

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Relocation Studies No. 1.
April 1944

RELOCATION TO WASHINGTON

Mr. Fischer

I.

Evacuees in Washington Area

a. Numbers in Washington.

When Civil Service rules were relaxed in March 1943, many evacuees began to come to Washington. The number has steadily increased from that date, and as of December 1943, there were about 125 evacuees in Washington and vicinity. This figure is the minimum number here since the 125 represent those who have reported to the Relocation Office. There are some people who have not reported to the Relocation Office, and that Office makes no effort to trace them or maintain statistics on relocatees in Washington. Seventy-nine of the evacuees live in the District of Columbia, 35 are in Maryland, and 10 are in Virginia. The Washington area included in this study refers to the City of Washington, and the immediately adjacent communities in Virginia and Maryland which make up the Metropolitan area. The evacuees have come to a city which has expanded considerably in the last few years because of the many war agencies located here. In 1940 there were 907,816 people in the Metropolitan area and 663,091 in the City of Washington. In 1943 the estimates show that 1,178,970 people are now residing in the Metropolitan area and 883,720 are in Washington, D.C.

b. Importance of This Area.

Conditions in Washington make it a unique area from the point of view of relocation. Being the Nation's Capitol many of the leaders of the country are found here. Their opinions on the subject of WRA and the Japanese are most important. The policies that determine the future of the Japanese and Japanese Americans are formulated here. The evacuees in Washington are close to this scene and are sensitive to the utterances of the Congressional Committees, the Congressmen, the White House, government agencies, and WRA. In addition to the importance of government and politics in Washington, there is another aspect to Washington that makes it unique. It is essentially a city of white-collar workers--professional and clerical; and that is the type of evacuees attracted here. There is also found in this city all of the service occupations, but no large industries. On the periphery there is a small-scale farming area quite different from the large factory farms or even from the modest farms of California. The city has been the object of humor because of the overcrowded conditions, the exceptional demand for housing, the large number of single women, and the queues before theaters and restaurants. Strong prejudices exist against the Negroes who are excluded from restaurant and downtown theatres. This is the setting into which the evacuees have come.

c. Source of Information.

In order to obtain a broad picture of the adjustment of the Issei and Nisei who have come to Washington, the records and files of the Washington Relocation Office were consulted, and 22 evacuees in Washington and vicinity were interviewed with respect to their personal situations and experiences. The individuals interviewed were selected to represent a sample of people of different ages, marital status, and sex, engaged in various types of occupations. Nine men and 13 women were interviewed; 16 of them were single, five were married, and one was a widow. Of the 22 interviewed, 11 had one or more members of their family in this city, (spouse, sibling, child or in-law) with the result that information was gathered about approximately forty people. This study is based on these 22 interviews.

The Nisei in Washington on the whole are a mature and well-educated group of individuals. Most of them have had close contact with Caucasians before evacuation and, therefore, do not find it difficult to adjust to working with Caucasians in this city. Of those interviewed and their families, the average age was 24, and only 6 were under the age of 20. Those under the age of 20 are in the city with their families and therefore are not entirely independent. The zoot-suiters of Chicago and Denver are not found here. Those over 20 are a serious, hard-working group who have had jobs previous to evacuation. They are accustomed to accepting responsibility. Several have had positions with the California Civil Service. Their educational backgrounds are, on the whole, superior to the average Nisei. Among those interviewed and their families, nine are college graduates; 4 more have had some graduate studies in addition; and 14 have attended at least 2 years of junior college, business college, art school or accounting school. One attended beauty culture school; one studied dressmaking. Only 6 did not go beyond high school. In addition to the high educational background of these people, most of them have come from urban communities. Among those interviewed and their families, 21 came from large cities and 16 from rural areas. However, 12 of these 16 from rural areas had been away from home before evacuation in colleges and positions in the larger cities on the Pacific Coast. The 4 who had never lived in urban areas are very young and were still attending high school when evacuation took place. The evacuees interviewed were either Catholic, Protestant, or practiced no religion.

Washington has always attracted the white-collar clerical, stenographic, and professional people. By far the largest number of evacuees employed in the city are in that group--46 clerks and stenographers, and 8 professional people, and most of them are in government positions. The other positions open to them are similar to those one finds in any community of this size. Evacuees are employed in such jobs as nurse, dressmaker, artist, farmer, draftsman, domestic, retail clerk, beautician, student, laboratory assistant, photographer, teacher, baby nurse, and housewife. Nineteen are full-time students or part-time students. Many more opportunities are available both in the government agencies and in private industry. In December 1943, the numbers of evacuees employed in non-government positions were almost equal to those in government jobs. Fifty were employed by the government and 43 in private industry. Except in certain Civil Service positions evacuees have not had much difficulty finding jobs. Varied opportunities are open to them, and

only a few have been refused jobs because of their race. Although there is not an abundance of positions for which Issei would qualify, there are numerous opportunities other than in government employment in which they could find placement. Farming in the outlying areas of the districts could be undertaken on a small scale through profit-sharing arrangements on large estates. This would be an excellent opportunity for Issei.

Reasons for Relocating.

a. Relocation Decision.

Evacuees coming to Washington have strongly expressed their reasons for leaving the centers. Their motives reflect a universal discontent with the relocation centers and an urge to escape from them.

"The place was depressing and I just hated to live with so many Japanese people. The environment is artificial and one which lowers everyone's morale. It isn't good for a person to live there."

P. stated his feelings with greater intensity:

"Evacuation made me very bitter and it took the Poston incident to change me... This bitterness continued until I started hearing the pro-Japanese declarations during the incident. I was revolted by them and realized that in spite of my anger my feelings were entirely American. Then I decided to make plans to relocate."

An Issei employed as a housekeeper reflects the same attitudes:

"I don't like being lazy and not having enough work. Too many people at the projects get that way. That is why they ought to get out as soon as possible. It isn't good, and that is why I left. The place was not conducive to learning good work habits."

Most of the people who have come to Washington had no doubt they could secure fairly good jobs and care for themselves. They were confident in their ability to get along outside so far as employment was concerned.

b. Selection of Washington.

Selection of Washington as the destination for relocation was based on economic and family considerations. For the stenographers and typists, the Civil Service positions were especially attractive since they paid more than private industry. This is true also for those in professional positions. Several came to the city because their relatives or friends had preceded them here. They usually sought jobs after their arrival. A few were interested in the educational opportunities of the area. Several state they did not wish to come to Washington but an attractive job offer (usually Civil Service) made them reconsider. A. stated:

"I always said I would not come to Washington because of the rumors at the center that Washington was an impossible place in which to live, the crowds were terrible, and there was no housing available."

However, in the past, selection of Washington for relocation purposes presented serious problems to evacuees. Before they could come here they had to have Eastern Defense Command clearance granted by the Japanese American Joint Board. Frequently it took months before the clearance was granted because of the large number of cases the Board considered. Z. stated:

"I would have come before this time but I had to wait six months for EDC clearance. Fortunately my new employer was willing to hold the job for me."

In the past although there was no exclusion order on the East Coast, WRA agreed to accept the Joint Board recommendations concerning EDC and did not release people for employment in the Eastern Defense Command if they did not have a favorable Joint Board recommendation. WRA has never assumed responsibility for those evacuees coming to this area from other cities. Recently WRA has stated that Joint Board recommendations are not necessary for entrance to this part of the country. With the relaxation of the rules dealing with EDC clearance an increased number of individuals may now come to Washington and other cities in the area.

Primary Adjustment

a. Housing.

The first concern of evacuees upon relocating are employment and housing. In the City of Washington, housing has always posed a problem for newcomers. This is essentially a high rental city with many apartments and rooming houses. Furnished apartments are rare and expensive. The war has accentuated the housing problem considerably, but fortunately many dwellings have been built to meet the increased demand. Evacuees coming to Washington have faced the difficulties which all others arriving at this time meet.

Prejudice by landladies in connection with renting rooms and apartments to Nisei has not been especially serious. Individuals have encountered such people, but they have not found it impossible to find adequate housing. The Washington Federation of Churches, the Relocation Office, and several personnel offices have been helpful. In three cases reported to the writer after the Nisei were living in the apartments their landladies wished to evict them. In two of these cases the landladies became disturbed as a result of a visit of a Civil Service investigator who referred to the Nisei as "Japs". The Nisei were able to handle the landladies by explaining that they were American citizens of Japanese ancestry. The matter was dropped. In the third case the landlady became disturbed when the evacuee did not return from a date with her fiance (whom she married several weeks later), until 12 midnight. She ordered the eviction.

As yet there have been no evictions reported as a result of adverse publicity in the newspapers about the Dies Committee accusations, the Doolittle fliers' executions, and the Japanese atrocity stories.

In view of the segregated housing for Negroes in this city, it is fortunate the prejudices against Negroes have not extended to the Nisei. The Negroes are forced to live in relatively high rental dwellings which are inferior to the homes of most of the white population. The Nisei live among the white population in the more desirable houses and in the more desirable sections of the city. This is true for those in Virginia and Maryland as well as in the District of Columbia. Most of the Nisei live in rooming houses and these have been plentiful. Many of the Nisei living in rooms, however, have been dissatisfied as they feel the lack of freedom and the social life which an apartment offers. Some live in apartments. As unfurnished apartments are expensive, only those who are able to form groups can afford them. Several of the girls have done this. In one case six Nisei girls and one Caucasian joined together to rent a furnished house. In several other cases two and three Nisei formed groups to rent an apartment. These apartments have been hard to find and have required several months of searching.

The married couples have found it difficult living in rooming houses and have had to face the dilemma of whether or not to purchase furniture. They do not consider Washington their permanent residence and hesitate to invest in furniture. Yet they cannot afford furnished apartments. Recently the National Housing Authority has permitted them to apply for war housing dwellings and several are now living in the newly built colonies. These are low rental units, and some of the couples have been willing to purchase furniture because of the rental savings. B. presents the problem of the married couples well:

"I have tried hard to find a furnished apartment but this seems to be impossible. I can't afford to buy furniture. Right now D. and I are living in a furnished room, but this is not satisfactory. We have many Caucasian friends who invite us out to visit them. However, we never can reciprocate and these friendships become one-way affairs. We always hesitate to make new friends."

Evacuees in Washington have tended not to move about much. Few have moved from room to room. Most of the moves have been from rooms to apartments, or from the original temporary room into a more permanent dwelling. Marriages have brought about changes in residence. But on the whole, the evacuees have not been a shifting group.

There is no conspicuous concentration of Nisei in any one section of the city. A large number live in Virginia and Maryland, and those in Washington have found residence in all parts of the city. However, they prefer the northwest section as this is the most desirable section in which to live. As they are scattered throughout this largest section of the city, they have not formed a conspicuous group and have not concentrated in particular streets. No complaints have been reported from that section against them.

b. Employment.

Jobs have not been a serious problem for the evacuees. In most cases they have obtained jobs shortly after their arrival in this city. Frequently they had Civil Service positions waiting for them, and they were able to select the particular Civil Service position they wished. The Relocation Office has encouraged them to make their own job selections after their arrival. This has worked well for most people. J. stated:

"I really enjoyed job-hunting. The Relocation Officer sent me to U.S.E.S. They have given me several good leads."

In view of the Civil Service Commission ruling that evacuees must be given a prior investigation before employment, the Relocation Office has been able to assist many of the Nisei interested in government positions by obtaining temporary employment for them with the Community War Fund until Civil Service investigations are completed. At one time in the fall there were fifteen girls doing secretarial work for the Washington Community War Fund. This arrangement was not only of assistance to the girls, but it helped the Relocation Office develop its relationship with that important social agency. One of the War Fund officials even declared, "Our only regret is that we have to let these young women go back to work for the government soon."

The types of jobs in which the evacuees have been employed in Washington have been described above. With few exceptions, the people are employed in positions for which they are trained. There are several instances in which some girls are employed as domestics pending plans to further their education. There have been very few complaints about jobs, and very little turnover. The reputation of some of the Nisei in Chicago who are referred to as "60-day Japs" or "6-day Japs" is not found in this city. Most of the job changes have been made by those who were given temporary employment by WRA until permanent jobs were located in other government agencies. Even those in private industry have not changed jobs frequently. Most of the Nisei are employed in work similar to their pre-evacuation jobs. This is especially true for the Civil Service employees. In addition, several have found opportunities in Washington which they could not have found on the West Coast. If E. had remained on the West Coast he would have been forced to continue his agricultural laborer job. His father died shortly after E. completed Junior College. E. had to support his family. Now in Washington he is taking a laboratory technician course. As soon as he completes the course he hopes to call his mother and younger brother to Washington.

