

NOTES ON STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS IN CENTERS

(These notes in general exclude data on staff-evacuee relations dealing with labor relations and community government. Material on those topics are brought together elsewhere.)

ANALYSTS REMARKS ON EARLY STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS (Through 1943)

Gia: Two major divisions are the appointed staff numbering about 230 people (5/43) and the evacuee group numbering about 13,000. These groups are divided on several bases: the staff is here by choice while the evacuees came under compulsion with a few exceptions; both are paid, but on an entirely different wage scale. Staff members have complete freedom to enter and leave the center as they please while evacuees must obtain permission to leave and go to designated spots when they depart from the project. There is an irreducible element of hostility in the two groups which is commonly recognized. This feeling varies with individuals, but appears to be characteristic of the two groups.

If the staff is divided into Operational divisions (direct administration and maintenance) and Services and Activities divisions, differences in relations are evident:

1. Administrative division - concerned with running an organization that includes both staff and evacuees. Responsive to opinions and pressures from the outside, and must reconcile and direct conflicting views within the appointed staff, and promote and protect the interests of the evacuees. Concerned mainly with the manipulation of social relations, influencing opinions and ultimately bringing about certain kinds of activity regarded as desirable.
2. Maintenance sub-division - directly involved in establishing and maintaining the physical plant, transportation, feeding the project population etc. Works with physical objects as well as the people who process these objects. Purpose is more specific than in Administrative division and success can be

more easily ascertained. Relations of evacuees and maintenance staff are least likely to be satisfactory of any of the three combinations outlined here.

3. Services and Activities division - concerned almost exclusively with the evacuee community and with relations to and within this group. A degree of sympathetic understanding has developed in this division that is not attained by the other two groups. Relations in the schools, in community activities programs tend to be sympathetic, face-to-face and more equalitarian than in other combinations discussed. This feeling appears to be shared by staff and evacuees alike.

Certain individuals in both staff and evacuee groups attempt to bridge the gap between the two groups. For the most part this is done on an individual to individual basis and by informal and personal contacts, by both evacuee and staff member. No large scale efforts to bridge the gap appear to have been made and it is an open question as to whether it is possible or desirable, in view of the wide variety of attitudes represented.

Re analysts' contacts: the fairly distinct gap between the evacuee and staff population renders it difficult for a member of the staff to penetrate the inner socio-psychological life of the evacuee community because he is a staff member.

An evacuee comparing Rohwer and Gila remarked that there was a better relationship between residents and administration at Rohwer, probably due to experience of the Rohwer Project Director in dealing with people of minority races, i.e. Negroes.

(11/12/43) There is a general belief among the evacuees that no satisfactory changes will take place on the project unless the attitude of the members of the appointed staff are changed. It is believed, rightly or wrongly, that a

majority of the Caucasian staff adopt, to some degree or other, the attitude of race superiority and consider that the evacuees must always be in an inferior position. This is implicit in all that is said; it is also frequently stated explicitly. Further, numbers feel that there is rigid segregation within the project and that those among the appointed personnel who do not conform to the pattern are the exceptions and not the rule. This extreme sensitivity to segregation of the two groups within the project because of race discrimination may be as much a result as a cause of other dissatisfactions; it is possibly a generalized resentment to many frustrations.

Granada: The evacuees and appointive staff are in general working together pretty well. They realize that the other fellow is not perfect, that he makes mistakes, but ordinarily both are inclined to feel tolerant of such lapses from perfection. From time to time exceptions occur, and acrimonious feelings arise in some group, but they seldom persist for long. The feeling of tolerance for the other fellow's mistakes is more evident when one considers the fact that not one member of the original appointed staff, and at present only two members, have had any experience with J-A's before coming to the center. Language and other cultural differences make probable a great deal of misunderstanding and confusion. It is greatly to the credit of skillful and intelligent leadership among the evacuees that they have gotten along with the appointed personnel as well as they have. On their part the appointed personnel have tried to be just, efficient, and democratic in their relationships with the evacuees. As one of the evacuee leaders said, "Most of the appointed staff are all right. They try to do the right thing. Many times they don't understand the psychology of the J-A's and consequently make mistakes, but they are honestly trying to help the evacuees

as much as possible. We have only two or three Hitlers among the staff here, and while they make it hard for us sometimes we know we can trust and work with most of the appointed personnel..."

Some evacuees do not feel perfectly free to express their own opinions and judgments determinedly when these differ from their superior appointed personnel member. Some a.p. do not encourage democratic discussion of problems which have to be handled by themselves and their staff. Among the motives for such a policy or attitude seem to be that they are afraid that evacuees will not be loyal to administrative programs, that they are likely to fail to hold to the regulations because they will want to favor the evacuees, and the belief that evacuees cannot be trusted anyhow. Manifestations or results of this attitude are seen in the rather extensive Jim Crowism evident in managing the mess halls, in housing regulations, in the system of leaves and passes. Within the general limits of ordinary human behavior and with some allowance for the psychological effects of evacuation, and due consideration for particular personalities, it is doubtful that any of these fears on either side are really justified.

