one of the three groups. The only common thing is that they all came from Stockton. There are several cliques within the groups. Under occupational groups comes those as the Cuneo Press group. Some are not social groups. The University of Chicago teaching group is definitely a social group. Under the accidentally formed group is one clique of 150 to 200 girls on the northside who were organized by Mrs. Waddell. They are mostly domestics. They have several cliques within the group. Five or six girls happened to be sitting together at the first gathering and they became friends and stuck together. Now they form a clique. Under religious groups we have Rev. Sai's group at the Fourth Presbyterian Church. In the church group membership is not constant. (Student groups who seem to seek each other and who are from various centers may ^{result in} have a common interest group. The Royal Dukes were interested in organizing a basketball team.) Under groups brought together by enterprising individuals we have Mrs. Izumi's group at the Platt estate or Mrs. Waddell's group on the northside.

The third section under resettler activities is the nisei collective enterprises and voluntary associations. Under this comes any activity sponsored by the nisei, ranging from dances to business enterprises. For example: the JAOL, restaurants, produce market and individuals selling food products to families. Among the recreational enterprises we have the dance band which plans to sponsor dances. We don't know of any service enterprises yet, but I am thinking of the Mutual Aid societies, the boarding house (Okamoto). If a pool hall were opened, it may become a meeting place and a

source of information. Rev. Kuzuhara holds weekly meeting of his Holiness Church group. The fourth section under resettler activities is the manner in which the family contributed toward relocation.

The second part of this outline is on Points of emphasis in the study of this group. (A) Circumstances or origin or reformation in Chicago, which has been discussed already. (B) Major activities of the group, has been included in the first part. (C) Major preoccupations of the members of the group is a series of collective definitions, such as (1) What gets them excited, what they are bothered by, newspapers, radio, socials, money, jobs, raise, stores, etc. (2) Expressed interests and desires of members. (3) Changes in attitude toward things. How do they take to labor unions? The nisei had certain attitudes, these may have changed. Understand the picture of a person by getting his definition of the world or things in general.

The procedure is the make a study of a few groups, select them. I am interested in a group of Stockton boys. They don't know me. They want to help the local boy get along. I hope to make a case study and get individual life histories too. I will concentrate on certain case studies, not the intellectuals but those who went to J.S.C. and dances and had fun; not yogores but those who dislike people who gamble for big money, the sensitive group who hate dirty clothes. From this large group I can learn about Chicago in general. I plan to use participant observation and get what they say spontaneously, get the content of communication within the group. Certain individuals will tell me their life history. Some of them ask for advice.

Other collective definitions are (4) major ~~idistontentsent~~ and

and prevalent fears; (5) Rumors and gossip. Some we have to infer. Some don't like to use the word "Japanese" so they use the term "yabo, eh boochie, yogore, etc." Here is collective definition. They imply that something will jeopardize all other Japanese. It never occurs to some people that they are conspicuous

(DST - Get other groups too, not only the sensitive group.)

Another section in Part II is (D) Definitions of situations. Certain individuals are looked up to, not because they are professional men or traditional leaders but because they were star basketball players and generally what this leader says is followed.

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Chicago Staff Meeting
Dec. 8, 1943

✓ W.I. - I had an impression that there is some confusion and I may have caused some of it. Conceptionism and theorism was evident. For example: in The Polish Peasant had a conception of manners and how they could work it into their new life. My conception is: you conceptualize in every point of your study. I have objections to conception, that is the exhibitionists and those who have to try something out before carrying out a program. Some have habitual philosophies (unbridal speculation) and won't change. I am referring to the validity of the material. All or none. People see things differently and relate things differently. It is a study of the individual in masses. The difference is whether speculation goes along or with the study as it goes along. All this his historical material. Statistical material in the block gives you control which is accurate. The statistician works on giving how many in a given population, etc. The summation of different influences have certain control over material. Any migration presents an experiment. Nothing has been done along the "Polish Peasant" in and other nationality. Social scientists want to write something new.

Togo - My pre-evacuation report is a post-mortem. I have no organization of notes, no formal outlines, just notes, letters, newspaper files, etc. It is centered around activities in Los Angeles. I have compiled reports from June 1941 to June 1942. I have a day to day journal. I am going over this with a summary on certain things. I have letters sent to The Rafu Shimpo which reveal some valuable opinions. My files consists of newspaper clippings, correspondence of those who wrote to our paper, the Junior Produce Club, the Los Angeles JACL, the United Citizens Federation, etc.