"On the West Coast I never would have been able to get a laboratory technician job. There, Civil Service offered the best opportunities for Nisei. Most Nisei professionals found the doors closed to them. On the West Coast the Japanese had to do all the dirty work just as the Negroes in this city have to."

U.'s experience is even more illustrative of the new opportunities found by Nisei. He studied commercial art in one of the West Coast art schools.

Evacuation came before he finished. When he came to Washington he expressed interest in a job opportunity as a commercial artist but was refused such a job on one of the large newspapers because he could not show samples of his work. He persisted and finally when he received his materials and made some samples they offered him a job.

"They pay me \$40 a week to begin with ... This job has many post-war possibilities and I am getting invaluable experience."

Very few have sustained irreparable losses because of evacuation. This is the case probably because the group here are relatively young. G. would have built up a poultry farm with his brothers if he had remained in California. He came to Maryland to work on a poultry farm but the work did not develop as anticipated and he left for another job. However, this job is one he probably never would have turned to if he had remained in California and it has offered new and excellent opportunities for him. He accepted an offer to teach Judo in a University and the work developed so well that he is now teaching physical education rather than merely Judo. He has been promised a position after the war and is being encouraged to continue studies in that field. On the other hand, V. is one of the few people who feels she is not gaining from the work she is now doing. She claims that evacuation has been a serious handicap to her career.

"I am earning the same amount I received at U.S.E.S. in California. In Washington I work as supervisor and stenographer in WRA. However, my promotion possibilities are not good now and it will probably be very hard for me to get a professional position."

Most of the salaries the Nisei receive are fairly good. For the Civil Service employees, in most cases they represent an increase. However, even for the others the salaries are quite adequate. Very few receive high salaries. Most are able to enjoy a few minor luxuries and pay for fairly good housing.

Although most of the evacuees have had very little difficulty in obtaining and retaining their jobs, several have had discouraging experiences with a few prejudiced government agencies and with Civil Services clearances before they could obtain government employment. They have had to wait from three weeks to six months before clearance was granted. The Civil Service interviews are not always pleasant and suspicions toward the evacuees have been expressed. This is particularly the case for young professional Nisei. S.'s case may be cited as an example.

"I came to Washington, April 1943, and then my troubles started. I waited six months for Civil Service clearance. Several jobs were denied me because of race prejudice, and then X agency offered me a job as an economist. They fought with Civil Service to try to put through my appointment quickly. After a long wait I went to WRA as well as to some of the Representatives and Senators for help. I now feel better about the whole thing, but I certainly was depressed at the time. I can understand the need for Civil

Service caution but the long wait was discouraging. I worked at the fruit and vegetable counter of a grocery store until the Civil Service came through in October 1943. I took my job at a P-1 rating in the fruit and vegetable section of Q. The work is excellent. I have many responsibilities, but I do see some limitations particularly in salary raises."

One of the most extreme cases of Civil Service obstacles to employment has been the experience of C. For six months he awaited clearance. The agency wishing to employ him notified him that he had finally been cleared and could report for work on one week. During that week he was married and his picture appeared in a local newspaper. Someone complained to the Commission and to other individuals that the Government should not hire "Japs". The Commission withdrew C.'s eligibility declaration and refused to certify him. WRA is negotiating with the Commission on this case. However, it is an unusual one and as of January 5, 1944 only 20 out of 197 cases received have been rejected. This represents but a small number. It is the stronger individuals who have been willing to face the obstacles imposed by the Commission but most of them have survived this hurdle very well.

Positions Held by Resettlers in Washington, December 1943.

Stenographers, Secretaries and Typists	41
Clerks	3
Accounting Clerks	2
Domestics	16
Supervisors (in government agencies)	2
Language Teachers	1
Translators	1
Economists	4
Commercial Artists	2
Statisticians	1
Nurses	2
Draftsmen	1
Photographers	1
Teachers	1
Farmers	5
Students	19
Those with no outside work	10
Those with outside work	9
on farm	1
domestic	5
library work	1
retail clerk	1
laboratory assistant	1
Retail Clerks	2
Labor Organizers	1
Dressmakers	1
Beauticians	2

Social Adjustment of the Nisei in Washington Area.

a. Social Life and Assimilation.

The evacuees' major complaints in Washington have related to their lack of social life. They have found the social outlets limited and have not become integrated members of the community. They complain that,

"Social life doesn't exist here to any great extent. We Nisei have no place to entertain and don't really know enough people. Most of my friends are Nisei. I have a few Caucasian friends I made through my office but that is all."

V. comments,

"At present most of my friends are Nisei and I haven't done much to meet other people. I haven't joined any organizations. My recreation consists mainly of going to movies or sightseeing."

Movies, sightseeing, occasional parties at the International House, some social visits and parties at friends' apartments have been the extent of their recreation. Very few attend the numerous lectures and concerts in the city. None reported they belonged to any of the interest or hobby clubs.

The large number of single girls in the city complain that they have no dates and that it is not easy to know Caucasians. K. describes the plight of the Nisei girls well:

"Most of my social life revolves around the church. I belong to the Young People's group there and I get along fairly well with them. Social life here is difficult because it isn't easy to get to know Caucasians and Nisei should not be seen together in too large numbers. Mr. H. told us that. This is restraining. Furthermore, there are no boys to go out with and I hesitate to date any Caucasian boys. The only times most of the Nisei girls get dates are when boys in the Army visit us when they come to Washington."

Like K., many of the girls hesitate to date Caucasian boys, and others who would like to have not had the opportunity. Not only do they miss the social life they had at one time, but during the holiday seasons they feel the lack of home life keenly. The interview with N. describes this situation vividly. At Thanksgiving she felt guilty that she was invited out to dinner when she heard the other Nisei discussing among themselves what restaurant they would go to for their dinner.

"It was so different from what they had been used to when they were with their families."

In order to remedy this situation at Christmas, N. invited fourteen Nisei to dinner at her apartment.

Of the Nisei interviewed, five participated to some extent in church activities, though not a great deal, three went to International House, two belonged to the federal workers' union, and three had a rather extensive social life in their schools. Eleven claimed no connections with any organizations. It is evident that only a small number have participated in the activities of the community. None of the evacuees interviewed have used the recreational facilities of the YWCA, YMCA, or other community centers, nor have they volunteered in Red Cross, Civilian Defense, and other such organizations. They have remained aloof from the community and Caucasians. Instead they have tended to form small all-Nisei cliques. Some have made Caucasian friendships in their offices or neighborhoods, but these have been infrequent and rather superficial.

The lack of adequate social life and participation in community organizations may be attributed to the unaggressive character of the Nisei who have come to Washington. They are hesitant about moving into existing community organizations, they are inclined to assume a passive role in the community, and they tend to remain on the periphery of activities. The community on the other hand has made no planned and concerted effort to meet them. In only a few instances have they approached the Nisei. The YWCA has invited them to join some of its groups, the International House has been cordial, some churches have offered invitations, but only a few have joined these groups. Those who have gone to the International House have been especially satisfied and have made many new friends. No other groups have extended invitations to them nor have they made any effort to meet them.

The attitudes of the Nisei toward labor unions have been significant and have reflected their general unaggressive and insecure position. Few have considered unions to be social groups in the community which they might have an interest in joining in common with other employees. As a matter of fact, several were strongly opposed to Nisei joining unions. B. expresses this point of view:

"I don't like any type of political affiliations, even if the group is friendly and will fight for us as the union did in the case of P. and the X Department. If I were P., I would never have asked any group to fight for me if I were not wanted in a particular job. I wouldn't want to work in such a place. I am not interested in the broader principles involved. I don't believe in forcing anyone. Nisei should not be conspicuous and should avoid any publicity. I prefer to remain out of all controversies."

They do not look upon a union as an organization in which they can develop social relationships. They are primarily interested in remaining aloof from groups which take definite stands on controversial issues. L., on the other hand, thinks in different terms from most Nisei. He has joined the union, has made many friends there, serves on numerous committees and appealed to the union to help him when he was refused a position because of his Japanese ancestry. The union was able to assist him.

The individuals who are truly assimilated in the community are those who have become a part of the groups through which people express their various interests in the cultural, political, economic, religious, or social life of the community. As has been noted thus far, the Nisei have made very little attempt toward such assimilation. Most of them are content to gain a few friends and go to the usual movies and sightseeing trips and occasional parties. Although very few admit they are enjoying this type of social life, they have never shown any interest or desire to go beyond this and join the existing community organizations.

There are other reasons besides the unaggressive attitudes of the evacuees which account for their inability to become assimilated in the community. They are still thinking in terms of the relocation centers and project affairs because their parents in most cases are at the project. So long as their family affairs remain unsettled and they maintain ties to a relocation center they will undoubtedly not feel that they are completely a part of the new community in which they live. Of the 22 people interviewed, 18 had parents in the centers; one girl's parents had relocated, two had no parents, and one boy's parents were never evacuated as they live in Utah. The evacuees are concerned about their parents' future. Many are attempting to assist them with their plans. Some send money for their support. They feel responsible to inform them of relocation possibilities, or to discourage them. The parents look to them for information about the world outside. The Nisei find it hard to communicate with their parents because of language handicaps. Furthermore, the fact that their parents are in relocation centers makes them concerned with center policies. For example, during the segregation program, several of the evacuees in Washington whose parents were in Tule Lake became upset by the approaching events. They were fearful about the plans their parents might make; they wondered how much help their parents would receive in packing to move; they wondered where they would be sent; and they had many questions about the significance of the segregation policy. Even more stable individuals expressed a good deal of anxiety about their parents, and several threatened to return to the center to help them.

Not only is their present tie to the center a possible factor in their inability to become integrated in the new community, but the relationships between Caucasians and evacuees at the centers influence their thinking and feelings toward Caucasians. At the projects a type of caste system has grown up and among some of the administrators the "white supremacy" idea is dominant even if not always on a conscious level. J. expressed the feeling of some of the evacuees on the project:

"In the relocation center I had been employed as secretary to the project director along with his Caucasian secretary. Of course I was not considered as important as his Caucasian secretary."

This was said with much feeling. In addition to this attitude the evacuees have become more sensitive to any type of prejudice or even ignorant remarks than they were before evacuation. They recognize this sensitivity and that as part of their adjustment they should overcome it.

"I realize we are too sensitive, we never were before evacuation, but now I always hear people say, 'there go two Japs', and things like that. It is hard to take. I do resent people staring at me because I don't feel different than they."

Even in the case of L. who is getting along excellently in his job in the physical education department of a University, he was afraid to put himself in a position in which he might meet prejudiced attitudes.

"I was offered a job as salesman (in a downtown department store) but refused. I guess I am still afraid to meet the public. I know there are many stores that would not give me jobs meeting the public, but even when offered this I somehow felt I couldn't take it."

Underlying their fears of prejudice and discrimination and their hesitation to go out to meet the community is their fundamental insecurity in facing the world. It is this psychological phenomenon which has inhibited many evacuees from leaving the centers. Although those relocating have overcome this initial inertia, their insecurity and fears are still in evidence and inhibit them from making an adequate adjustment. There is a certain amount of reality behind their insecurity though. So long as the hostile press continues to rant against them, they cannot feel entirely comfortable and there is always the fear that unexpressed prejudices can be whipped into action. The issue of racism in this war is vividly before them. Many fear that they will be unable to find jobs after the war. They fear that the returning soldiers will resent them violently. They are uncertain about their future. They are caught between the realization that remaining in the center would not have offered real security to them, and their observation that the type of security they now enjoy may be temporary.

b. Family Compositions and Plans.

Although there are few complete families in the Washington area, there is a surprising number of small family nuclei consisting of siblings, married couples and their children. Of the 125 evacuees reported in this city, 65 have one or more members of their family here or recently departed for the Army. The T. family, for example, have 6 members here, and the Y. family have 5 members. The X.'s hope that their parents and younger brother will soon join them. These 65 individuals make up 30 family groups. Although the older people have not yet joined these small groups, there are signs that plans are being made in several families to call out the parents. In 10 of the interviews definite plans were announced concerning family relocation. In several, the families will be coming to Washington. In others, brothers and sisters in other parts of the country will receive the parents. In only one case were the parents already out of the center. An example of the type of planning one is now hearing about is H.'s family.

