

NOVEMBER 6 -- (1)

Miss Steel was sent from the WRA Washington office in order to study the cases which must be turned over to the Federal Social Security Agency when the centers close. She was instructed to get her information from the interview records of the Family Counseling Program. She commended Poston for having the survey completed to the extent of 48%. She said that Poston was the furtherest advanced center in the progress of the Program. She went through the records of about 2,000 families in five days, and left for Gila early this morning. Out of these 2,000 interview records, she estimated that about 680 cases (families) need some sort of assistance from the Security Agency when the WRA is liquidated.

*Survey  
Statistics*

October 2

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Statistics  
Weitz, a counselor for the Family Planning Survey, reported to French that a great number of the evacuees she had interviewed expressed intentions of remaining here for the rest of their lives, or of remaining here for the duration. Persons expressing such sentiments are as follows in order of frequency: old bachelors, old couples without children, old couples with children. Couples with children expressed frequently that they would stay here for the duration or as long as possible.

*Block Mgr Meeting July 4* Onami of Block 13 and Hamade of Block 14 were appointed as new members of the Trading Post Committee for the coming month.

*Statistics* The Statistic Section through the Project Director requested the Managers to fill out special census survey based on the population of July 1, 1944. The information requested was as follows:

Name, Family Number, Center Address, Birthdate, Marital Status,

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Alien Number, Sex, Type of Initial Entry to Center, Address prior to Evacuation, Chief Occupation Before Evacuation, Current Employment. (Miss Collins of the Statistic Section told me that this form was filled out in the other relocation centers on April 1, but at Poston because her section was just getting organized and could not get around to it at the time.)

After this form was filled out, according to the Statistic Section, it would be mimeographed and a copy would be sent to each Block Managers



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David French sent me another report of the Community Analysis Section.

Feb 27

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section

Project Analysis Series No. 12  
February 3, 1944

STUDIES OF SEGREGANTS AT MANZANAR

The General Picture

In a previous report a preliminary analysis of those at Manaznar who are being segregated was attempted. That report called attention to the large number of children and "yes" individuals who were being involved as "family members". In spite of the fact that 2242 names appeared on the segregation roster when that report was written, it was shown that only 796 persons of this number had actually maintained a "no" answer to question No. 28 before hearing boards set up to examine their cases. As a result of appeals, the rectification of errors, etc., the number of persons being segregated as a result of "no" answers has been adjusted to a figure of 791. Of these, 290 are listed as "previously interviewed" on the segregation roster, a classification established to designate Kibei men who had maintained a "no" answer before hearing boards in April and whose cases were not reconsidered by the hearing boards which sat in August and September, except as they made special requests.

This study is concerned with the relevant general facts



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concerning the individuals who did appear before the segregation hearing boards and who placed themselves in a category of segregant by holding to a "no" answer.

All persons who had previously answered "no" to question 28, with the exception of male Kibei previously interviewed and those who had voluntarily come forward to change their answers prior to the hearings, were notified to appear before a board. This meant that aliens, female Kibei and male and female Nisei whose answers were still "no" were accorded hearings. Twelve hundred seventy-seven persons in these categories had originally said "no". Of these 381 had already indicated an affirmative response before the hearings began and were exempted from the hearings. This left 896 cases to be heard. The hearings which followed resulted in a core of 501 "no" answers which remain now to be analyzed.

These 501 segregants divide into 28 aliens and 473 citizens. In other word, with the exception of repatriates (the overwhelming majority of whom had answered "yes" to question 28) only a handful of aliens are directly involved in the "no" answers. Indirectly, as we shall see, the influence of the aliens in the situation has been crucial.

Of particular interest is the division according to sex and marital status. There are 190 males and 311 females represented. One hundred sixty-nine of the males are citizens, 21 are aliens. Fifty-five of the males (40 citizens and 15 aliens) are married. One hundred thirty-five (129 citizens and 6 aliens) are single. Of the 311 women, 304 are citizens and 7 are aliens. The married women number 181 and there are 130 single women listed. All of the 7 aliens women are married.