Heart Mountain: Caste attitudes - Prior to evacuation the Japanese lived with (6/30/43)

quasi-caste social organization on the Pacific Coast. This system resulted from choice and necessities. With evacuation and center life, the element of choice disappeared. It created an entire new set of relationships between the Japanese and the Caucasians, with the Caucasians in an advantageous position. In this new relationship there is a conspicuous difference in meaning of citizenship rights to the two groups; there is no doubting the power and authority of Caucasians and the impotence and helplessness of the Japanese; and the Caucasians enjoy greater freedom and economic privileges and appear to have a future with a promise of better

things to come when compared with that of the Japanese. Concerned here with attitudes in which the Caucasian's express hostility and aggression in taking advantage of their superior position while on the part of the Japanese, they feel hostile about and rebel against their new inferior position, and consequently act aggressively against the superior Caucasians. The appointed personnel tend to look at the Japanese as a group of very "different" people. On the whole one would have difficulty in finding specific instances in which the appointed personnel have directly and openly expressed caste attitudes toward the Japanese. Yet these attitudes do exist; but through restraint and discretion there are very few open acts of hostility and aggression. This does not mean that appointed personnel have not fulminated, felt severely frustrated, and finally come to the conclusion that "there is no use." Many appointed personnel did not know they were "Caucasians" til they came to Heart Mountain. We thus have a group in the process of redefining their own self-conception, and as a consequence a group becoming specially sensitized about problems of race relations. So they seek explanations and as a result we have had a great deal of emphasis placed upon such categories as "Japanese psychology" and "Tokyo broadcasts." Practically every appointed personnel has undergone a "disillusioning" process. This is intimately related to the emergence of caste attitudes, for it indicates that various members of the staff have become keenly disappointed in the democratic process, or keenly disappointed in the "response of the Japanese," or they have become outright disgusted. Such developments provide a foundation of tensions from which caste attitudes can either be formed or latent ones brought into action. In general the appointed personnel have felt frustrated. Came in with great faith and enthusiasm. They expected the evacuees would "take hold" or that work efficiency would be high, government property respected, relationships harmonious. It was also expected that no Nisei would even raise a question about

his duty. But as efficiency did not develop, as government property became abused and stolen, and as the center became torn by political factions, the Caucasians felt relatively powerless and became somewhat hopeless, because the usual techniques and incentives of control to which they were accustomed would either not work or were not permitted by WRA. Thus they felt defeated by the Japanese and unsupported by Washington.

Feelings of hostility are seldom openly directed towards the evacuees but express themselves in friction between the men who believe in operating the center as old line government agencies are operated and those who might briefly be called the "humanitarians" and are concerned about present and future relations...

The appointed personnel do apparently manage their tensions well, but at the same time all tensions are not directly associated with caste attitudes.

One field foreman in the Agriculture group~~x~~ explained that he often wanted to "hang one on them." This was due to the fact that they would lie about the use of field equipment and the use of trucks for joy rides. He explained that "They knew that he knew that they were lying, yet they would stand there, shift there eyes away, and lie like a bastard." This is obviously a point of friction which is due to two different techniques of facing the same problem. The American wants to be open and frank while the Oriental does not want to injure his ego by direct admittance, and if a go-between were used, the foreman would get the truth. Hence, references to "Japanese psychology." Points out the problem of keeping Caucasian tensions resolved so that openly direct acts of a caste nature will not break forth. Suggests athletics among appointed personnel and between appointed personnel and evacuees, picnics. From the standpoint of the evacuee, the whole WRA is a caste arrangement. Some are able to accept the situation while others have developed very bitter attitudes and give an open expression to anti-Caucasian attitudes. There are

several aspects of daily life in which the feelings of the evacuees may be viewed as rebellion against the status which they now have and which indicate that they consider it a caste status. I.e., resentment against WRA regulations. Rebellion against the social organization which attempts to regulate their life is expressed in open flouting of work regulations...This rebellion is seen again in the hospital workers who have resented anything which the chief nurse might do. They are openly defiant to discipline and the use of any authority.

The second and most generally irritating and infuriating point by which the evacuees define the whole of WRA as a caste arrangement is in the differential wage scheme. Although WRA terms the money a "cash allowance" it is interpreted by evacuees as a wage. (and so on, ~~xxx~~ see Lab Rel). But it is the analysts suspicion that this wage business is not defined by the Japanese as part of a caste system or organization (?? that he just said it was??) To them the caste part of the social scheme within which they live is merely the unacceptable, the infuriating, the disgraceful part of their social milieu. Evacuees also rebelled against being evacuee aids in education when certificates for Wyoming issued limited their validity to use at Ht.Mt. Other complaints of teachers due to wages, supervisors.

From the point of view of the evacuee so far, the whole of WRA is a caste position for them. As conditions outside change and the probabilities of succeeding become less, it will become more convenient for the evacuees to overlook their rebellion against a caste position and calculate the advantages of remaining in the centers.

Poston: During the first year and a half of Poston there was considerable social contact between the Nisei teachers and the younger members of the appointed personnel. Over this period of time there were some fine friendships established and a few flirtations between Japanese men and

Caucasian girls with the girls generally on the pursuing end.

These conditions were at their peak during the summer school of 1943, which was attended by both evacuee and appointed personnel teachers. The hot summer days were exhausting, and in the middle of the afternoon when the PTA served iced tea, everyone took a new lease on life and felt quite jolly in contrast to their wilted condition of a few minutes before. It was a signal for laughing and joking. A spirit of good fellowship and enjoyment prevailed -- perhaps a wee bit stimulated or artificial in its intensity.