"I plan to bring my entire family to Washington in a few weeks; my fiancée, her sister, my mother, and my sister and nephew will come. My brother-in-law arrived recently and is working as gardner and houseman."

One can expect that some Nisei in this city will soon be welcoming their parents on the outside. The Relocation Office of this area has worked in this direction from its inception, not by directly insisting on such plans, but through casual discussions and through encouraging such planning on the part of the evacuees. The Office has encouraged siblings to join those members of the family already in Washington in order to build up family nuclei so that parents will be attracted to the city by their children.

There is still much hesitation among the Nisei about calling their Issei parents to Washington. The social isolation which the Issei will have to endure caused by the lack of an Issei community is an obstacle they face. In spite of this, several are bringing their parents to this community hopeful that at some time in the future a small Issei community will develop as more Issei arrive. F. who lives in Virginia with her sister and her one year old niece expressed the hesitation of both the Issei and Nisei:

"Mother would have come out before this time but she wished to stay longer with her friends. We know it will be hard for her in Virginia since she does not speak English and has no Issei friends around. At the center she is very active in the Methodist Church, but that will not be possible here. She is anxious to come out though to be with her children and we hope eventually we will be able to live near other Issei so that she can have some friends."

In addition to the families which are slowly amalgamating in Washington, several new families have been created through marriages. There have been no marriages among Nisei who have met since relocating to Washington. All of the marriages thus far have been among Nisei who knew each other either at the relocation center or before evacuation. Several girls have married boys in the Army. No marriages have taken place between Nisei and Caucasians in Washington. In New York City, several such marriages have been reported. The large number of unmarried single girls and the small number of unmarried single men support the concern of the Issei about their daughters' marriage possibilities.

The family constellation of the Japanese has changed considerably since evacuation and relocation. Today those families which have accepted relocation have been torn apart. Of 21 individuals interviewed who have been in relocation centers, 16 have brothers and sisters who have also left the centers. In most cases they are scattered throughout the United States. M., for example, has 2 married sisters in the project, 2 brothers in New York, 1 in Boise, and 1 in Chicago. B.'s mother is in the center (though about to leave to join her), 2 brothers are in St. Louis, and 1 brother in New York. Although this phenomenon is to be expected when there are adult members in a family, particularly when some are married, this scattering is unusual and is caused by relocation and evacuation. The evacuees who have moved away from their parents have no place which they can point to as home (where they left their parents) except the center. A few still refer to California as home, but its symbol of family stability is gone, and California recalls to them a scene of pre-evacuation stability and sentiment.

Individual Problems and Adjustment

There have been no serious cases of maladjusted individuals in this city. The type of persons who have been attracted to this area have been quite mature and responsible. No zoot-suiters have come here. The one adolescent here who might conceivably have become a zoot-suiter if in the company of other such like-minded individuals, found this city uninteresting and complained bitterly:

"I probably would like it here if I had friends. I hate to wander around the city alone. I miss my friends at the center. We had loads of fun together. We went to dances, and participated in athletic events. I think I will like New York better because it has more Nisei there my age. There are too many old people in Washington."

a. Examples of Poor Adjustment.

Although there have been no social and personality breakdowns, several of the individuals coming to the city have found it difficult to adjust and have needed assistance in meeting their problems. Two such cases will illustrate the types of maladjustment found here. T., before evacuation, had been unable to find employment in the profession for which he was trained because of discrimination. He was farming a large ranch and was about to realize a substantial profit when evacuation was ordered. It left him stunned, bitter, and confused. In the center he became a leader of the community and enjoyed this position.

"I relocated not because I wished to but because my mother and C. urged me to."

Unfortunately, things did not work out as he expected. He was not offered a satisfactory job and became disillusioned when he learned several of the firms were refusing to hire Nisei. He decided to return to the center where he thought life was not so frustrating.

"Everytime I had suggested returning to the center my mother, C., and the project director wrote me long letters urging and begging me not to."

When T. visited Washington his friends urged him to seek a job in his profession. Again T. was discouraged. He was refused several positions because of race discrimination. When one was finally offered to him he had to wait six months for Civil Service clearance. When clearance was given him, it was withdrawn one week later. He was working in G. agency on a temporary appointment during this period at a very low salary. In addition to these very severe setbacks which T. has had to endure, he faces many of his difficulties unrealistically. He feels he should have been earning a large income by this time in his life. He should have been comfortably settled and able to plan his future, he says,--although he is only 24 years old. He has a great need to succeed and "make a name for myself". All of the frustrations he has suffered have made him resigned and skeptical. He resents asking anyone for help.

He wishes to be entirely independent of others. Whenever things become too overwhelming and upsetting, his desire to return to the center becomes stronger. He recognizes that this is an escape mechanism, but does not see that these threats represent punishment against C. for urging him to leave the center when he had not wished to. He was able to admit, when interviewer questioned him in some detail, that:

"I left the center to please C. and my mother and not because I wished to. I realize the center is not the place for me, but I should have stayed until I was ready to leave when I wanted to. I admit there is security in a way in the center and that perhaps my threatening to go back is an expression of defeat. I guess I do use it as a threat and probably don't always mean it. If I had left because I wanted to my pride would keep me from threatening to return, but under the circumstances I know it will upset other people more than myself when I threaten to return."

T. is caught between his drive to achieve unusual success, his desire to accumulate money, his frustrations, and his desire to escape in a direction which will give him satisfaction and a relative security, but which will not help him achieve the success and life goals he has set for himself.

Another case of an individual who has been having a good deal of difficulty in adjusting is H. H. is a 25 year old boy, immature and unhappy. He married K. when she decided to relocate to accept a job in Maryland. The family did not wish her to come alone and that is why they married. K. is the more stable individual and has had to help H. He was angry when the Relocation Office did not offer him a job the first day but encouraged him to seek his own by suggesting possible employment sources. Although this procedure has worked well for others, it did not for H. Within two weeks H. became discouraged because he did not find a job. He resented asking his wife for money. Finally the Relocation Office told him about an opening for a technician and he accepted this job. However, he insists WRA should have given him additional assistance. They should have had a job waiting for him. For that reason he dislikes the Relocation Office. He feels very inadequate. Now he is confused and concerned about his future. He is a graduate of a Junior College where he studied science. He would like to come a physician but must first complete college. He also wishes to support his wife. He has several other occupations in mind which will require a good deal of training and money. He wishes his present job would pay more. Instead of thinking through his plans, he is floundering about unable to focus on a realistic approach to his quest for further education and security. He complains a great deal but does nothing about it.

b. Example of a Satisfactory Adjustment.

These two cases illustrate the types of problems and their reactions which some of the Nisei have faced upon relocation. Others have faced similarly difficult situations, but have been able to work them out to their satisfaction. D.'s case reflects the latter. D. too was upset and bitter

because of evacuation. He had his master's degree in mathematics and was unsuccessful in California in finding jobs in his field of work. At the relocation center he did research work. When he relocated he accepted a job as a statistical clerk. He tried to obtain a job as mathematician in another government agency but was rejected because of his Japanese ancestry. He refused to accept the decision stating this was contrary to the Presidential Order against discrimination. He even appealed to the Secretary of The Department. When ignored, he turned to the union asking their support. The union took the case up with the agency and the decision was reversed. Several positions were offered him. By this time he was also offered a job as Assistant Statistician in WRA with a considerable increase in salary. He decided to remain in that agency. D. has made many new friends in Washington. He belongs to several organizations including the union. He attends concerts, lectures, and is invited to many parties and gatherings by both evacuees and Caucasians. He has many close friends among both groups. D. comments that his adjustment has not been easy.

"I understand why people look upon Nisei as peculiar when they first see them. They probably have never seen them before, but still it made me feel ill-at-ease, everywhere. I went when people stared at me. However, I have changed. I feel more confident in myself. I found that people have been accepting and friendly. Living here has had another effect upon me. In the center and when I first came to Washington, I found that I had developed the 'I don't give a damn attitude'. I treated people in this manner. Now I am becoming more balanced and have learned that it is wiser to be diplomatic and to control myself. I am no longer conscious of discrimination."

Attitudes of the Evacuees in Washington

The types of attitudes and ideas the evacuees in Washington express reflect the kind of adjustment and degree of assimilability in the community one can expect. These attitudes and ideas will be discussed through an examination of the type of people they are, and of their attitudes toward themselves, toward Caucasians, toward community groups, toward WRA, and toward other minority groups, and of their outlook for the future.

a. Attitudes toward Themselves and Group Participation. .

"Most Nisei are conventional, they feel they must do things everyone else does in order to be accepted. Many of them don't develop original ideas for that reason. They act, think, dress, and go into activities that are laid down by society to such an extent that many of them lose their individuality. They are afraid of anything controversial or anything that will make them stand out and appear different from everyone else."

So spoke a Nisei, himself unconventional, when he described the other Nisei in Washington. The Nisei in Washington come from middle class conventional

homes, they have absorbed that philosophy and have shaped their thinking accordingly. They have a need to be accepted and to belong. They are continuing and advancing in the direction their parents started in their struggle to become a part of this country. Most of the individuals interviewed were essentially conservative, cautious individuals, sensitive as a result of evacuation, and anxious to get ahead. For that reason many felt that evacuees should not join groups which would make them conspicuous, or which would identify them with any controversial subjects. N. expressed this well. She stated that Nisei should not be helped to make social contacts or to combat prejudices. "Everything is a matter of personal contact", according to her thinking, and nothing could be done through organizations. She felt this also applied to the matter of removing prejudices both with respect to Negroes and to Japanese Americans. P. described the Nisei as a group who are "bashful and shy and will not go out of their way to know other people. Most Nisei are frightened and have to be put at ease." Several state that they should no longer form "Little Tokyos" and should scatter throughout the country and in each city. Yet they are unable to do this. As has been shown above, they form social cliques among themselves and share apartments with each other rather than with Caucasian friends. They recognize and encourage each other's unaggressive behavior.

b. Attitudes toward Caucasians.

The attitudes of Nisei toward Caucasians have been described in the section on their social adjustment. In summary, many of the Nisei comment that they should expand their friendships and meet Caucasians. But other than in church (to a minor degree), at International House (again only a few attend its functions); in the job (to a large extent), and in the case of a few Nisei through the union, they have not made contacts and friendships with Caucasians. They wish to be accepted by the Caucasians, but are unable to make real friendships. Those who have been able to form close Caucasian contacts have been individuals who are more aggressive, and who have been isolated from other Nisei and have had to turn to Caucasians for social life. Those in schools, and those who before evacuation had had many more friendships among Caucasians than among Nisei have had little difficulty. With few exceptions the college graduates are in this group.

c. Attitudes toward discrimination and prejudice.

On the whole, the evacuees in this area have met very little prejudice and discrimination. The most serious cases have been found in government agencies, particularly in Civil Service Commission. Frequently Nisei have been mistaken for Chinese and in most cases the Nisei have patiently explained they are American citizens of Japanese ancestry--always stressing the word American. Most of the questions directed at them have reflected only normal curiosity. There are several instances when girls have had derogatory remarks made to them but these have been rare. One evacuee described an interesting reaction:

"One of the girls (a college student) I'm especially friendly with, called me into her room a few weeks ago and told me she had opposed my coming when she learned about it. She had stormed through the halls telling

people she didn't like Japs. She was very aloof at first. Now we are very close friends and she apologized to me for ever entertaining such thoughts. I guess prejudices are broken down when people know us. It is only when they never have seen us that they get these queer ideas."

N. summarized the situation vividly when she stated:

"I guess the people here are so preoccupied mistreating the Negroes they haven't even noticed the Nisei are descending on Washington."

However, in spite of the relative lack of prejudice some of the evacuees are still uneasy and this has a serious effect on their adjustment. E.'s fears are extreme and pessimistic but express some of the underlying anxieties among the Nisei:

"Although discrimination seems to be very minimum in this city, I think the future is very uncertain. When soldiers start returning from the Army they will bring with them prejudices against Japanese. If there are no jobs for them they will resent any Nisei who have jobs. They will think we took the jobs while they were away. I feel it is imperative that the Japanese be scattered over this country with very few in each community. I don't think any more should come to Washington as we will soon become too conspicuous. Riots can occur. I have read a good deal about the riots in Detroit against the Negroes. Prejudices of an inflamed population can do the same against the Japanese, against any minority group as a matter of fact. I don't think it will happen now, but as the war against Japan continues, feeling will become stronger."

d. Attitudes toward WRA.