The major organizations in Los Angeles were the Chuo Nikkai (Central Japanese Association), the Rafu Nihonjin Kai (Los Angeles Japanese Chamber of Commerce) and the Shogyo Kaigi sho (The Los Angeles Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry).

DST - Get your notes in chronological form; what part they played in the Los Angeles Japanese community. The history of the JACL should be written as a history with relation to the community, conflicts and development of policy.

Togo - The United Citizen Federation was organized by a group of business men who were against the JACL and they met resistance from the San Francisco and National headquarters.

DST - Give a brief history and write ~~how~~ their lives crossed. Get an inter-relation picture of the community.

Togo - I have letters I wrote to my wife while I was in jail. I have notes I jotted down in jail. During the 11 days I spent in three different jails I met 210 people and recorded their fears, the attitude of people. Many of these people I knew before, others were strangers. Most of them were prominent in the Nihonjin Kai.

F.M. - How about writing a political history of Los Angeles?

W.I. - Regarding organization, to what extent did this group tend to be self-sufficient? What were the restrictions and functional aspects?

Tom: I took notes from 1937 but very unsystematically. I concentrated on December 7, 1941 to evacuation in the eastbay area (Berkeley, Oakland and Stockton). My report will be a revision of a report previously written. I couldn't get a feeling of what was going on then. Collective behavior will bring out things that were most important.

Staff meeting - 3

The first part is a case study, a descriptive study. I will describe circumstances in which the Japanese lived, interpretation the Japanese had;~~and~~ the world in which the Japanese live in and the contradictory nature to which the Japanese were subjected to. I intend to write how the people ~~were~~ affected by circumstances behaved, their shifting dominating experiences, publicity to FBI raids and stool pigeons and the people who planned group evacuation.

I collected rumors. I had 10 people help collect rumors in barber shops, in Oakland and Berkeley.

I will show the struggle for power. For example, in the Japanese Students Club at Berkeley, the Stockton JACL and Buddhist leaders.

I am using the case study of a particular phenomena.

Staff Meeting
Dec. 9, 1943

The general outline for the Resettlement Phase of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study was discussed to simplify it.

Charlie said that it takes from 3 to 5 interviews to cover everything in the outline and that it's pretty hard to complete the interview in two weeks. He said that it was hard to get the Pearl Harbor to Evacuation phase.

F.M. - There's nothing to tie up the memory for a person.

C.K. - It's hard to identify incidents with the outline. What about bringing in leading questions? There is a duplication in Section I and II, especially for the younger person (The Individual on Dec. 1, 1941 and the Individual on Dec. 7, 1941).

DST - Get a brief history of the individual and bring it up to date. This ~~part~~ part should be revised. We will revise II, showing I leading up to it. Regarding parental background, go into that by using a brief history of the family. A brief history of the family should be brought up in I.

C.K. - It is brought up again in VIII, IX and X.

F.M. - Make I brief, get attention more to evacuation.

DST - We must organize I.

C.K. - The memory of the family background is generally vague. I find resistance on the part of the interviewees. I usually start out with the immediate situation. Later I get more about the individual in the center and beyond that. Or else I can start with resettlement and go back and elaborate when resettlement comes up again. I change the introduction and disguise all names. For example: In the center many don't have ideas on things which happened. Their impression to the administration is gotten from who they work for and who they are closely related to.

F.M. - Relations in the family are hard to get.

C.K. - Social activities is important to a lot of nisei.

DST - We must get the attitude toward relocation of the family.

We should change the whole resettlement phase. We should get the attitude toward the whole integration program, attitude toward the minority group and attitude toward the city of Chicago to live in.

C.K. - I get a minimum on the rest of the family.

The introduction to the outline was revised by Dorothy and it is now being ~~and~~ "dittoed" in Berkeley.

- 1st The lumber conflict
- 2nd The mess hall prob.
- 3rd The recreation dept. prob.
4. Adm. diff. as factors in discontent
 - 1st Work Corps - Policy
 - 2nd Censorship - Relations w. Army
 - 3rd Procurement prob.
 - 4th Mess hall, etc
 - Adm. procedure.
 - 5th Personnel prob.
5. The organization of discontent.
 - 1st The farm strike
 - 2nd The Coast. crew strike
 - 3rd The Rec. prob.