The Japanese men were courteous in a self-conscious way, insisting that the ladies precede them in line for tea. Before the after-dinner lecture in the appointed personnel mess hall. It was customary for members of both groups to gather around the piano and sing such old favorites as Missouri Lullaby and Moonlight on the River Colorado.

It was during the same summer that Caucasians and evacuees frequently went on excursions to the river, sometimes walking, sometimes riding on trucks through dust a foot deep in places. The program consisted of swimming, lunch, and songs around the fire to the accompaniment of a banjo and a guitar. Everyone was relaxed and behaved naturally. There seemed to be a complete lack of race consciousness. Speaking for myself, those evenings around the fire were the most enjoyable I have had in Poston.

A dinner for all the teachers closed the summer session. Then unexpectedly the children who had served as experimental material for the class demonstrations held a part for everyone, with program, lunch, and dancing. There was a preponderance of girls, both Japanese and Caucasian and only about two or three Caucasian men, by the Japanese men were impartial about selecting partners for the dance seeing to it that no one was overlooked.

These contacts established in summer school weakened because of the isolation of people in different camps and because of the steady relocation of the

Nisei. As I mentioned before, the contacts were mostly between the Nisei and the younger teachers.

There never was a great amount of social contact between the Issei and the appointed personnel. Some contact there has been between the English speaking Issei and the appointed personnel, especially those interested in adult education. Occasionally one of the appointed personnel would invite a Japanese to Sunday dinner, and the latter would usually repay the social courtesy with a carved bird or some hand-made trinket.

One example of an Issei-Caucasian get-together was the tea which the Camp 2 faculty gave for the seniors and their parents at the close of school this year. An important baseball game prevented most of the seniors and all of the fathers except one from attending, but the mothers turned out en masse. It took a lot of courage for some of the Issei women who can't speak English to come by themselves. An evacuee teacher who speaks Japanese headed the receiving line. After the ladies had visited the tea table, they sat stiffly in chairs along the wall while the teachers circulated through the room trying to talk to them and make them feel at home. A few of the mothers who spoke English acted as interpreters. The program consisted of a welcoming address in Japanese by one of the students, several songs in Japanese, and the presentation of a gift to the principal by one of the teachers on behalf of the faculty. Then with much bowing and thanking the mothers and the single man departed.

Evidently the mothers were grateful for the tea because they continued to thank the teachers whenever they met them.

Another example of an interracial get-together was the banquet which the Camp 2 PTA gave for the faculty (the PTA is composed of mostly male parents and the principal). The dinner began at eight. Until it was time to eat the Japanese men congregated outside the mess hall. The Japanese women, of

which there were a ~~few~~ only a few because wives were not invited, huddled in little groups inside the mess hall. There was not much attempt to mix with the guests.

At the table teachers were seated on one side of the table, and the PTA members on the opposite side facing them. The menu consisted of roast chicken etc. The teachers walked among themselves and the Japanese were for the most part silent -- not much cross-table conversation for a while. Then one of the male teachers at the end of the table began reciting a few ponderous jokes which the men near him seemed to enjoy. I made the discovery that one of the women opposite me could speak English and through her I was able to speak to some of the other people.

There were closing speeches by the PTA president, the unit administrator, several of the PTA members, the principal and a few of the teachers. The teachers then lined up by the door shaking hands and introducing themselves to the parents as they filed out. (Report No. 80, written by Cauc teacher)

Tule Lake: For months when Project Director Shirrell first arrived he remained aloof, and in colonist opinion, "dictatorial." There was little contact with the colony, except in regard to complaints and requests. But even then he had the good of the colonists at heart. A fissure appeared in the structure ~~between~~ of the administration between those who felt that the colonists were, by and large, a reprehensible lot of trouble-makers, and those who felt that the WRA had a job to do in restoring morale and making center life tolerable for its charges. The P.D. left no doubt as to where he stood and an early staff meeting was notably discussed for his statement "We will not tolerate words like Japs addressed to the colonists" (In my own day, this term and others have been used with gay abandon by staff, one staff member using the initials y.b.b. (yellow-bellied -) to residents who fully understood the abbreviation. Gradually, as the center was organized, the P.D.

took upon himself more and more of the burden of direct contact with the colony and ~~the~~ personal guidance became the dominating motif of administrative handling...In community organization the PD took on the lion's share of the job. In relationships with the colony the P.D. was equally friendly and personal in his contacts. Few deaths, births or marriages went unnoticed. The Administration was asked to solve problems both general and personal. "He was like a friend and father to us." The reliance on personal contacts, and the paternalistic pattern of administration as well, were soon discarded by the next PD whose policies were strictly "the policies of WRA." The flair for stating policy officially and technically, as well as coldly was never abandoned. The PD held aloof from the colony...In the few months that remained before registration, the colony and administration drifted further apart.

Evacuee comments: "Mr. Shirell was so well liked that it made it hard for Mr. Coverly coming here just before registration. He knew practically everyone's name, and Mrs. Shirrell was the same. They visited the colonists all the time. They got to know them personally. It made people feel they had a friend. It's almost like the work you do, finding out what's on our mind. When Mr. Coverley came then, you never heard of him looking up anyone. I don't think he had a friend in the place." (Nisei)

(Other comments on labor relations, com govt, etc. in report No. 34 b.)