With few exceptions, most of the Nisei interviewed had a very healthy view of the role they thought WRA should assume in assisting them when they left the project. They feel they should not continue to be dependent on the Authority.

"I think WRA should help an individual when he first leaves the center. However, the individual must also be taught and aided to stand on his own and not try to fall back on WRA for everything. The Japanese were an independent people before evacuation and have to be helped to become independent again."

J. too elaborated this point of view:

"I think WRA is doing a very good relocation job. They should help people to obtain work who cannot get it on

their own. However, those who can search for their own jobs should not be dependent on WRA. The sooner the evacuees can become independent the better it is for them."

The major complaints against WRA were voiced by the more immature individuals who objected to the fact that the Relocation Office tried to help them find their own jobs rather than offering them specific ones. A., a 17 year old boy, complained:

"WRA ought to help the younger ones get better jobs. In Chicago and Washington they didn't help me. I went to them and didn't like what they had to offer so I found my own, with my sister's help."

K. stated:

"The Relocation Office didn't help us much. We didn't like that. We shouldn't have had to look for the job."

e. Attitudes toward other minority groups.

In adjusting to their new environment in Washington the evacuees have faced the fact that although the population has on the whole expressed little prejudice against them, there exists a very forceful prejudice against the Negroes who make up one fourth of the population of the city. Although most of the evacuees have experienced some prejudice in California, it has not been as serious (until evacuation) as the type of prejudice practiced against Negroes in the South. The Nisei in California were not shut out entirely from white society. On coming to Washington the Nisei were surprised to find a large Negro population in this city. Their attitudes toward the Negroes another minority group, have been significant. Three attitudes have been observed: (1) There is an identification with the Negroes and a decided sympathy.

"I didn't realize that Washington was the South and that Jim Crow existed here. I didn't like it. Maltreatment of any group on a racial basis is unfair and dangerous. All minority groups suffer when one group is persecuted."

Several in this group have become friendly with some Negroes and have learned to know them personally. (2) The largest number of Nisei recognize that discrimination against Negroes, another minority group, is a serious matter but feel that they should remain aloof from this situation and have little contact with the Negroes except in their jobs as they cannot help that. R. commented:

"I didn't know many Negroes in the past. Here in my office my contacts with the Negroes in the mail and file and supply rooms have been very pleasant. I don't know them too well though and have no outside contacts with them. One of the Nisei was told by a prominent church

person that it was all right to work with Negroes but not good to go out socially with them."

O. stated:

"I don't dislike them, but I don't go out of my way to get to know them well. There are some that work in my office and they seem to be very nice. I only eat with them on rare occasions."

(3) The third attitude is one of rejection and assumption of the existing white attitudes of the community. There are very few in this group.

f. Attitudes toward the relocation center.

In their discussions of their past and present experiences, few of the evacuees referred to their relocation center experiences. Only when the interviewer asked them about their occupations there and reasons for relocating did they discuss these experiences. In considering their life experiences, apparently the centers mean little to them and contain memories they would like to forget. I. vividly expressed this:

"My family was sent to Santa Anita and living conditions were pretty terrible there. The world seemed so different. I did not feel I could look ahead any more, to plan for my future. It was as if my future had stopped. The Granada Center wasn't too bad, but then no relocation center is good for anyone, and all-Japanese communities are bad here in the United States. Furthermore, there was no real incentive to work there and we just deteriorated."

Most of the evacuees point to the lack of incentive and deterioration of work habits when they discuss the centers. They all agree the centers are poor places in which to live. I., a 50 year old Issei who is very young in her thinking and is more like a Nisei, vigorously expressed herself:

"I don't like being lazy and not having enough work. Too many people at the projects get that way. That is why they ought to get out as soon as possible. It isn't good, and that is why I left. The place was not conducive to learning good work habits ... Of course Issei find it hard to relocate. Too many Issei feel the government should support them because they have lost so much money. I don't approve of this; they don't realize that center living is bad for them. They lose their initiative and harm themselves."

In only two cases did the individuals claim they gained a good deal from center experience though they both agree they would not like to return.

- g. Attitudes toward permanence in Washington, toward California, and toward the future.

Another indication of the ability of the evacuees to adjust in Washington is reflected in their attitudes toward their new homes. Do they plan to settle in the community, become a part of it, or are they still transient? Are they still thinking of California? What are their plans for the future? Most of the evacuees who have come to this area do not look upon Washington as a city in which they wish to remain permanently. In view of the increased population here because of war work, this attitude is common to a large portion of the population. It is because of their feeling of temporariness that in many instances, the evacuees do not associate themselves with the community. B. stated:

"Right now we just feel suspended, going nowhere. I guess the future will decide the matter for us."

Only three evacuees interviewed stated they thought they would like to remain in Washington and thought they had a future here. One was an Issei housekeeper who has a very good position, and because of her knowledge of English and her long experience with Caucasians does not miss Issei company. The other two individuals have unusually good professional opportunities which they feel will continue after the war. Several others have commented that if they could find satisfactory employment in Washington after the war, they would not object to remaining here. But they are not thinking as yet in terms of making Washington a permanent home. Most of the Nisei are uncertain just where they will move next. This will depend on the other members of the family and available employment. Several are enjoying their independence and therefore are not planning to rejoin their families although they don't wish to be separated by great distances.

The Nisei interviewed were uncertain about their future. Few have been able to think ahead. They have numerous ideas, but they are vague and the situation following the war will determine their future planning. This is similar to the thinking of many other people in the United States and cannot be pointed to as an attitude peculiar to the Nisei. N. summarized this attitude well:

"I don't know how we can plan ahead though, there are so many unknown factors. We really have to plan from day to day. The first job is to get my family out of the center. Two years ago if you would have asked me about my future, I would have stated I would always live in California and run a farm. Now I am almost fatalistic about planning anything."

Only a few Nisei have expressed fears of the future in terms of a depression or prejudices by returning soldiers. Three Nisei interviewed were explicit on the subject. The others did not express as much concern and were thinking in terms of personal plans rather than the broader social scene. S. expressed the pessimistic views:

"I think the returning soldiers will be very anti-Japanese, and probably Nisei will be unemployed. The returning soldiers, if they go into the American Legion, will probably develop into a fascist type of group. I guess I am an idealist and am afraid that fascism will come. I hate the thought of ever being on relief or ever having to be dependent on anyone. ... Of course, the future in this country for the Issei is even worse than for the Nisei."

Of the 22 evacuees interviewed, only 4 expressed positive plans to return to California or the Northwest, 8 thought they might return but were uncertain, and recognized that the circumstances at the time will be the determining factors. Ten people expressed interest only in visiting California but a definite decision against returning there to live. Those with property hope to return at least to survey their belongings before making definite plans. Those with no property in California were the least interested in returning there. The 14 people interviewed who have property on the Pacific Coast were almost equally divided in their desire to return or to make a home elsewhere. K. expressed the "return to California" point of view most definitely:

"I think people ought to scatter all over the United States, and as for me, I plan to return to California. I prefer that climate and that is my home. Most of my friends are there."

I.'s family is even continuing to pay rent for their shoe repair shop in California, "to be sure that we will have it waiting for us when we return." X. gives the most common viewpoint:

"I would like to return to California as the family has property there. We leased it on a percentage basis, but we know we are being cheated. I would like to see what is being done. However, I do not care if I never go back to California to live."

Very few expressed concern about the attitudes of the people on the West Coast. Little consideration seems to be given to this important factor. The Issei interviewed was most realistic in this connection. She stated:

"The West Coast will not be happy to receive them (the Issei). The West Coast is hostile and it will take a long time to change their attitudes. ... I don't see any reason to return to the West Coast. I would merely like to visit Portland again."

Most of the Nisei had the attitude of, "Let us wait to see what happens before we make a decision."

WASHINGTON RELOCATION OFFICE

II.

The Relocation Office represents for the evacuees the link between the relocation center and assimilation into the community. The majority of evacuees upon their arrival in a new city call upon the Relocation Office in order to receive their initial introduction to the city and to become oriented to it. There are on the other hand some evacuees who make no effort to contact the WRA Relocation Office and make independent plans. Finally, there are a very small number who cling to the Relocation Office in a dependent manner until they are able to make independent decisions. The philosophy and approach of the Relocation Office to relocation and the evacuees coming to them is important because of its strategic position and its influence on their adjustment in the city. If the Relocation Office has made too many community commitments promising to obtain evacuee labor and those commitments cannot be met or have been unsatisfactory, the attitude of the Officer toward the evacuees may become subjective and critical if he is not aware of the factors causing this situation. On the other hand, if problems are ignored completely by the Office, the evacuees will have a more difficult time making an adjustment to their new environment and public relations may suffer. Because of the importance of the techniques and philosophy of the Relocation Office in handling the problems of relocation, these aspects of the Washington Office will be discussed in some detail.

Organization of the Washington Relocation Office.

When evacuees first began to come to Washington there was no Relocation Office in the city. The early newcomers were mainly government workers and students. However, in May 1943, it was recognized that relocation problems in this area were multiplying and public relations were especially important in this city. Furthermore, many evacuees were coming here for jobs in private industry as well as in government work. Assistance in housing, in job placement, in social adjustment and in public relations was necessary. The government agencies had to be informed of the possibility of employing Nisei and many had to be educated to it. The publicity around the arrival of the Kobayashi family at the Ickes farm gave rise to an increased demand for more evacuees, but it also gave rise to criticisms of WRA, especially in the Times Herald, the Patterson newspaper. By May 1943, the Washington Relocation Office was set up with two relocation officers and stenographic assistants.

Philosophy and Techniques of the Relocation Office

From its inception the Washington Relocation Office discouraged the specific job referrals and paper placements made before the evacuees arrived in the city. These were reduced to a minimum. The wisdom of this approach is illustrated by the experience of P., who comments:

"My father is considering an offer in Detroit to manage a poultry farm. He won't take the job until he sees

it--that is our advice to him. I don't like this type of blind relocation. It is best to bargain for the job and know what you're getting in for. Just look at my situation. My brother's job didn't look as good on paper as mine, yet his worked out well, and the job I came here for didn't. I would not have taken the instructor job at the University if I remained at Granada. I read the job offer and was sure I did not qualify. Yet, I am doing very well in this job now."

The Relocation Officer instead offers assistance to people who select Washington as the city in which they wish to live. Jobs are found after the individual arrives. Job offers from the community are recorded but not solicited. It is less embarrassing from the point of view of public relations since it would be impossible to fill the variety of jobs offered. Instead, when an evacuee arrives in the city, his employment interests and background are discussed and suggestions are made to him. He then goes out for several job interviews just as any other individual coming to the city. The individual may be referred to USES if he is not seeking government employment. His decision is based on the several choices offered him. In that way it is not WRA but the individual who accepts the job and the individual cannot project blame on WRA if the job does not work out well. He does not feel he accepted the job blindly. This approach to relocation and employment is essential in strengthening the evacuee's ability to make his own decision. In most cases it has worked very well. However, there are times when this approach breaks down. Among the people interviewed by the writer, there were two such cases. One was a 17 year old boy who was seeking a temporary job. He was over-demanding, insisted that a job be ready-made for him. He acted this way in Chicago also. He very much resented the Relocation Officer sending him out with suggestions about finding a job. He said a job should have been arranged for him. Finally his sister found a job for him. This boy could not accept an independent role. Probably if the Relocation Officer had secured a position he could have been critical of the job and quit to find another. O., though older, had the same attitude. His wife described his feelings about his employment experiences:

"It was very discouraging when we first came here. I had my job waiting for me. I earned \$80 a month plus room and board, but O. didn't have a job and he had a terrible time finding one. The USES sent him to the War Department and other Army medical divisions to do X-ray work, but they all turned him down because he is a Nisei. He should have had a job waiting for him when he arrived here. The Relocation Office didn't help us much. We did not like that. We shouldn't have had to look for the job. Finally after two weeks, Mr. Q. in the Relocation Office told O. about a technician job. O. had done this before as a hobby, but he accepted the job. The pay was very small, and toward the end of his pay period he was always taking money from me."