Kikusui (Mao-shing)

PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. Problems with Dan Sheehan in July.
 - a. Maintenance workers sent to get rocks for ornamental work on admin. bldg. Sheehan checked them out but didn't go himself. They wandered into nat. forest where apprehended. (Medicine Lake)
 - b. Sent two trucks to nursery near Klamath. Didn't accompany.
 - c. Sheehan took two men and a girl to ice cream parlor.
2. Other complaints.
 - a. Driving on highway.
 - b. Excess food. Bacon and ham being sent to Tule.
 - c. Waste
 - d. Hunting.
 - e. Demurrage
 - f. Strikes
 - g. Contraband and Japanese parading in military drill.

FARM DEMORALIZATION

June 20, 1942

1. Maintenance crew and some farmers cutting timber for culverts. Hot as hell. ~~One~~ Foreman goes to some farmers sleeping and asks them to help. Latter cussed them out saying not their job. Foremen grin sheepishly and go do jobs themselves.
2. Mizutain proud of his jr. foreman, Kato, and workers. Pouplar with men because he gets them what they need. Older foremen don't like M. Disagreement among foremen over who runs what crew, what crops and fields. Men decide themselves.
3. Trucks race coming back. Noone wants get behind dust one before. Van Sant mad as hell but can't do anything. Leave farm at 4:00, At gat at 4:20, but 5:00 by time cleared. 28 men missing.
4. Foremen disgusted at lack of equipment. No planning.
5. One unpopular foreman meedles in everybody

elses field. Ruins everybody's crops. So they
manage to shove him into poorest onion stand.

Farm Demoralization (2)

- Some get dispatched in morning then jump off the truck. Others come in early on mess truck.
9. Irrigation workers work $\frac{1}{2}$ day in morning and $\frac{1}{2}$ day in aft. then sleep in barley fields. Noone wants supervisory responsibility under conditions \$19 doesn't compensate for getting people mad.
 10. "These keto wait to irrigate all the fields at one time. Do culverst and ditches without testing, and ditch gates often lower than laterals."
 11. Farmers very pessimistic about own crops but admire those of neighboring farmers. "Next year we'll get things started early enough and better organized." Retort: "How do you know we're going to be here that long. War be over in 2 or 3 months."
 12. Comments about Am. soldiers at gate. "Darashi ga nai. Must be terrible to get pushed around as in South Pacific. But they're doing their duty and can't help it. Prefer being home."
 13. Requests for dust glasses, boots, cotton for ears.

SIGNS OF FARMER DEMORALIZATION

June 17, 1942

1. Farmers quitting early for lunch. Lose $\frac{1}{2}$ hr.
2. Labor critical of equipment and operations meth.
 - a. Need round rollers rather than flat ones. Duck feet sweeps have incorrect bars and don't reach ground. Using improvised chisels and sweeps.
 - b. Indefinite procurement procedure. No record whether equipment borrowed, bought, or leased. Tractor that one man was going to use, had to be returned suddenly to nearby farmer who said he needed it.
 - c. Lack of equipment one of main complaints.
3. Interdepartmental diff. Slattery refuses to either lend surveying equipment or send men over himself for necessary area mapping.
4. Mizutani asks Naj to get rubber gloves for irrigators. Fred Sakata and Kallam asked but no results.

5. Six tough looking 16-20 yr. olds unloading lumber were just sitting around relaxing or reading comics. Some worked when trucks came by but others just didn't give a damn.
6. Foreman: "Workers smoothing ditches don't give a damn about other people's ditches but only smooth their own side." No. of workers just sign in to work in morning, but go out and work on private patches all day. When foreman asks, says he's not working under him. Foremen get together to decide who belongs to who, but some doubt it'll do any good to tell these issei.
7. Californians say plant cabbage in morn. because cool; Northwest say plant in late afternoon so recup. over night. Some fail to dig and tamp down cabbage, no results. All onions burnt because of heat. Disagreement as to water. Expect early frost to kill everything. Only thing likely to be saved is barley, but that put in at excessive cost.
8. Dispatching and entering. Men leave fields abt. 2:15. Precedent due to time taken in counting in

FARM PROBLEMS

1. July 6. K. tells Naj to supervise all farm work. Wants J. supervisors because they know own men. Men complaining about Kallam's lack of knowledge about farming. Ordering and planting seeds before irrigation ditches in, laterals not arranged properly, etc.
- 2/ July 6. Food question appears.
3. July 15. Eastman asks for inventory, but no records. Kallam orders on the cuff. Have to wait for orders from Wash. and S. F.
4. July 17. Farm workers quitting half hour early for lunch. Tractors working on shift to use full time, but when first crew quits for lunch all workers go off.