How is the preponderance of women to be interpreted? It will be remembered that in spring, male Kibei were heard before a special board. As a result these men have been placed either in the "previously interviewed" category or their names were entered in the "yes" column. No such process was inaugurated for the Kibei women. Thus, approximately 250 Kibei women faced the segregation hearing board and 121 of them retained the "no" answer. By far the greater number of these Kibei female segregants, 95 to be exact, are married. In fact the marriage tie has been an important factor in their responses. Fifty-seven of them are married to men who had been "previously interviewed". These Kibei women who were married to Kibei men destined for Tule Lake, when they appeared before the board were mainly concerned with answering as their husbands did so that there could be no possible family separation.

That Kibei men and women have frequently married has no doubt been recognized, or at least suspected. But it may surprise many to learn of the number of Kibei women married to aliens. Thirty-one Kibei women who retained a "no" answer before the hearing board and who are listed as "segregants" on the roster are married to aliens.

The significant feature of the analysis of the age distri-



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bution of segregants is the manner in which it underscores the extreme youth of a large proportion of them. Of the 190 male segregants, 103 are 22 years of age or under. Twenty-four segregant males, the largest number in any age group, are but 18 years old. One hundred fifty-two are 30 years of age or under. Since 19 aliens, all 38 years of age or older, are included among the 190 male segregants, this figure of 152 represents a very substantial percentage of citizen male segregants. The more complete details of the age distribution of male segregants is as follows:

Age Distribution of Male Segregants

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	14	35	2
18	24	36	5
19	18	37	1
20	16	38	2(1 alien)
21	13(1 alien)	39	2
22	18	40	4
23	7	41	1(alien)
24	6	42	0
25	6	43	3(2 aliens)
26	6	44	3(all aliens)
27	8(1 alien)	45	1(alien)
28	8	46	0
29	1	47	1(alien)
30	7	48	1(alien)
31	0	49	1
32	1	50	0
33	1	Over 50	9(all aliens)
34	0		

Because of the presence of so many married female Kibei and wives of aliens among the segregants, the average age of the female segregants is slightly higher than that of the male. Yet 138 of the 311 female segregants are 22 years old or younger. Two hundred seventy-five of them are 30 years of age or younger, as the distribution data below indicate:

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	14	35	1
18	28	36	1
19	19	37	0
20	26	38	0
21	24	39	0
22	27	40	1
23	30	41	1 (alien)
24	17	42	0
25	24	43	0
26	14	44	1 (alien)
27	20	45	0
28	18	46	0
29	14	47	0
30	8	48	1 (alien)



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<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
31	8	49	1 (alien)
32	6	50	1 (alien)
33	1	Over 50	2 (aliens)
34	3		

The impression conveyed by these statistics is that the average segregant is a young, unmarried individual. This is particularly true of the males, and it would be the total impression conveyed were it not for the inclusion of so many married female Kibei in the roster. Therefore it may be well to turn to the analysis of data pertaining to segregants who are Kibei.

The total number of Kibei who appeared before the segregation hearing board and who have maintained a "no" answer is 134. Because of the spring hearings during which most of the male Kibei were examined and eliminated, but 13 of these are men and 121 are women. Six of the men are married and 7 are single. One is a United States citizen only, 7 are dual citizens, and 5 are United States citizens who are not sure whether they possess Japanese citizenship as well or not. The men range in age from 18 to 39. They have resided in Japan for time-spans of from  $9\frac{1}{2}$  to  $17\frac{1}{2}$  years. The statistical facts are listed below:

#### Age Distribution for Kibei Males

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
18	1
21	1
22	1
27	2
28	2
29	1
30	1
35	1
36	2
39	1

Total No. of Cases -- 13

#### Foreign Residence of Kibei Males

<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
$9\frac{1}{2}$	1
10	3
$10\frac{1}{2}$	1
11	3
12	1
15	3
$17\frac{1}{2}$	1

Much more important for our understanding are the figures relating to the 121 female Kibei segregants. Ninety-five of them are married; twenty-six are single. Thirty-seven are United