O., a very immature individual, is still uncertain about what he would like to do and projects his feelings of inadequacy and frustration on the Relocation Office.

The work of the Washington Relocation Office has been based on the "hospitality principle". The individual is offered an invitation to come to Washington to see the city, to investigate the opportunities, to determine if this city is the one in which the evacuees would like to settle. The city, its resources, and the types of opportunities found here are thoroughly described. The evacuee is encouraged to think in terms of selection of location on the basis of interest in this part of the country, the type of social, economic, and cultural opportunities of the community, and the type of people found here rather than to plan selection on the basis of a specific job offer. Only in exceptional cases the specific jobs are necessary to attract an individual so long as he has the assurances that he will be able to find a job when he arrives here. However, for those who demand specific jobs, the Relocation Office does make efforts to survey the city when the individual forwards his qualifications. This hospitality approach would have worked even more successfully if there had been a counseling program at the center. Now that one is being initiated, it will be interesting to analyze its effect on the evacuees' considerations in selection of locale for relocation. Had there been a relocation counseling program at the center, O., for example, would have had an opportunity to discuss his specific interests and future plans; he would have decided whether or not Washington was the city to which he really wanted to relocate. He would not have selected it because his fiancée, now his wife, had a job offer here.

The Relocation Officer is responsible not only for the economic or job placement aspects of evacuee adjustment, but he is also concerned with their social adjustment in the community. This has wider ramifications since it affects the community and the relations of the evacuees to the people around them. It is the job of the Relocation Officer to so organize the community that it will itself function in the area of social integration of the evacuees. There are many additional reasons for organizing the community in this direction. WRA cannot build up a large staff in each city to deal with the social adjustment problems of relocation. There are many established agencies in most cities which work in this area and there is no need for WRA to duplicate the work of these social agencies. Instead, WRA may use the resources of the community and incidentally build up good public relations as well. As the community is organized to meet these needs, the Relocation Office will then assume a changing and different role. The Relocation Office will give up the type of work the community is able to undertake and instead assume the role of a coordinator of community activities, of a representative of the National WRA, and of a liaison between the National WRA office, community and the relocation centers. This is the aim of the Relocation Office of Washington, and it is moving in this direction.

Community Organization Work of the Relocation Office

The Relocation Office in Washington inherited a committee already established to help the evacuees--the Committee for the Resettlement of Japanese. This Committee was dominated by a church group and operated on a very small

scale. It gave some assistance in housing, and suggested churches which people could attend. It secured church invitations for some people, but as the number of evacuees coming to this area increased, the work of this small Committee was inadequate. The Relocation Office recognized that an effective community committee of necessity should be organized on a broader base, that it should include leading laymen of the city, representatives of social agencies, business and professional and labor groups, as well as the church people. A good deal of work has been done in the direction of reorganizing the existing Committee to broaden the basis of representation and the scope of the work. Although the local Committee is still in the progress of reorganization, a subcommittee unofficially talked with the Director and Assistant Director of the Community War Chest about the possibility of obtaining a grant from that agency for the operation of a hostel. There were indications that such a request would be given favorable consideration. The Community War Chest is interested in this request because the Assistant Director is a member of the local relocation committee and the Nisei employed at the War Chest made a very favorable impression on the people in that office. Thus, as soon as the reorganization is complete, the plans for the development of community resources can be put into operation at once and the possibilities of establishing a hostel with local community funds may be realized.

A well-developed community committee is needed to assist the Relocation Office in problems of social and economic adjustment and in public relations. Furthermore, it is essential that the community be made aware of the newcomers, and make plans to assist them for at some time in the future WRA will be legislated out of existence. A well-organized community having functioned with the assistance and consultation of the Authority will be better equipped to take over the work completely at that time. The Washington Committee as planned will work in that direction. The Washington Committee for Relocation of Japanese Americans, when finally functioning, will be sub-divided into five committees: Housing, Employment, Adjustment, Public Relations, and Loans. The Housing Committee will be responsible for meeting the evacuees at the depot, establishing and maintaining a hostel for temporary shelter, and helping evacuees find permanent housing. The Employment Committee will work on specialized placements and help break down employer resistances to hiring Nisei and Issei. The Adjustment Committee will plan socials to welcome the newcomers, develop methods of counseling for groups and individuals, induct the newcomers into the existing community resources, and develop methods to assist individuals toward their integration in the community. The Public Relations Committee will maintain a speaker's bureau to present the problems of the evacuees to the public. It will work with the press in cooperation with WRA and attempt to handle questions of negative sentiment and adverse opinions. The Loan Committee will offer loans at a low interest rate to newcomers to help them purchase furniture and other necessities. The loans will be set up in a revolving fund. The Washington area is not as yet organized as described above. The plans have been outlined, the Committee is in the process of reorganizing, but the major portion of the work is still in the hands of the Relocation Officer. The Committee has defined its functions well; the Relocation Officer has helped with this. The organization is now beyond the planning stage. A Committee of 26 members was appointed at the end of January and temporary officers were elected. A member of the Federation of

Churches was appointed temporary chairman, the Assistant Director of the Community Was Chest is vice-chairman, a prominent woman in the community is secretary, and the treasurer is an outstanding member of the Catholic community. Several subcommittees were appointed although no chairmen were selected. Three of the sub-committees have already met and are beginning to formulate their plans for their future work. These sub-committees are the three most important groups needed in community planning, the Housing Committee, the Hostel Committee, and the Social Adjustment Committee. The Social Adjustment Committee at its meeting decided that its program will be based on the "Friendship" approach to the evacuees. No counseling will be planned until group activities have been organized. After these have been under way if the need for counseling is shown, then such a program will be planned.

As the Community Committee enters its final organizational stages and the subcommittees begin to function actively, it will then be possible to evaluate the type of services the community will offer, the reactions of the evacuees to these services, the ability of the evacuees to accept these services, and the effectiveness of such an organization.

The Relocation Office has concentrated on community organization, public relations, and employment problems up to this time. Very little counseling service has been offered nor has there been an evaluation of the adjustment of the individuals. As the largest group of evacuees are a mature responsible group, the Officer has felt that counseling was not an important or essential service at this time. Instead, community organization to meet their social needs was urgent and he has been concerned with that phase of relocation work.

CONCLUSIONS

III.

Comparison of Washington with Denver

In order to assess the extent of the adjustment of the evacuees in the Washington area, a comparison with the adjustment of evacuees in other parts of the country should be made. The most extensive adjustment study thus far has been made in Denver. There it was observed the evacuees came to an old, pre-evacuation Japanese community, segregated into a small area of the city adjacent to a large Negro neighborhood. The Japanese section is centrally located and is in a deteriorated part of the city. It is a "Little Tokyo". The newcomers were not welcomed by the former Japanese residents. The Caucasian community is not interested in them and there is very little community organization to assist them in their social adjustment. The evacuees have not found particularly well-paying jobs. Many social problems have arisen, caused by their paucity of social contacts, their prejudices against the Negroes, their low economic standards of living, and the community prejudices against the evacuees. In addition, the youthfulness and immaturity of the Nisei and their newly acquired independence have been observed as

adverse factors in their relocation adjustment. Washington evacuees offer a sharp contrast. The zoot-suiters, the very young and immature individuals, for the most part are not found here. A more mature, better educated group of evacuees have come to Washington. The Nisei have been accepted by the community. Few have sought domestic and menial labor, and those in domestic jobs have fairly good ones. They have not been segregated in one section of the city and did not have a former Japanese community around which to settle. The group in Washington is relatively stable compared with the shifting individuals observed in Denver. Although they have faced many difficulties these have not been as serious as those encountered in Denver.

Adjustment in Washington Area

a. Positive Factors

On the whole the Nisei (there are only four Issei here) have adjusted quite well. There are a surprising number of small family groups here and the numbers are continuously increasing. Several Nisei are beginning to feel sufficiently secure to call out their parents, and in the next six months undoubtedly some Issei will be coming out to join their children in Washington.

With the exception of some government agencies, discrimination is not a serious problem. The newspapers have not whipped up public sentiment against the Nisei as the Denver Post has done. The Washington Post has had some excellent editorials about Japanese Americans, while the Times Herald has been unfavorable toward WRA and its policies, the Star and the Daily News have taken no positive stand but have not been harmful. Housing, though not an easy matter, has not been as difficult to obtain as most people anticipated and the trend toward evacuees finding furnished and unfurnished apartments is encouraging. They are scattered over the entire Washington area and have not been segregated. Their jobs have in most cases been in line with their training. However, it is noted that they have training relatively superior to those in other cities. There are several exceptions, though. A commercial artist is employed as a retail clerk, and a geographer is employed as a low-paid government clerk. But on the other hand, there have been several unusual and fortunate opportunities some of the evacuees have found here which were not available to them on the West Coast. The salaries they receive are adequate and they can even afford some minor luxuries. Their relatively high educational levels and training will probably be of value in their future economic adjustment as well as in the present. And finally, there has been no serious social problem developing among them which has come to the attention of the Relocation Office.

b. Negative Factors.

There are several negative factors in this picture also. There has been some discrimination in housing though relatively little and none serious. Those who cannot afford furnished apartments and who dislike rooming houses have not been happy. The Civil Service Commission has made it a difficult, drawn-out procedure before evacuees may be appointed to government jobs. The

loyalty investigations are trying. Some government agencies have refused to hire Nisei in spite of the Presidential Order forbidding discrimination. In one case, the United Federal workers Union was active in breaking down the discrimination. An additional barrier the evacuees face is the months of waiting before Joint Board clearance is forthcoming. Those calling their families here suffer similar delays.

Most of the Nisei do not look upon Washington as their permanent home, and have assumed a transient, temporary attitude toward their residence in this city. Some are thinking of California and still wish to return there, but most of the evacuees are frankly admitting the future is uncertain and they are making no plans. Although there have been no reported social problems arising among these people, there have been several individuals who have struggled in their personal adjustments and have needed help.

In addition to these difficulties, the process of assimilation has been a slow and painful one. Although far superior to the assimilation of the Nisei in Denver, nevertheless the Nisei in this city have not been successful as yet. Their social life has been particularly barren and unstimulating. They have formed numerous small Nisei cliques and have relied on each other for friendships and social life. Movies, sightseeing, occasional church gatherings and parties at International House have been the extent of the after-work activities of some Nisei. They have remained aloof from the organized activities of the community and have not formed extensive Caucasian contacts. They are still insecure, fearful and hesitant about undertaking fuller participation in the community. They are sensitive and fear discrimination. Although they have not encountered serious prejudices, many fear the prejudices are latent and could be activated. For this reason their underlying fears have advised them against becoming involved in "controversial matters". They tend to maintain the conventional patterns and are critical of Nisei whom they think are too aggressive. For example, several of them consider G. a "radical" because he joined a union and publicized the race discrimination policy of a government agency. Though relatively sympathetic toward the Negro status in Washington, most of the Nisei have not expressed themselves overtly and have merely regarded themselves fortunate that they are not being treated in a similar manner.

Relocation Needs in the Washington Area.

a. Community Organization

Since the weakest feature of evacuee adjustment in Washington has been their inability to assimilate in the community, therefore the most urgent work of the Relocation Office at this time relates to the organization of the community to assist and facilitate that aspect of their adjustment. The evacuees' unaggressive attitudes and their reluctance to participate in community groups renders it essential that the community assume a more aggressive role. This requires an informed public and a planned community program. The Relocation Officer must take initiative to inform and organize the community to meet this need. This requires skill and experience in community organization and in public relations. In Washington this work is progressing very well, but as yet the evacuees have not experienced the results

since the organization of the Committee has not yet progressed beyond the planning stage. To insure the success of this organization, the Relocation Office should concentrate in this area. Had the community committee continued as a church function it would have been ineffective and of minor importance in assisting evacuee adjustment. However, the recently reorganized Committee which includes prominent lay members of the community, business and professional people, is now constituted to broaden the scope of activity and to assume a more responsible role. Until the Committee has worked together and has functioned for some time, the Relocation Officer must guide, organize, and consult with the new Committee frequently, to prevent blunders and misunderstanding and determine the direction of the work.

In addition to the present composition of the Committee, it is suggested that several evacuees be invited to participate as members of the Committee. This will assist other Committee members in knowing and understanding the evacuees and it will further inform them of their attitudes and desires.