Jerome: Racial hypersensitivity - "Allergy of race" not ameliorated in assembly and relocation centers for even within the centers a Jim Crow

basis of operation was utilized. Key positions were held by Caucasian personnel even in instances where evacuees could have worked as well if not better than the Caucasian employee. Then, too, living among one's own race, confined because of one's own race; such is not conducive to minimizing racial differences. As a result of this racial hypersensitivity certain trends are becoming defined. Identification has been fostered. Even in instances when an evacuee is in the wrong, other evacuees defend him because of racial and positional (same boat) identity... Because of the lack of interracial contacts within the relocation center and because of the fact that most of such contacts are inferior or superior situations (evacuees as inferior, worker, and Caucasians as superior, administrator) the "we're different" attitude of dissociation is developed. Here again a feeling of inferiority among the evacuee promotes a consequent demeanor of deference before Caucasian administrator and a defiance behind his back; a process commonly known as being "two-faced." (Hamanaka)

4-26-43 I feel that there is an unfortunate gap here between most of the appointed personnel and the evacuees. This situation is to some extent unavoidable, but I believe that sincere efforts on the part of the staff to bridge the gap will meet with at least partial success. The results of lack of understanding between staff and evacuees are the spreading of wild rumors and a mutual suspicion between the two groups.

5-43 Report No. 27 - Generally speaking, evacuees have considerable resentment toward the Caucasian staff. This resentment seems to stem from several sources: first, the higher living standards of the Caucasians. Second, supervision which evacuees consider unduly dictatorial. Third, the fact that the Caucasian staff represents the U.S. government, which many

evacuees consider to have deprived them of the rights of citizens.

6-5-43 Conflict situation - Conflict between Caucasians and evacuees in Block

36. This block houses Caucasian families and single staff members, offices, evacuee operated Electrical Shop, the tofu factory, Community Enterprises Laundry, and storage space for equipment. Greatest difficulty has arisen over the location of the laundry. When was located in the block the Caucasian women protested because they said it would limit their laundry space and would deprive the children of play space at the end of the laundry. Caucasian women have hung their clothes in the end of the laundry rented by Community enterprises and the Caucasian children have continued to play in the laundry, often throwing water or getting dirt on clothes hung up by evacuee Com Ent laundry employees. The situation has been aggravated by the movement of the laundry office into a barrack in which Caucasians reside. They object to having people coming in and out of the office and destroying their privacy. Several incidents have occurred between Caucasian children and evacuee laundry workers. One of the Caucasian children reported that a woman working for the laundry had pushed him off the walk into the mud. The laundry worker complains that the children were always pestering them. Another incident was reported by a laundress to the effect that a Caucasian child had driven his tricycle over her feet while she was ironing. The child says that he accidentally knocked a box on the woman and she struck him, it is reported that then he threw a stone at the woman. At any rate, there has been considerable animosity between the evacuee workers and the Caucasian children and mothers over this situation. Some of the Caucasian women have expressed extreme attitudes of prejudice. They say that the Japanese women are inherently mean, that they deliberately provoke the children, then punish them.

7/43 - Evacuees believe that WRA is cracking down, that some of the Caucasians take pleasure in seeing things made tough for the evacuees. Basic distrust of motives of the administrative staff.

9-17-43 Some of the appointed personnel carried over some of their attitudes toward the Negro ~~to~~ to the evacuees, and aroused resentment.

Throughout evacuation and center life the process of individuation has become retarded. Evacuation was on a racial ~~basis~~ or ethnic basis. Camp facilities and jobs, privileges and pay were demarcated by racial and not primarily individual differences. In other words, Caucasians as a group had better pay, better jobs, better facilities than the evacuees...Some evacuees avoid contacts with appointed personnel because such relationships give them a sense of inferiority due to the disadvantages of their position... (Hamanaika)

9-21-43 Nisei, 26: "The fact that the Caucasian personnel have been told not to be friendly with the evacuees in a social sense makes it so that I have to limit my contacts with my own group. This has a narrowing effect."

Expatriate, 16: "To my knowledge, ever since the registration the Caucasian personnel have been pretty sore at the people that have repatriated and expatriated. Many of the Administrative heads don't know what they are doing. The school teachers don't care if the students learn or not. All they care about is they get their money for work that they are supposed to do, which is very little."

Nisei, 13: "It seems that the cooperation and running of the center has a mess in it and doesn't seem to be running smoothly in any way at all. All the Caucasian personnel thinks about is themselves and don't even care what happens to the evacuees."

Issei, 55: "The evacuees know that there is friction among the Caucasian personnel. The forced resignation of Dr. Hankins shows that. I heard Taylor say that since registration, he has lost faith in the Japanese people.

Before that time he had faith in the Japanese, but now he hasn't any. I think it would be a good idea to get rid of most of the Caucasians here and let the evacuees run the center themselves. They have the experience of the Co-op and I am sure they could run the camp democratically provided they are educated enough in advance. When this feeling of compulsion goes away then the people will cooperate more."

Nisei, 17: "Even the high school students seem to not like certain teachers because all the teacher seems to care is that she gets paid and not help out the students when in a jam."

Plus labor relations remarks.

10-14-43 About an accident, truck turned over. Brother of man hurt remarks,

"When the accident happened I heard that one Caucasian in the car drove away from the accident and did not help the evacuees who were injured. Some of the evacuees threw rocks at the Caucasian in the car that was going away in order to try to stop him. If that's true, boy, it sure is dirty."