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States citizens only, 81 are dual citizens, and three are United States citizens who cannot tell whether or not they are also dual citizens. They range in age from 17 to 35 years and have lived in Japan for time-spans extending from 5 to 21 years. More complete information is given below:

Age Distribution for Kibei Females

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	2	26	6
18	2	27	12
19	3	28	11
20	4	29	8
21	8	30	3
22	13	31	6
23	17	32	3
24	9	34	1
25	11	35	1

Total No. of Cases - 121

Foreign Residence of Kibei Females

<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
5	1	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
6	5	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	1
7	4	14	12
8	5	15	12
8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	16	6
8 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
9	4	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	17	9
10	9	18	3
10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	19	1
11	12	20	5
11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	21	2
12	11		
13	9		

Total No. of Cases - 121

Though the Kibei men "previously interviewed" do not appear in the count of the 501 segregants, the influence of their decisions is patent. To gauge this factor I have brought together data relating to segregant women married to male Kibei who are listed as "previously interviewed". There are 88 such women who are segregants. Fifty-seven of them are Kibei women -- are, in other words Kibei women married to Kibei men. Sixty-three of these women are mothers, and their answers and those of their husbands involve 111 children, most of whom are very young. Thirty-nine of these women hold United States citizenship only; 45 are dual citizens; 4 are uncertain about dual citizenship. Despite the fact that all are married to Kibei, not all have resided abroad. Eighteen have never been



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out of this country. Six have been in Japan for a very short time, usually a few months only. Twelve are persons who hold United States citizenship only and who have never been abroad. However, the greater number have lived in Japan for substantial periods. The material pertaining to residence in Japan for members of this group can be summarized thus:

Residence in Japan of Segregant Women Married to Those  
"Previously Interviewed"

<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
1 1/3	1	6	2
1 3/4	1	7	1
2 1/2	1	8	5
3	1	9	3
3 1/2	1	10	6
4	1	10 1/2	1
4 1/2	1	11	3
5	2	11 1/2	1
12	3	17	2
13	3	18	0
13 1/2	1	19	2
14	7	20	2
15	7	21	1
16	4		

The segregant women married to male Kibei previously interviewed are in average young. They range in age from 19 to 36 years; few are more than 30 years old; 23, 24, and 25 are the ages in which more cases fall than in any others. The fuller statistical picture is given below:

Age Distribution of Segregant Women Married to Those  
"Previously Interviewed"

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
19	1	28	6
20	3	29	3
21	4	30	4
22	7	31	4
23	13	32	0
24	10	33	1
25	14	34	1
26	7	36	1
27	9		

Total No. of Cases - 88

~~The segregant women married to male Kibei previously~~

Besides segregant women, many of them Kibei, who are married to Kibei males, there are the large number of women, the majority likewise Kibei, who are married to aliens. I have found 43 such cases in the segregation roster; in 15 of them the women are United States citizens only; in 27 cases they are dual citizens, and one is uncertain about dual citizenship.



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Five of the women have never been abroad; three have been in Japan for less than a year; thirty-five have been in Japan for more than a year. The age range of these segregant women married to Issei is 22 to 40. They are the mothers of 103 young Americans, whom they are taking with them to Tule Lake. The statistics on age and foreign residence are as follows:

Age Distribution of Segregants (Female) Married to Aliens

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
22	1	30	2
23	2	31	3
25	4	32	6
26	3	34	1
27	6	35	1
28	5	40	1
29	8		

Total No. of Cases - 43

Foreign Residence of Segregants (Female) Married to Aliens

<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
None	5	11	2
1 or less	3	12	2
1 - 2	1	13	1
2	1	14	3
3	1	15	2
4	1	16	2
5	2	17	3
6	2	18	3
8	1	19	1
10	4	20	2

It is obvious that from those segregants who are Kibei men and women, who are women married to those "previously interviewed" or who are segregant women married to aliens (some of these classifications overlap, of course) we derive a body of persons who know Japan at first hand, many of whom are dual citizens, who have studied in Japan and who have achieved competency in the Japanese language.

On sharp contrast to the group just analyzed and discussed however, stand another major group whose contacts with Japan and with Japanese culture have been oblique, brief or non-existent.