MESSHALL PROBLEMS

1. The issue of Messhall 26. June 6, 1942.
 - a. Complaint, that the chef, Jack, had been letting his workers take food home. One man dropped meat in sand.
 - b. People already complaining about food anyway. Reason, Jack not feeding properly.
 - c. When some complained, Jack and head waiter tried to use force. Word "sei sai."
2. Meeting of June 6, 1942.
 - a. Unwillingness of Jack to talk things over. Intent of using force. Nakayama and his crew loyal to Jack.
 - b. "We're all sacrificing and the only joy everyone has at the present is eating."
 - c. Adm. position, that all mess halls get equal distribution of food.
 - d. Three possible solutions. Jack's apology.
3. Ultimately solved by better food.

2. The Block 4 Mess hall. July 27, 1942.

- a. Issue: letter in T. D. that people fed a rotation of beans, stew and slop suey.
- b. Issei and kibeï threat to beat up Tanaka, the writer of the letter.
- c. Tanaka apologizes.

Wage Question

1. Reference in Council meeting of June 16 to desire of colonists to know wage scale. Shirrell promises to look into it.
2. Wage scale announced June 24, 1942.
3. Discontent over wage scale, a forum discussion on July 20, 1942.

WAGE PAYMENT DELAYS

1. June checks paid beginning in middle of Aug. with farmers getting first priority.
2. July checks delayed to middle of October.
3. August checks paid up by end of October.

Post Office Censorship

1. Personality and role of Corporal Wilson.
 - a. Delivered and picked up mail at Tulelake.
 - b. Personal censorship of Japanese written post cards.
 - c. Issue of the project maps.
2. Nature of censorship. June 29, 1942 - June 7, 42
 - a. WRA regulation that no mail to be censored.
 - b. Patterson orders reading of mail by soldier
 - c. Finally referred to regional office and 4th Army.
3. Community reaction.
 - a. No clear cut response, but undoubtedly a resentment of it.
 - b. Fear of writing anything incriminating.
4. Shirrell and Patterson.
 - a. Beginning of enmity. Beginning of poor relations between evacuees and M.P.
 - b. Shirrell fired later on grounds of poor relations with military.

Sectionalism

1. Dancing: conflict of jive vs. sweet music.
Northwest girls droops and snooty; Sacramento kids fast and immoral.
2. Tulean Dispatch issue: the quality of editorship and workmanship. Experience.
3. "Kuromobo" as name for Sacramentans. Whiteness of skin as ideal.

WHO STARTED THE TULE LAKE REBELLION?

Shibutani makes the observation that the attitude of antagonism to the administration developed with the arrival of the Sacramento group. I agree that this was the case.

On a priori grounds, one might assume that it would be the rural, most Japanese elements who would show the greatest resistance to the administration. Actually, as in all other matters, the rural people tended to follow the urban leaders. On the other hand, once the more Japanese element was aroused, they tended to prove the most difficult element to handle.

In the registration, it seems that opposition first developed most strongly in the Sacramento area and only later was transferred to the rural blocks.

ENTHUSIASM FOR TULE LAKE
(May's letter)

"Dr. Smith, head of the Japanese Relocation Work, gave a very inspiring talk to both old and young people. Afterwards, he told us that the administration officials here are the nicest and most considerate he has met anywhere; and he's been all over. They are certainly a group of highly intelligent and refined people. In my daily association, I've found that to be very true. They treat us just like one of themselves and are always asking us our opinions about what we would like to do or have done. Dr. Smith says in some places the Japanese are treated like prisoners of war, I mean, about strict rules and regulations.

Main Points in the Study of Social Change

1. Policies and Dominant ideas.
2. Experiences of the evacuees influencing their interpretations of policies and conditions.
3. Events and conditions influencing currents of ideas.
4. Nature of interaction influencing drift of ideas.