8-18-43 Many evacuees resent the superior attitude that some of the

appointed personnel exhibit. For instance, one Nisei girl said:

"Some of these Caucasians act as if they owned this whole center." Another Nisei girl angrily stated: "The Caucasian apartments are being built but they won't even start on the auditorium for the evacuees and then some of these Caucasian women kick saying that the evacuees are being pampered while they're living off the fat of the land. If they're going to kick, let them live in our places for one week and see how they like it."

The mercenary attitude of certain Caucasian workers is also not appreciated.

Comments like "he's only here for the money" or "she's just interested in her prestige and position" are often expressed. Certain Caucasians who are supposedly educated in respect to the Japanese even to the extent of mastering some of the language express attitudes of prejudice that are repaid

attitudes of resentment and noncooperation from the evacuees. Such appointed personnel usually have the attitude ~~of~~ toward the Japanese of the "white man's burden," which is another way of expressing a superior attitude. If ~~they~~ show prejudice the evacuees resent it and also make it another reason for not going out. This is based on the fact that if the known is bad, the unknown must be worse. Evacuees also resent the fact that many of the appointed personnel are doing little, letting the evacuees do almost everything while they take it easy. Another resentment centers around the fact that there are evacuees more competent for certain positions than the Caucasians that fill them. The lack of responsible positions among the evacuees is considered an insult to their capabilities. Intelligent evacuees, however, recognize the ~~difficuly~~ difficulty of the appointed personnel - their ~~being~~ subject to criticism from both evacuees and ~~peoples~~ people outside.

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: APPOINTED PERSONNEL STORE

Jerome: At staff meeting held 7-14-43 discussed a Recreational Association formed by the appointed personnel. Reported that the store serving cold drinks and selling rationed food would be at the end of the Rec Hall and operated by the Community Enterprises with evacuee employees. Some appointed personnel objected strongly to this use of evacuee employees. One said he considered the Rec Hall exclusively for appointed personnel. Some complained that evacuee employees used rec hall equipment. One said a sign was being painted saying "For Appointed Personnel Only," and she didn't think having the employees in the store would mean they would necessarily over-run the rec hall.

4/44 - Conversation between two Nisei girls:

"Why do they give you such dirty looks when you go in the personnel store? They go in our canteen."

"Well, if too many went because they knew they could get things there that they can't in the regular canteen -- "

"It's easier for them to go out and get things than it is for us."

"Yes, that's right."

"The only reason they have coca cola on the center is because of the appointed personnel." Then story was told of evacuee woman who borrowed a ration stamp from an ap friend to get some soup for sick daughter, took it to personnel store; evacuee employee wouldn't honor the ration stamp; girls agreed that evacuee employee was snippy, but probably under orders so it was not her fault.

Heart Mountain:
(6-26-44)

Two matters are causing some agitation among the residents and criticism of the appointed personnel. The least significant is the new store where hakujins can purchase rationed goods not available to evacuees. The other is....

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: MESS HALLS

Jerome: Staff meeting held 7-14-43. The personnel mess was discussed. Been strong complaints about the preparation and serving of food in the mess which has been operated by evacuee employees. Everyone except the analyst voted to turn personnel mess over to a Caucasian woman for management at a little additional cost. Analyst's opinion that a good part of the difficulty is the attitude of the personnel toward evacuee employees. They are not treated with respect by a good aprt of the personnel. People opanly and continaally complain about the food during their meals - which sometimes aren't so hot. On the whole it is alright though. Analyst thinks desire to have outside cooks and waitresses is merely another expression of their prejudice against the evacuees. They do not consider that the evacuees are capable or are willing to do a good job of preparing and serving the food...A change to outside employment will be welcomed in a sense by the evacuee staff, since they do not consider it a particularly pleasant job, but this act will be interpreted by evacuees as another expression of prejudice and lack of faith in them.

5/44 - Nisei girl said she heard that evacuee and appointed personnel ration points are pooled and the appointed personnel get over their quota of meat at the expense of the evacuees.

Nisei boy: "Do they hand you big steaks in the ~~XXXXXX~~ a.p. mess?"

Upon hearing that the analyst could no longer eat in the hospital mess because the official in charge of the payments etc said it upset his bookkeeping, an evacuee doctor commented briefly, "It's not financial, it's social bookkeeping."

Gila River: (5/43) Analyst giving rules for how to make good contacts

with evacuees writes "If it should ever become possible to invite evacuees to the staff mess hall, on Sunday for instance when a considerable part of the staff is away, this should be done. Careful selection should be made of those invited."

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: HOSPITALS

Jerome: (6-14-43) Generally there is cooperation between the administrative personnel and the people. Some of the doctors and nurses aides do not like the Caucasian personnel at the hospital. They say that the Caucasian personnel do not understand the evacuee workers and the patients needs and wishes. There is considerable antagonism between evacuees and Caucasians in other places too, but it does not flare into open conflict.

Gila River: (11-12-43) In general evacuees felt that the Chief Medical officer did not trust them, considered them as people of an inferior status and treated them as "natives." He appears to have made no effective attempt to discuss the situation with them but merely to give instructions which he expected them to carry out. His distrust was shown by the close check he kept upon the issuing of certain supplies and his unspoken belief that evacuee doctor's right to prescribe would be abused if not persistently watched. In his personal relationships, the same attitude was felt. This attitude was felt to exist not only in the person of the Senior Medical Officer but in some of the senior Caucasian nurses. It was remarked that at least one of them had spent so many years in the East that she assumed the superior race attitude unconsciously and took it simply for granted. It was also resented that the Caucasian nurses were nearly always given supervisor's jobs regardless of their ability related to that of trained evacuee nurses.