As social adjustment is the most urgent need of those already in this city, the Adjustment Subcommittee should be encouraged to formulate its plans as rapidly as possible. It should be especially well organized and should include a wide representation of individuals skilled in that type of work as well as individuals who are well acquainted with the resources of the community. The group work and case work agencies should be invited to participate in this subcommittee and to offer their services to the evacuees.

b. Hostel

In addition to an organized community program which will assist in the assimilation of the evacuees who have relocated to this city, a hostel is needed at this time to provide temporary housing and a social center. The hostel may be utilized to assist in the achievement of the integration of the evacuees into the community. Thus, the hostel would have dual value for WRA and for the evacuees. With the relaxation of the Eastern Defense Command requirements, more people will be coming to this area and additional temporary housing will be necessary. Furthermore, as individuals become interested in the South and the areas adjacent to Washington, this city will serve as a distribution center. Those coming here to investigate this entire area for relocation purposes will not wish permanent housing. Besides offering temporary housing, a hostel could be used as the headquarters of the local Committee. There they could hold meetings, meet the evacuees, and plan their programs. At the hostel the Social Adjustment Committee could distribute information about the resources of the city, and those living in isolated places and newcomers could meet other evacuees and the public. Group programs could be planned under the direction of a trained group worker. Although some people may argue that such a social center might lead to the development of large all-Nisei groups, it must be recognized that those Nisei who are as yet unable to make social contacts with Caucasians need the security of some group relationships, and if at first they will feel more confident in the company of other Nisei, they should be helped to form such friendships. Complete social isolation may lead to personality disintegration. As the Social Adjustment Committee is able to develop programs in which Nisei may form Caucasian friendships, the need to cling to one another for

security will disappear. Furthermore, so long as barriers exist against intermarriage and complete assimilation is not possible, opportunities for social relationships with other Nisei are essential.

The proposal to establish the hostel as a Community War Fund project is particularly excellent and will require a great deal of work and guidance from the Relocation Officer until it is accomplished. Such sponsorship will in effect make the hostel a community agency, give it a favorable status, and place the responsibility with the community. In the final analysis, the entire Japanese-American problem is the responsibility of the individual communities of the Nation and such a move will bring this closer to realization.

c. Individual Assistance

The organization of the Community Committee and the hostel will affect the entire group of evacuees, as these plans are directed toward the group rather than the individual. However, in some cases individual assistance is required. Of the 22 individuals interviewed, 4 had made rather poor adjustments and individual assistance would have been of value to them. This problem as yet is not great, but as more evacuees come to Washington the numbers of individuals needing services in addition to group activities will increase. Some type of counseling service would be desirable. This could be developed through the Community Committee rather than become a direct service from the Relocation Office. The local Adjustment Committee already organized should be encouraged to include this in their plans. The resources of the community would then be at the disposal of the Committee and the evacuees. This will assist in bringing the evacuees closer to the community.

Not only should some form of counseling be considered for those in need of such a service, but another type of individualized approach is needed to allay anxieties concerning relocation center policies which have been expressed among Nisei. Because of the interest of the evacuees in center affairs through their parents who are still at the centers, the anxieties of relocatees when vital policy changes are announced should be handled by the Relocation Office. For example, when an announcement is made that a center will be closed, those evacuees who have parents and relatives in the designated center will probably have many questions about the move and will be anxious about their parents' plans. This was observed when the segregation program of Tule Lake was announced. Not only would information and discussion relieve anxiety, but it would clarify rumors and the evacuees would be able to inform their parents of the facts to reassure them.

One of the resources the individual evacuees upon arriving in this city should be informed of is the medical facilities, in particular, the health insurance plans available to them. Most of the evacuees have little reserved for illness and this is their most serious hazard. After H. had been in Washington for only five weeks, she became ill and was in the hospital over a month. She had very little money. Although some assistance was given her, she is bearing a portion of the expenses herself and it is a hardship. Had she joined a group hospital insurance plan or the Group Health Association, she would have been spared this trouble. In the former plan the individual is protected from large hospital bills; in the latter, government workers receive medical care as well as hospitalization.

d. Problems of Discrimination.

Although the questions discussed above are of prime importance, one of the most basic problems is still that of discrimination. These problems are constantly cropping up because of the attitudes expressed by the Civil Service Commission and by some of the government agencies. Education and negotiations will continue to be a major task for the Relocation Office. Since many agencies employ evacuees in their field offices as well as in Washington, the Relocation Office in this area is handling a national and urgent problem.

When the Community Committee becomes well organized, many of the public relations duties of the Relocation Office in relation to the community, other than the government agencies, will be considerably eased. The Committee should assist in that work, but until that time all problems of discrimination in this area will continue to be handled by the Relocation Office.

The evacuees in Washington recognize that essentially their adjustment in the community is their problem. They further recognize that the Relocation Office is set up to help them. As the Community Committee takes over some of the functions now being carried by the Relocation Office, this recognition will extend to that Committee. But the evacuees maintain, and rightfully so, that the assistance which they desire should direct them toward independence and not dependence. As yet they do not perceive the role of the community in relation to themselves. When a hostel is established and the Community Committee develops in the direction described in the section on the Washington Relocation Office, the evacuees will become more keenly aware of the city in which they live. Beneath this transient community in Washington, there is an old and stable community and they will begin to be introduced to that community through the work of the Committee. Until the evacuees do meet the community and the community becomes acquainted with them, the integration and assimilation of the evacuees will be incomplete.

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Government agencies

Help -- setting up centers

Mr. N. E. Dodd
Agricultural Adjustment Agency
Department of Agriculture

Utz

Mr. Hugh Bennett
Soil Conservation Service
Department of Agriculture

Utz

Mr. Clarence L. Forsling
Director, Grazing Service
Department of the Interior

Utz

Mr. Michael W. Strauss
Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation
Department of the Interior

Utz

Mr. William A. Brophy
Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs
Department of the Interior

Utz

Mr. Howard R. Tolley
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Department of Agriculture

Utz

Mr. Lyle F. Watts
Forest Service
Department of Agriculture

Utz

Mr. Robert W. Hudgens or Mr. Frank Hancock
Farm Security Administration
War Food Administration
Department of Agriculture

Utz

Agricultural Extension Director in each state
where a project is located.

Utz

Government Agencies

Supplies, Personnel, Adm. Management

Mr. E. J. Brennan
Chief Disbursing Officer
Division of Disbursement
Treasury Department

June

BNL

Predecessor: G. F. Allen

Mr. Lindsey C. Warren
Comptroller General
General Accounting Office

June
from Ickes

BNL

Help of their general council and cooperation extended by Audit Division
and Claims Division.

Mr. Harold D. Smith
Director, Bureau of the Budget

June

BNL

Mention Group 4, Samuel Dodd and W. B. Greenwood

Mr. W. Stuart Symington
Surplus Property Administration

June

BNL

Disposal of surplus property - camp installations.

Congressmen

Senator Carl Hayden
United States Senate

Utz, ERF

Hon. Herman P. Eberharter
House of Representatives

Utz, ERF

Hon. Richard B. Russell
United States Senate

ERF

Hon. Walter H. Judd
House of Representatives

ERF

Jerry Voorhis
House of Representatives

ERF

Welfare
Suggested Names for Thank You Letters:

Miss Jane Hoey - Director, Bureau of Public Assistance
Social Security Board - Reg. XII, I, IV, V, XI

EKM, ML

Mr. Oscar Fogge - Director, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance
Social Security Board - His field staff went on
to projects at request of Welfare Section;
searched records and processed claims for the
old men. Much work and good results.

ML

Miss Katharine Lenroot - Chief, Children's Bureau
Department of Labor

ML

Miss Helen Rowe
Group Work Consultant
Children's Bureau
Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

JHP, ML

Suggested names for thank you letters:

Mrs. Jane Hoyt - Director, Bureau of Public Assistance
Social Security Board - Reg. III, I, IV, V, XI

Mr. Oscar Payne - Director, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance
Social Security Board - His field staff went on
to project at request of Welfare Section;
searched records and processed claims for the
old men. Much work and good results.

Mrs. Katharine Larnock - Chief, Children's Bureau
Department of Labor

Mrs. Helen Howe
Group Work Consultant
Children's Bureau
Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

JHP

Non-Government Groups

YMCA
Mr. George Corwin
347 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

JHP
EKM

Miss Esther Briesemeister
Secretary, Japanese Evacuee Project
Division of Community YWCA's
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

JHP
EKM

Dr. Stanley Harris
Boy Scouts of America
2 Park Avenue
New York City

Mr. Albert K. Trelwell, Chief Exec.

JHP
EKM

Mrs. Gerard deWestfelt - JHP
Assistant to the Executive Sec'y
Field Division
Girl Scouts

Miss Ann Roos
155 East 44th St.
Girl Scouts
New York City

Girl Scouts of America
Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse, National Director
155 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

EKM

Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Miss Martha Allen
National Executive
88 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

JHP EKM

Miss Edith M. Kempthorne
National Field Adviser
Camp Fire Girls

JHP

Bernise Bridges, Executive Secretary
Associated Youth Serving Organizations, Inc.
134 E. 56th St.
New York 22, New York

JHP

American Red Cross, Home Service Division
National Headquarters
17th Between D & E, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

EKM

National Travelers Aid Association
Miss Margaret Creech,
425 4th Avenue
New York, New York

EKM

Howard Braucher, President
National Recreation Association
315 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

JHP

Community Management - 2

JHP

(William A.
Mrs. (Minnetta A. Hastings, President
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
600 South Michigan Boulevard
Chicago 5, Illinois

EKM

Allen Eaton
Russell Sage Foundation
130 E. 22nd St.
New York 10, New York

Shelby M. Harrison
General Director
Russell Sage Foundation
New York City

JHP

American Association of University Women
1634 I Street
Washington, D. C.
Kathryn McMale, General Director

EKM

National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York
Eugene Kinckle Jones, Exec. Sec.

EKM

Mr. A. J. Muste
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Mr. Afton Dill Nance
Friends of the American Way
303 Kensington Place
Pasadena 3, California

Mr. William C. Carr, Chairman

Maurice E. Harrison, Esq.
Chairman, Committee on American Principles and Fair Play
Rm. 203, 465 California St.
San Francisco 4, California

Pearl Buck
The East and West Association
40 E. 49th Street
New York 17, New York

JHP

Mr. Dan Marshall

EEF

American Federation of International Institutes
Mrs. Edith T. Bremer, Executive Director
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

EKM

Mr. Ernest S. Iiyama
Chairman, Japanese American Committee for Democracy
72 West 52nd Street
New York 19, New York

Mr. William Green Letter of Dec. 11, 1944
President, American Federation of Labor
A.F. of L. Building
Washington, D. C.

Philip Murray, Pres.
CIO
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

EKM

EKM

NMU?

National Association of Legal Aid Organizations
25 Exchange Street
Rochester, New York
Emery A. Brownell, Sec.

Bert Ballard, ESQ (EEF has EEF
sent for address)
State Bar of California

Atty. referral system

EKM

American Civil Liberties Union - EKM
31 Union Square, West
New York, New York
Roger N. Baldwin, Director

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin - EEF - EKM
Director, American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

John W. Thomas, Chairman JHP & EKM
National Japanese American Student Relocation Council
1201 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Emlen
Director, National Japanese
American Student Relocation
Council
1201 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

American Friends Service Committee EKM&JHP Homer L. Morris, Secretary JHP
Mr. Robertson Fort Social-Industrial Section
20 South 12th Street American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

George Rundquist, Executive Secretary Mr. Toru Matsumoto, Director JHP & EKM
Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans
297 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Jesse M. Bader, Executive Secretary JHP
Federal Council of the Churches EKM
of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Mark A. Dawber, Exec. Sec'y. Mr. Geo. A. Wieland, Chairman JHP & EKM
Home Missions Council of North America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Gordon K. Chapman, Executive Secretary JHP
Protestant Church Commission for Japanese
Service
Room 207, Board of National Missions
228 McAllister Street
San Francisco, California

National Council of Catholic Charities EKM
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady, Sec.

Miss Fern M. Colborn
Asst. Dir. - Cty. Org.
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church - the USA
830 Witherspoon Bldg.
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

Mr. John Yasumura Wieland?
Dept. of Cities
The American Baptist Home Mission Society
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dr. Joseph B. Hunter
Commission on World Order
International Convention of Disciples of Christ
United Christian Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Division of Home Missions and Church Extension
Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

National Federation of Settlements
147 Avenue B, New York, New York
Lillie M. Peck, Sec.