Of the 473 citizens who have been named as segregants, 252 hold United States citizenship only and thus cannot claim any political hold on Japan and owe no obligation to Japan. In addition, 32 more have indicated that they are United States citizens who do not know whether parents or guardians registered



them for Japanese citizenship when they were small. Since these are people who are segregating and who are emphasizing their possible Japanese affiliations, it is probable that many or most of them are not dual citizens. I believe it is safe to say that at least 270 of the 473 citizen segregants have no other citizenship than that of the country of their birth. Significant too, is the fact that 216 of these citizen segregants have never visited Japan. Moreover, there is an impressive overlapping of the two groups and a decided correlation between these two factors of citizenship and foreign travel. Of the 216 citizens who have never been abroad, 155 or 72 per cent are certain that they hold United States citizenship only. This nucleus of 155 individuals who are affiliated solely with the United States in regard to residence and nationality constitutes one-third of those represented on the segregation roster, and this number and percentage would undoubtedly be raised if all individuals knew the full facts concerning their citizen status.

To refine the information concerning these 155 American citizens, born and bred in this country who know no other land than this at first hand: There are 88 males of whom but 11 are married and 77 are single. The females number 67; more of them than of the males, proportionately, are married (21), but the larger number, 46, are also single.

It is in the study of this group that the extreme youth of the segregants emerges with disconcerting clarity. Though the age range of the males is 17 to 40 years, 64 subjects or 83 per cent of the 88 males are 22 years of age or younger. More cases (15) fall into the 18 year old category than in any other. And it must be remembered that many of these 18 year old youths were sixteen years old at the time of Pearl Harbor and evacuation. So that the picture may be complete, the age distribution is given below:

Age Distribution of U. S. Citizens - No Foreign Residence

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	7	26	4
18	15	27	3
19	12	29	1
20	10	30	1
21	10	36	2
22	10	37	1
23	4	38	1
24	2	40	1
25	4		

Total No. of Cases - 88

The situation in regard to the women of this group is not much different. They range in age from 17 to 35. The 18 year old bracket again contains the greatest number of individuals. Forty-two of the 67 individuals, or 62 percent, are 22 years of age or younger. Age distribution data for females follow:



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Age Distribution of U. S. Citizens - No Foreign Residence

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	7	26	1
18	12	27	3
19	5	28	1
20	8	29	2
21	5	30	1
22	5	31	1
23	8	32	1
24	1	34	1
25	4		

Total No. of Cases - Females - 67

Because so often dual citizenship is not a matter in which the individual involved has shown any interest or initiative, but is a condition which has arisen because a parent has registered an infant at the Japanese consulate, it became apparent that dual citizens who have undertaken no foreign travel do not differ significantly in group characteristics from those who are U. S. citizens only and who have never seen Japan. The segregation roster contains the names of 57 persons who are technically dual citizens but who have never been to Japan. Twenty-four are males and twenty of these are unmarried. These are young people ranging in age from 18 to 33. Most of them, 58 per cent, are 22 years of age or younger. The age distribution table follows:

Dual Citizens With No Foreign Travel - Males

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
18	3	24	2
19	3	25	4
20	2	26	1
21	2	28	2
22	4	33	1

The segregant female dual citizens who have never been abroad are 33 in number. Twenty-six of them are single, and only seven of them are married. The age range is narrow, from 17 to 30 years. The great majority are exceedingly young, 26 or 77 per cent being 22 years age or younger. Figures on age distribution are given below:

DUAL Citizens with No Foreign Residence - Females

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	3	23	1
18	7	24	1
19	3	25	1
20	6	26	2
21	3	27	1
22	4	30	1

Total No. of Cases 33



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It was found that the segregation roster also included the names of a good many persons who had been in Japan, but for very short periods only. It was felt that such brief contacts, too limited to permit study or work experiences in Japan, belonged in a different category from the sustained and much more meaningful contacts of Kibei. A count was therefore made of those who have been in Japan for one year or less and 63 such cases were discovered. The cases were evenly divided between males and females, 32 of the subjects being male and 31 female. Twenty-two of them are United States citizens ~~who are uncertain~~ only; 7 acknowledge dual citizenship; 3 are United States citizens who are uncertain about their dual citizenship states. There is somewhat more spread in the age range for the men, the youngest is somewhat more spread in the age range for the men, the youngest are 17, the oldest is 49 years of age, as the table below indicates:

Male Segregants Who Were in Japan a Year or Less

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	4	24	1
18	4	27	2
19	4	28	2
20	2	30	4
21	1	32	1
22	2	40	3
23	1	49	1

Total No. of Cases - 32

The females divided into 17 single and 14 married subjects. Twenty are United States citizens only, nine are dual citizens, and two are not sure whether they hold Japanese citizenship in addition to their American citizenship. The youngest of these women are 18 years of age and the oldest is 34. The following is the age distribution table for these subjects:

Female Segregants Who Were in Japan a Year or Less

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
17	0	24	2
18	5	25	4
19	2	28	3
20	3	30	4
21	1	31	1
22	3	34	1
23	2		

Total No. of Cases - 31

It seems obvious from this analysis of the segregants, that persons of widely different backgrounds and experiences, particularly in terms of their contacts with and relations to Japan, have become members of the group. At one extreme we have the 134 Kibei, many of them dual citizens. At the other extreme there are the 155 young Americans of Japanese ancestry



who possess American citizenship only and who have never left these shores. These two polarities alone account for 289 individuals, more than 61 per cent of the citizen segregants. The 57 dual citizens who have never seen Japan and the 63 individuals who have traveled in Japan for very short periods (usually for a summer vacation trip where much of the time is spent in transit on the high seas) tend to merge with the 155 whose background is so particularly American. Despite the common belief that but one kind of person is going to Tule Lake, namely, a uniformly disloyal individual who has been subjected to much Japanese influence, who has some realistic knowledge of Japan and its culture and who has chosen "to live the Japanese way", the evidence indicates the existence among the segregants of at least two major groups, each separated from the other by a wide gap in linguistic, educational and travel experiences. It is important for the program and administration at Tule Lake, if for no other reason, that this be recognized.

It may be assumed that the motives responsible for "no" answers and segregation will vary according to the general characteristics and background of the groups involved. Accordingly, further study must be devoted to the problem of motivations in segregation. In the course of this we shall come to grips with some of the basic tensions and conflicts that have important implications for the fate of those of Japanese ancestry in the country, and for the entire minority question.

#### Appendix

##### A Summary of Information Concerning Segregants at Manzanar

Number of Segregants .....	501
Citizens .....	473
Aliens .....	28
Males .....	190
Citizens .....	169
Aliens .....	21
Married .....	55
Citizens .....	40
Aliens .....	15
Single .....	135
Citizens .....	129
Aliens .....	6
Females .....	311
Citizens .....	304
Aliens .....	7
Married .....	184
Citizens .....	174
Aliens .....	7
Single .....	130
Citizens .....	130
Aliens .....	0



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Citizenship

U.S. Citizens only .....	252
Dual Citizens .....	189
U.S. Citizens - Uncertain About Dual Citizenship	32
Aliens .....	28

Residence

No Residence in Japan .....	216
In Japan Year or Less .....	63

U.S. Citizenship Only and No Foreign Residence ..... 155

Dual Citizen With No Japanese Residence ..... 57

Interment

Father Was Interned - Now Released .....	24
Father is Still Interned .....	10
Husband Was Interned - Now Released .....	3
Husband Is Still Interned llll.....	1
Close R <sup>elative</sup> Detained at Leupp or Moab .....	3
Segregant Himself Interned .....	1

Military Service

Close Relative in U.S. Army .....	32
Close R <sup>elative</sup> Served in U.S. Army - Now Discharg	2
Served in U.S. Army llll.....	1
Vetran of World War I .....	1

Furlough - Leaves

Was on Furlough .....	32
Close Relative is or Has Been on Furlough .....	63
Close Relative is on Indefinite Leave .....	12
Was Cleared for Indefinite Leave .....	4