Heart Mountain - Heart Mountain hospital strike material in files.

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: RECREATION AREA

Jerome: At a staff meeting held 7-14-43 the most heated discussion during the evening was on the use of the Block 24 recreation area. At the present time, the personnel has a softball field on which they practice and play games with evacuees. When the personnel are not using this diamond, it is often occupied by evacuees from nearby blocks. Several people protested allowing evacuees to use the field at all. Project Director said it would be possible to restrict this block entirely to use of appointed personnel but that we would have to make it reciprocal. We could not use recreation facilities for the evacuees. Two men complained that the evacuees had damaged the soft ball field, but said they didn't want them excluded from its use. From that point, the discussion became very heated as to whether there should be an absolute restriction of evacuees from 24. One man stated that he thought that this area should be restricted for use by the appointed personnel and that ~~the~~ if the line was not drawn at that point it would be overrun with evacuees. One woman said that after working with evacuees all day long, we should not have to associate with them after working hours, another said that she believed that appointed personnel was entitled to privacy and she considered Block 24 as comparable to your own back yard. Others complained about evacuees walking through the residential section continually. Up to this point, the discussion was primarily opposed to allowing evacuees to utilize facilities of Block 24 at all. There was applause for most of the statements. Then a man got up and stated in a very emphatic tone that if we were going to take the kind of attitude expressed

we might as well close up shop. He said we were trying to create a democratic atmosphere here and that unless we treat the evacuees on a plane of equality, we would defeat our purposes. Analyst said if appointed personnel had facilities such as tennis courts, which were not available to evacuees,, it would be interpreted as another special privilege and would increase the barriers between the two groups. Someone else said that our major objective here was relocation and that the evacuees reluctance to relocate is based primarily on their fear of racial prejudice. If we cannot eliminate it at the center, how can we expect evacuees to relocate. Another man declared that he had lived for 30 years on the West Coast and had close association with the Japanese people there. He said that it had been his experience tht they will not take advantage of you if treated fairly. By this time the whole group was in a turmoil. People were talking to each other excitedly. Project Director said issue could not be settled tonight, he thought that Mr. T. had hit the nail on the head in saying that we want to promote relocation and that expression of prejudice here would hamper it. Would take the matter up. Captain of the softball team said he thought we were raising a lot of fuss over a false issue. He said that so far evacuees have used the field and have not interfered with the appointed personnel when they wanted to use it and that they had got along very well. He saw no reason why the same conditions should not continue.

The next day there was alot of discussion by small groups of the meeting. One man said that the reason members of the softball team favored allowing evacuees on the playground was not that all of them were free of prejudice but they wanted someone to play ball with and were afraid of antagonizing the evacuees and being eliminated from the league. Analyst said to Project Attorney that the point of the playground certainly called forth violent expressions of

opinions. Analyst said he proposed that evacuees be allowed use of rec field when not utilized by Caucasians and that they should be allowed to parti-

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cipate with Caucasians in its use. He said he thought that evacuees should have the same facilities, but that they should be segregated. "You know, I am an unreconstructed rebel in the sense that I believe in the white man's burden. I think we must maintain a clear distinction between the administrative personnel who are running this center and the evacuees. I think we should be considerate in dealing with them but should make it quite clear that we are in charge and should not associate with them socially."

Analyst replied that if one has that attitude toward evacuees, then he makes it very difficult to accomplish the purposes of the Wra. Proj Att. said when the project first opened, the policy of the staff was that these people had been through great hardship and we should go out of our way to be nice to them. He said he had found from bitter experience that this policy would not (or did not) work and many would take advantage of this indulgent attitude. Another man agreed.

RELATIONS WITH MILITARY POLICE

Gila River: Residents think they are treated satisfactorily by MP s.

Commander of Company has issued strict orders against fraternizing with the evacuees.

September 21, 1942, Project Report No. 65. Manzanar

Perennial discussion topic among virtually all groupings of Manzanar residents is the "color line." There is a common tendency to refer to shortcomings or faults of individual administrators as attributes of the entire "white race."

In the warehouse employment area, for instance, where maintenance, construction and supply crews are headquartered, resentment is particularly keen against "obvious preferred treatment" of "whites." Typical comment: "You can't eat in the Caucasian mess hall; they call this democracy where every one is supposed to be equal; look at our housing... and the Project Director (Nash) ordered his quarters completely re-made!"

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: TEACHERS

Jerome: Nisei girl telling another Nisei girl of visit she made to apartment of some Caucasian school teachers, where she found them in the middle of the day sprawled around in pajamas, smoking, the apartment in great disorder, "Haruko, it's just terrible how these Caucasians relax!"

Poston: See account of social relations by Caucasian teacher under "Analysts Remarks on Early Staff-Evacuee Relations."

Heart Mountain: Some teachers are not sensitized to parental attitudes toward them and the disturbance which several kick up because they loll around and smoke cigarettes in plain view of the parents.

(9-1-43) Changing attitudes of teachers. Almost all of the teachers had never seen any Japanese. Many of them expressed feelings of insecurity by living on the project or because of administrative policy. Concerned with outside attitudes toward them. Teachers who have been here a year are adjusted. They went through the disillusioning process. Adjustments between Caucasian and Japanese teachers have been made so that all appears to be going well. However, several of the evacuee teachers expressed the hope that "this year the Caucasians will not flaunt a superiority complex." The evacuee teachers are still extremely sensitive about their inferior position, but it does look as if they have worked out most of their resentment.