EKM

American War-Community Services
Mr. Stockton Raymond, Executive Secretary
130 East 22nd Street
New York, New York EKM

Ray Johns, Director of Field Operations
United Service Organizations, Inc.
Empire State Building
New York City

Child Welfare League of America
130 East 22nd Street
New York, New York
Howard W. Hopkirk, Exec. Dir. EKM

Family Welfare Association of America
Mr. Linton B. Swift, General Director
122 East 22nd Street
New York, New York EKM

Ralph Blanchard, Exec. Dir.
Community Chests and Councils, Inc.
Miss Violet Saider
155 East 44th Street
New York, New York EKM

National Organization for Public Health Nursing
1790 Broadway
New York, New York
Dorothy Deming, RN, General Director EKM

State Boards of Education where centers were.
for accreditation and inspection of schools, etc. EEF

Brunner
Veterans of Foreign Wars

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
American Veterans Committee
New York

Army

Commanding General
Army Ground Forces
Army War College
Washington, D. C.

Speakers Bureau

RAB

Col. V. R. Miller
Commanding Officer
442nd Infantry Combat Team

RAB

Hon. Robert P. Patterson
Secretary of War

Mention Major Summers in McCloy's office.
Col. Harmon L. Gerhardt

Major
General H. C. Pratt
Commanding General
Western Defense Command

?

EEF

Col. Scobey

EEF

Quartermaster Corps

Pkts has done

EEF

For purchase of staples.

Public Relations Department
War Department

EEF

Individuals

Hon. Robert W. Kenny
Attorney General of California

EEF

Mr. Earl Finch
P. O. Box 504
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mrs. Max L. Moore
318 East Eugene St.
Hood River, Oregon

Lt. Com. Alexander H. Leighton

BRS

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas
Evacuation & Resettlement Study
207 Grannai Hall
University of California
Berkeley, 4, California

John J. McCloy

EEF

Mr. Francis Biddle

EEF

Work Corps . p. 14

RELOCATING JAPANESE-AMERICAN EVACUEES

- 0 -

The program of the War Relocation Authority for the relocation of more than 100,000 Japanese aliens and American citizens of Japanese ancestry now being evacuated from Pacific Coast military areas.

- 0 -

The War Relocation Authority
Washington, D. C.

May 1942

WRA - Info. 2 (Preliminary)

RELOCATING JAPANESE-AMERICAN EVACUEES

Chronology:

- February 19, 1942 -- President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9066, empowering the Secretary of War or designated military commanders to prescribe military areas and to exclude any or all persons from such areas.
- March 2, 1942 -- Lieut. Gen. J. L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, issued Proclamation No. 1, defining military areas No. 1 and 2, on western frontier. It was announced that future exclusion orders to cover all of Area No. 1, and certain zones of No. 2, would affect Japanese aliens, American-born persons of Japanese ancestry, and certain other aliens.
- March 15, 1942 -- The Wartime Civil Control Administration was established under the direct and immediate supervision of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army to supervise the evacuation and to coordinate the assistance of civilian Federal agencies.
- March 18, 1942 -- President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9102 establishing the War Relocation Authority to formulate and carry out a program for the planned relocation of persons evacuated from military areas. Within the Authority was established a War Relocation Work Corps in which evacuees may enlist for duration of the war to undertake useful work contributing to the Nation's all-out productive effort.
- March 23, 1942 -- First 1,000 evacuees - volunteers from Los Angeles - move to Manzanar Relocation Center, Owens Valley, California, to assist in preparing the new community for its ultimate population of 10,000. By May 15 the Center was filled to capacity.
- March 24, 1942 -- Lieut. Gen. J. L. DeWitt issued Civilian Exclusion Order No. 1, directing all persons of Japanese lineage, aliens and citizens alike, to evacuate Bainbridge Island, Washington State, on or before March 30.

- March 27, 1942 -- Lieut. Gen. J. L. DeWitt announced that effective at midnight, March 29, voluntary evacuation from the military area would cease, and after that date all evacuation would be on a planned, orderly basis to War Relocation Authority Relocation Centers.
- March 27 to date -- Additional evacuation orders issued by Lieut. Gen. DeWitt, applying first to the most sensitive and critical zones within the military area, evacuees being assembled at Assembly Centers throughout the military area to await completion of Relocation Centers, where they will be settled for the duration of the war.

DEFINITIONS

- ASSEMBLY CENTER -- A convenient gathering point, within the military area, where evacuees live temporarily while awaiting transfer to a Relocation Center outside of the military area.
- RELOCATION CENTER - A new community, established on Federally-controlled land, with basic housing and protective services supplied by the Federal Government, for occupancy by evacuees for the duration of the war.
- RELOCATION AREA -- The entire area under the jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority, surrounding a Relocation Center. The lands are Federally owned or leased, are designated as a military area, and are under the protection of military police.
- WAR RELOCATION WORK CORPS -- An organization within the War Relocation Authority for the mobilization of the employable evacuees for various kinds of useful work. Any evacuee, more than 16 years of age, may enlist voluntarily in the Corps. Enlistment is for the duration of the war.
- ENLISTEE -- A person who enlists in the War Relocation Work Corps.
- WORK PROJECTS -- Projects, such as the development of irrigated land, agricultural production, or manufacturing, undertaken by the War Relocation Work Corps.

EVACUATION - A MILITARY NECESSITY

Broad-scale war in the Pacific, including sinkings of American ships in American coastal waters, and the continuing danger of attacks against Pacific Coast cities and war industries, has made it necessary to consider the entire western coast as a potential combat zone.

President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, issued Executive Order No. 9066, authorizing the Secretary of War or designated military commanders to prescribe military areas and to exclude any or all persons from such areas. On March 2, Lieut. Gen. J. L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, proclaimed the entire West Coast region to be a military area. Later orders provided that all persons of Japanese ancestry were to be excluded from Military Area No. 1, and from certain strategic zones in Military Area No. 2 and other areas.

The decision to exclude both alien and American-born Japanese from these military areas recognized that:

1. In the event the West Coast should become an actual zone of combat, the intermingled presence of more than 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry among the population would be the possible cause of turmoil and confusion which could seriously jeopardize military operations, without regard to questions of the loyalty of this group as a whole or of any individuals among it.

2. Although a large proportion of the Japanese group might be found loyal to the United States, or loyal under most conditions,

military considerations cannot permit the risk of putting an un-assimilated or partly assimilated people to an unpredictable test during an invasion by an army of their own race.

3. Once the Japanese group is removed to the interior, the elements of danger in this situation are considerably reduced.

The evacuation of Japanese from military areas is not to be confused with the Alien Enemy Control program of the Department of Justice, under which enemy aliens suspected of acts or intentions against the national security are interned. The fact that an individual, whether citizen or alien, has been evacuated from a military area does not mean that such a person is, as an individual, suspected of disloyalty to the United States.

THE PROBLEM

The exclusion of certain aliens and citizens from West Coast strategic areas -- the sudden uprooting of a whole segment of the population -- arises from stern military necessity, and poses a difficult problem that this country has not had to face before. It has been determined that this problem shall be handled in a thoroughly democratic, American way. Toward this end, both the military and the civilian agencies of the Federal Government are cooperating to enable this mass migration to proceed in a planned, orderly, and decent manner.

The People

The problem encompasses the lives and associations of nearly 120,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry who have been living in Military Area No. 1. The group is not preponderantly alien, as commonly supposed. Of those migrating, about 63 percent are American-born citizens; only 37 percent are aliens of Japanese birth. The aliens, "Issei", are largely an older group who came to this country as laborers and farm workers. Their average age is around 58 to 60. The citizens, "Nisei", are largely a young group, most of them educated or being educated in American schools. Their average age is around 22. More than one-fourth of the entire population is made up of second and third generation children under 15 years of age.

The Japanese group on the West Coast has not been an isolated entity. During the years the lives and work of these people have become intermeshed with the whole gamut of social and economic relationships of the area in which they lived. In 1940, nearly 50,000 of them, age 14 and over, were employed in California, Oregon, and Washington. (This does not include the thousands of unpaid family workers who have helped to operate family stores and farms.) About 45 percent of the paid workers were engaged in agriculture. These were not just farm laborers, but ranged from highly-skilled managers, owners, renters, and irrigation experts, down to "stoop" laborers who hand-tended the intensive vegetable and fruit crops. About 24 percent of the workers were engaged in wholesale and retail trade, and this group

is particularly conspicuous in the marketing of farm produce. About 17 percent were in personal service -- house servants, gardeners, maids, and so on. About 4 percent were in manufacturing, and 10 percent were engaged in other industries and commerce.

About 3 percent of the Japanese population -- some 3,100 -- are professional people, including doctors, lawyers, architects, nurses, airplane designers, artists, ministers. More than 1,000 of the young people have been attending colleges or universities each year.

The Federal Government is attempting to handle the evacuation and relocation of this group with the smallest possible economic and social loss to the areas being evacuated and to the evacuees themselves. Provision must be made to replace evacuees in the factories, stores, farms, and market places. They have many skills and abilities that are immediately needed in the national production effort. As swiftly as possible, they must be given an opportunity to make use of these for the welfare of the Nation and their new communities. And not the least part of the job is the physical task of moving such a large number of families in a short time and relocating them in suitable areas.

THE RELOCATION PROGRAM

Two Federal agencies are sharing the principal responsibility in planning and carrying out the evacuation and relocation program -- the Wartime Civil Control Administration and the War Relocation Authority.

The WCCA

The Wartime Civil Control Administration is a staff organization of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, and has direct supervision of the evacuation of military areas on the West Coast. Government agencies have been called in to help the WCCA with the multitude of problems involved in suddenly cutting off the normal business, social, and economic relationships of the evacuees. The Department of Justice, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, the Federal Security Agency, the Department of Agriculture, the Treasury Department, the Alien Property Custodian, and others are working with the WCCA on this task.

The first step in the evacuation process is providing potential evacuees with information and assistance in closing up their affairs. A chain of 64 service offices has been established throughout Area No. 1 at which "teams" of Federal agency representatives are stationed to provide various services. For example, the U. S. Employment Service registers evacuees and provides welfare service; the U. S. Health Service examines and inoculates them; the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, acting as fiscal agent for the Treasury Department, assists evacuees in the sale, lease, or management of their property; the Farm Security Administration arranges to

provide new operators for evacuated farms so that a change-over can be made with minimum loss of agricultural production.

Assembly Centers

As zones to be evacuated are determined, a civil control station, under Army direction, is established within each zone, where the head of each evacuee family may report for complete instruction on how to arrange for movement, how to prepare his household goods for storage, and when to be ready for transfer to an Assembly Center. Civil control stations are conveniently located throughout the military area.

An Assembly Center is merely a way-station to a war-duration Relocation Area. It is a temporary collecting place where evacuees are provided with food, shelter, medical care, and protection while Relocation Centers are being selected and constructed. Each Assembly Center is organized and managed by trained staff, and the rations are the equivalent of those served in the Army. Because Assembly Centers are only temporary residences, not many evacuees can be provided with jobs while there, although some evacuee personnel does help to operate the Center's services.

As Assembly Centers are emptied, there will be additional work for picked crews of evacuees in salvaging the temporary Assembly Center buildings for later construction of schools and school equipment and other community facilities at the Relocation Centers.

The War Relocation Authority

The War Relocation Authority was established by President Roosevelt by Executive Order No. 9102 of March 18, 1942, which directed this agency to cooperate with the War Department in evacuating, relocating and providing work opportunities for all persons who are evacuated from military areas.

Within the Authority was established the War Relocation Work Corps as a means for organizing and apportioning opportunities for work and income in the work program at Relocation Areas.

The Executive Order also directed the Departments of War and Justice to provide necessary protective, police and investigational services to the Authority.

Relocation Areas

The first and one of the most important operations in resettlement of evacuees is the selection of desirable Relocation Areas. The lands of the West are plentiful. They are productive — if water is available. But water is scarce. Consequently, since its establishment the War Relocation Authority has had many experts who know the West's natural resources thoroughly, searching out the most feasible Relocation Areas.