Topaz: Resident high school teachers deplore the quite definite line of demarkation between resident and appointed personnel. One resident teacher - "They just don't bother each other." As an exception to this rule, four appointed personnel are singled out as exceptionally good teachers, worthy of respect for their abilities, for their interest in the subject and in school work, and for their initiative and friendliness.

Jerome: Spring, 1944. A Nisei block manager said that "At block meeting someone asked if we couldn't get the Administration to hire better teachers. I explained that the Arkansas educational system is very low. Kids at first couldn't understand what the teacher was saying (accent), they thought she was dumb."

A teacher at Jerome said "People you've taught for a year won't speak to you on the street. But it's gotten better recently." Another replied, "They don't trust us and I don't blame them."

Minidoka: Unpopular teachers who are thought to be prejudiced against the
4-26-45

"Japs" are going to be given a rough time by students.

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: DOMESTIC SERVICE

Heart Mountain: One matter causing some agitation among residents and criticism
(6-26-44)

of the appointed personnel is the employment of evacuees as domestics in the personnel apartments. In the laundry rooms women complain about the unfairness of the wage and the whole idea of hakujins having nihonjin servants. Some of them are even under the impression that the wage is paid by Community Enterprises. The more they talk, the madder they get. The men share the same point of view, but they discuss it with less vituperation. The agitation appears to be growing.

Jerome: Nisei girl said resented fact that appointed personnel who otherwise
(6-44)

could not hire help get evacuees at slavery prices - cheap labor - and "they think they're so big. The joke is on them because like as not the evacuee maid they have had a better home in California than they ever had. Some are nice though, like the farm supervisor."

mity has levelled all these things off. Arkansans who had never seen a Japanese before now know better.

A man said that people mostly think WRA doesn't know what it is doing, closing Jerome instead of dirty Rohwer. Or that people are too good here, can be pushed around without any trouble arising. Or that it's just an extra job for the Project Director, so he didn't care. Project Director doesn't understand Japanese psychology. Staff evacuee relations were getting too strict. Mr. J. of the motor pool has told Japanese he doesn't like them, that he was working just for the money.

A Nisei man said that staff-evacuee relations were bad at first, better now. At first there was no coordination of information. Would tell you one thing in one division, another in another.

~~The~~ The Dietician said of one of her workers, "I'd send him to Tule first thing if I had my way. Not that I've got anything on him, but he's always sneaking off from work." (More material on relations concerned with leave clearance hearings in files, not abstracted)

The fire chief said, "I don't care if I never see another Japanese in my life.

They're so many more bad ones than there are good ones."

A Nisei working in the Co-op said: "Caucasian doesn't mean race to me, it means class. Looks like there's two classes here."

A Nisei doctor explained that at first there was a gap between the staff and evacuees, but that now they know each other better, all their peculiarities. The rumor got around about one of the nurses insulting a patient, so the doctors investigated and discovered that it was unfounded and that the nurse was actually very sympathetic.

An Issei said that staff evacuee relations were pretty good. People tell

LATER STAFF*EVACUEE RELATIONS: (1944 on)

Minidoka: Some evacuees are using the Jerome Light case as another bit of
7-8-44

evidence to prove that the Administration is not willing to have any person in a responsible position who is well liked by the residents and who "is understanding and sympathetic" toward the evacuees...

It seems clear that most of the appointed personnel each have a different slant as to what "institutional behavior" means, and activities considered within the framework by one person appears to another to be outside the pattern.

As a result we have charges and counter charges made by various staff members against one another as to collusion with the Japanese, playing politics with the evacuees, or non-cooperation, anti-Japanese feelings, etc. The residents are conscious of the "institutional philosophy" but they have about as many ideas as to its meaning as do the appointed personnel. However, one common idea seems to be attached to the philosophy by the residents, namely, that the appointed personnel on this basis are or are made to feel as if they were far superior to the members of the community, and that the residents are no better than prisoners of war. (See report no 342 for diagram of relationships).

Jerome: (Spring, 1944) A Nisei woman said that staff-evacuee relations had improved a lot. Arkansans who had never seen Japanese before admit that they were prejudiced at first, but now see that Japanese are intelligent. Evacuees are also becoming more accustomed to the southern tempo and accent, and are taking on the latter to a certain extent.

A man remarked that when first came to center the Caucasians seemed strange, but now he can see that there are different kinds of them - some have travelled, are broad minded, others haven't been outside of Arkansas. Proxi-

him things about so and so, but he talks to him and finds him nice. Trouble is not enough contacts between evacuees and personnel. Someone says something about an appointed personnel and it is spread. People know there is friction between the personnel themselves, though.

A young Issei said that staff-evacuee relations were in general good - "That's why things have been so quiet here." He said that a few are not supposed to like the Japanese. He was surprised when his children said one of the teachers said something like that, but she's not here now. Appointed personnel are alright when you get to know them. Rumors spread about them by people who don't know them. People who've never been to Japan are better than those who have been. For instance Dr. Collier is well-liked - always shakes hands, visits with patient in spite of fact that can't speak Japanese. Dr. McSparran could speak Japanese, but was never nice to the evacuees so was disliked.

A middle-aged Nisei man said that personnel relations were much better than they were at first, that many have changed. Just two or three appointed personnel are really liked and respected in the center, however. Looks like when evacuees really get to trust one he gets squeezed out like McVoy and McCormick. They can't do any good by staying, and too uncomfortable so ---

Tule Lake: A positive commentary on our present staff is the amount of Winter, 1945

favorable notice the Labor Relations report drew...Such comments would not have been made by a number of the people who were on the staff prior to Nov, 1943. Present staff attitude represents a considerable improvement, generally speaking. This improvement is "why" Tule Lake has had fewer problems in labor relations than certain other centers in the period from las February to the present.

Gila River: (4-1-44) Supersensitivity. Any suggestion of social difference,

of privilege, excites an inordinate response...the deprivation of privilege is a fundamental condition of life in a relocation project, but any accentuation of the condition, any reminder of its existence calls forth a reaction out of proportion to the immediate occasion. This sensitivity is particularly seen in work situations.

Heart Mountain: When the analyst asked his best source on gossip in the (7-28-44)

laundry room what the women were talking about this week, he was astonished at the answer. Other weeks she had reported carping criticism of the center and its management, uncomplimentary remarks about the Caucasian personnel and the way it lived on the fat of the land at the expense of the evacuees, small gossip about this and that. This time, however, she replied, "All they are talking about are the casualties in Italy and the boys going to the army."

8-18-44 Re send off of popular relocating couple. Big send off because were scout leaders. Too late the analyst discovered that the Administration had made a mistake. No representative of the appointed personnel was present at the bus station to bid farewell to the departing benefactors of the community. Several staff members had said goodbye to them privately, had expressed to them appreciation of their services and had sincerely wished them well. But the absence of Caucasians in the sendoff ceremony was noticed and commented upon unfavorably. The attitude was this: Here are two people who have labored on behalf of the community so well that the evacuees do them signal honor. The appointed personnel does not participate. It means that the administration is either unaware of their good work or it does not care. The error was made for two reasons. First, the project staff, including the analyst, is still not sufficiently acquainted with the community to realize fully the importance evacuees attach to such ceremonies, etc.

Topaz: (2-1-44) Recommendation re relocation - Key men at the project level could capitalize more effectively on their position and their personality to further relocation by meeting informally on a man to man basis with resident leaders in small groups. Under the existing, formal social relations the social distance between the two groups tends to continue so wide that residents feel key appointed personnel are pretty definitely out of touch with the problems the evacuees face in trying to re-establish themselves in a normal American community.

11-6-44 Informal gatherings at Project Directors home of key residents held at the analysts suggestion. Report T-20/

Poston: (10-1-44) On the whole, the appointed personnel and the evacuee leadership are about as close together as they have ever been in the day to day operation of the project. Evacuees are consulted before most changes affecting them are undertaken. Problems that were once handled by evacuees in secrecy or defiance of the appointed personnel are increasingly brought to the Caucasian administrators so that joint efforts toward solution can be made. (other stuff on "joint administration of the project" in the trend reports.)

Poston I Block Managers Supervisor has been telling this story: A member of the appointed personnel called him twice on a telephone located across the hall from his office. When summoned to the phone, he refused to go. The appointed personnel called the correct number the third time and asked "Why didn't you go across the hall to answer the phone?" The Supervisor replied, "To get the right man it is necessary to call the right number." The significance of this story, he says, is that at Gila he would have gone across the hall.

STAFF-EVACUEE RELATIONS: APPOINTED PERSONNEL NEWSPAPER

Poston: January, 1945, a newspaper for the appointed personnel was planned.
(1-45)

The analyst sent a memo to Project Director discounting the morale value of such a project and pointing out its faults. Main objections were on the basis of nature of the community. One point of view in WRA has always been that these are prison camps and the appointed personnel are hired to guard and maintain the prisoners. Those who hold this point of view, which is common in some projects and rare though existent here, are very much aware of the division between the Japanese and the appointed personnel of the center.

One of the basic assumptions in running a center is that ~~unnecessary~~ unnecessary distinctions between appointed and evacuee personnel are avoided.

All the forces in the American tradition of bigotry and prejudice can be operating in relocation centers to emphasize difference between evacuees and appointed personnel. Not only do we have here a semi-assimilated minority, but also there are observable differences in appearance between the various peoples present. On top of that, centers contain citizens of a country with which we are at war...It is far easier to create distinctions between the two groups than it is to bring them together...WRA endeavouring to help assimilate evacuees by relocation program. Inconsistently with this we establish from time to time within the centers institutions such as recalls and newspapers "by and for the appointed personnel."

The only non-Japanese many evacuees have seen in two years and a half are the appointed personnel. New attitudes are being formed about the nature of America on the basis of the policies and behavior of the appointed personnel. I would like to be able to say that there is a conscious and articulate movement among evacuees in Poston against Jim Crow implications of a separate newspaper for the appointed personnel. I am afraid there is no such

vement, nor is there likely to be, since most evacuees are not as conscious of subtle caste distinctions as I am. Furthermore, many of them will have no way of learning of the existence of such a newspaper, since it is not intended to reach them. Nevertheless, through such activities on the part of the administration, unconscious attitudes are molded; distinctions are maintained and strengthened. In conclusion, I would like to make the general statement that anything which increases the solidarity and morale of the appointed personnel as such is a Jim Crow activity and an obstacle in the solution of the problem of "returning evacuees to normal American life."