In the course of this work these men have combed the country from the border of Military Area No. 1 to the Mississippi River. In their search they have kept in mind that they are selecting the home communities for a large number of evacuees for the duration of the war. Furthermore, certain military considerations must be applied

to each potential area. In brief, each Relocation Area must meet the following standards:

1. Work Opportunities

The area must provide work opportunities throughout most of the year for the population to be relocated there. Such opportunities may consist of the following classes or combinations of classes of work:

Public Works -- Such as development of land for irrigation, conservation of soil resources, flood control operations, and range improvement.

Agricultural Production -- First, for foodstuffs required by the relocated community, and second, to aid in the Food for Freedom Program.

Manufacturing -- Such as the manufacture of goods requiring a great deal of skilled hand labor, including products needed by relocated communities, and in the national production program. Some possibilities are wood products, clothing, ceramics, netting, woven and knitted materials.

2. Transportation - Power - Land - Water

Each Relocation Area must have transportation and power facilities adequate for the new community; it must have a sufficient acreage of good quality soil and a dependable supply of water for irrigation.

The climate must be satisfactory for crops and for people; the domestic and industrial water supply must be suitable in quality and quantity.

3. Minimum Population

Each area must be able to support a population of 5,000 persons. The Army cannot provide protective services for communities of smaller population. Moreover, efficient administration of the program and the effective development of community services such as schools, hospitals and fire-control facilities require that communities be at least this size.

4. Public Land

Each area must be on public land, owned or leased by the Federal Government, to assure that improvements made at public expense will become public, not private assets. Any land purchased for Relocation Areas will remain in public ownership.

5. Military Requirements

Each area must meet certain specifications of the Army. Each Relocation Area will be a military area, under protection of military police.

Relocation Centers

After a Relocation Area has been approved jointly by the Army and the War Relocation Authority, a Relocation Center is immediately constructed to house the new community.

Had canvas been available for tent cities, it would have been used. Tents would have been pitched and evacuees would have gone to work to build their new wartime homes. However, canvas was not available. So, before evacuees come to Relocation Centers, group houses are built, streets are laid out, wells are drilled, and electric power lines are brought in. This construction proceeds rapidly. Houses for several thousand families have been built in the matter of several weeks at the Manzanar, California, and the Parker, Arizona, Relocation Areas.

The initial housing is "basic." That is, the structures are soundly constructed and provide the minimum essentials for decent living. As evacuees move in they will have an opportunity to improve their quarters by their own work.

Family Life, Self-Government at Relocation Centers

At Relocation Centers, as at Assembly Centers, families will be kept together, if they so wish. There is no reason whatever for interfering with normal family arrangements, and the Authority has no intention of doing so.

As evacuees settle in the Relocation Centers, it will be up to them to plan the design of their community life within the broad

basic policies determined by the Authority for over-all administration of such Centers. They will establish and manage their own community government, electing their own officials. It will be largely up to them to maintain a community police force, a fire-fighting force, recreational facilities, and many other essentials.

Health and Education

Each Relocation Center will have basic hospitals and hospital equipment in accordance with standards of the U. S. Health Service. Doctors and nurses from among the settlers will operate the hospitals. These facilities may be improved as the community sees fit to do so by its own labor.

Elementary schools and high schools will be maintained by the Authority, in cooperation with the States and the U. S. Office of Education.

The War Relocation Work Corps

The Work Corps is a device for mobilizing the energies, skills and abilities of employable evacuees to undertake programs of constructive work on Relocation Areas. It is the purpose of the Work Corps to assign individuals to the work for which they are most fitted by training and experience. It will provide additional training to adapt old skills to new jobs and to develop new techniques. It will provide the reservoir of workers from which personnel for community and administrative services will be recruited at Relocation Centers.

Enlistment in the Corps

Eligibility

All evacuees who are employable and more than 16 years of age, both men and women, may apply for enlistment in the Work Corps. Enlistment is entirely voluntary.

Obligations of Enlistees

Enlistment gives evacuees an opportunity to demonstrate in a very concrete way their loyalty and willingness to serve their country and their community. The enlistee assumes certain definite obligations:

1. He agrees to serve in the War Relocation Work Corps for the duration of the war and for 14 days after the end of the war.

2. He swears or affirms that he will be loyal to the United States; that he will faithfully perform all tasks assigned him by the Authority; that he will accept in full payment for his services such cash and other allowances as may be provided by law or by regulations of the Authority.

Obligations to Enlistees

The War Relocation Authority accepts an obligation to provide the enlistee with an opportunity to work so that he may earn a living for himself and his family, and also may contribute to needed national production of agricultural and industrial goods. The Authority also accepts an obligation to provide the enlistee and his family with housing, food, clothing, education, and health services.

Income for Enlistees

The incomes earned on Relocation Areas by enlistees will depend to a great extent on the success that relocated communities have in organizing and operating their various productive enterprises. The precise methods of keeping costs, making monthly cash advances to enlistees, and computing benefits earned by enlistees, have not yet been exactly determined. However, it has been determined that in no event will the maximum monthly cash advances to enlistees exceed the basic minimum wage of the American soldier -- \$21 a month. Cash advances will vary according to the character of

work performed by enlistees. Furthermore, the amounts to be advanced monthly may be changed from time to time, especially if the projects are operating successfully.

Types of Work

There will be work for all able hands at Relocation Areas. The range of work will be such that an enlistee generally will have the opportunity to continue at the type of work he has been performing in private life, or if such work is not available, or if he can better use his capabilities at different types of work, he will be given an opportunity to undertake training for more useful occupations.

One of the first jobs for enlistees at Relocation Centers will be the construction of schools and equipment so that children may continue their education. Another job will be the construction of additional hospitals, meeting halls, and general improvement of buildings and grounds.

It is highly important that agricultural production be started on each Relocation Area as rapidly as possible. All enlistees with agricultural experience and all others with experience adaptable to agricultural work will be employed immediately in preparing land for cultivation, constructing irrigation canals, and planting, cultivating, harvesting, and processing of crops. It is hoped that all relocated communities will become self-sufficient in food production within the turn of a season, and that they will be producing additional

needed crops for the Food for Freedom Program in the very near future.

The major undertaking at each Relocation Center will be the manufacture of many kinds of articles needed by the community and by the Nation. Simple factories utilizing a large amount of hand labor, simple machinery, and readily available materials will be established on the relocation projects wherever feasible to turn out such things as clothing, wood products, ceramics, netting, woven and knitted materials, and leather goods.

The types of work mentioned above cover only a few of the broader fields of activity in which the enlistees may be engaged. The range of types of their employment will be very similar to that in a normal community with an agricultural and industrial base. There will be much work for clerks, stenographers, machinists, nurses, reporters, accountants, doctors, lawyers.

Private Employment

Furloughs may be granted for specific periods of time to enlistees who wish to accept employment opportunities outside Relocation Areas, under the following conditions:

1. Since the Army cannot provide protective services for groups or communities of less than 5,000, each State and local community where enlistees on furlough are to work must give assurance that they are in a position to maintain law and order.

2. Recruitment will be voluntary and must be handled by the U. S. Employment Service.
3. Transportation to the place of private employment and return must be arranged without cost to the Federal Government.
4. Employers must of course pay prevailing wages to enlistees without displacing other labor and must provide suitable living accommodations.
5. For the time enlistees are privately employed, they will pay the Government for expenses incurred in behalf of their dependents who may remain at Relocation Centers.

APPROVED RELOCATION AREAS

The following Relocation Areas have been jointly approved by the War Department and the War Relocation Authority and are examples of the type of area in which Relocation Centers will be established. These areas will provide for approximately 60,000 evacuees. An additional number of areas, perhaps 10, are now being selected to provide for the relocation of an additional 60,000 evacuees.

Manzanar

The Manzanar Relocation Area is located in the Owens River Valley in east central California. The Relocation Center at Manzanar will accommodate a total of 10,000 residents, most of whom are already relocated there.

The area affords limited opportunities for agricultural development, with three or four thousand acres suitable for irrigation. At present several small work projects are under way on the land, such as the production of guayule seedlings.

It is likely that this Center will depend largely on industrial opportunities and public works to provide useful work for its population. The equable climate is conducive to outdoor work, and an early project to be undertaken is the garnishing of camouflage nets.

Parker

The Parker Relocation Area is situated on the Colorado River Indian Reservation in southwestern Arizona, on a tract of land made available for irrigation by the erection of the Parker Dam. The area has an excellent potential agricultural base -- some 80,000 acres of raw land that can be developed for production of a variety of crops. There will be plenty of worthwhile work for everyone. The bringing of the land into cultivation will require construction of laterals and ditches, clearing and levelling of the land. Considerable acreage will be made ready immediately for cultivation and production of subsistence food crops. Then, as a public works program, additional acreage will be prepared for cultivation.

The Parker Relocation Area is designed to take care of 20,000 evacuees. This population will be divided among three centers, for which the basic housing is now practically completed. These three centers are: Number one, 17 miles south of Parker, with a capacity for 10,000; number two, 20 miles south of Parker, with facilities for 5,000; and number three, 25 miles south of Parker, capacity 5,000.

Gila

The Gila River Relocation Area is situated on the Pima Indian Reservation in southern Arizona, about 40 miles from Phoenix. The Relocation Center now being constructed there will accommodate 10,000 evacuees -- divided into two communities of 5,000 each. There will

be plentiful opportunities for agricultural and public work on the area. There is also opportunity for private employment.

At present about 7,000 acres of the land on the area are in alfalfa and in excellent condition to be converted immediately to vegetables and other specialty crops. An additional 8,000 acres of raw land can be subjugated for agricultural production, involving the construction of canals and ditches, and clearing and levelling the land.

The growing season is 270 days, and the climate and soil are generally favorable for a wide variety of agricultural production.

Tulelake

The Tulelake Relocation Area in northern California comprises 30,000 acres of land owned by the Federal Bureau of Reclamation. A Relocation Center is now being constructed there to house 10,000 evacuees.

Considerable work will have to be done to bring the land into intensive cultivation. Water is available.

The climate and soil are favorable for production of potatoes, field peas, small grains, and some other crops, as demonstrated by the type of agriculture carried on adjacent to the Relocation Area. Other possible work opportunities include the production of forest products, and the possible establishment of canning or dehydrating plants.

Minidoka

The Minidoka Relocation Area in southern Idaho, near Eden, consists of 17,000 acres owned by the Federal Bureau of Reclamation. Construction of housing for 10,000 evacuees is now under way.

A constructive public works project will be the lining of the main canal now serving the region. The canal now losses enormous quantities of its water through seepage.

The land is suitable for intensive production of sugar beets, potatoes, beans, onions, and possibly some other crops. Construction during the first year of the necessary laterals and levelling of the land should bring about 5,000 acres into production by 1943.

Climatic conditions generally are favorable. There is a growing season of 138 days and annual rainfall is 8 to 10 inches.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Washington Office: Barr Building
910 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

M. S. Eisenhower, Director
Colonel E. F. Cress, Deputy Director
E. M. Rowalt, Assistant to the Director
Philip M. Glick, Solicitor
Leland Barrows, Executive Officer
John A. Bird, Director of Information
B. R. Stauber, In Charge, Relocation Planning

John Provinse, Chief, Community Management Division
Thomas Holland, Chief, Employment Division
E. J. Utz, Chief, Agricultural Division
Roy Kimmel, Chief, Industrial Division

Pacific Regional Office: Whitcomb Hotel Building
San Francisco, California

E. R. Fryer, Regional Director
R. B. Cozzens, Assistant Regional Director, In Charge,
Economic Management
Harvey M. Coverley, Assistant Regional Director,
In Charge, Community Management
Lt. Col. L. W. Foy, Chief, Services of Supply

RELOCATING JAPANESE-AMERICAN EVACUEES

- 0 -

The program of the War Relocation Authority for the relocation of more than 100,000 Japanese aliens and American citizens of Japanese ancestry now being evacuated from Pacific Coast military areas.

- 0 -

The War Relocation Authority
Washington, D. C.

WRA - Info. 2 (Preliminary)

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In Charge, Community Management
Lt. Col. L. W. Foy, Chief, Services of Supply

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ALIENS OF JAPANESE NATIONALITY
LEAVING RELOCATION CENTERS
(Translation of Japanese text, for
administrative information, only.)

Mr. James
Library

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

All aliens of Japanese nationality are considered in the same category as aliens of any other enemy country. When you leave the center you are free to move within the United States on the same basis as any other law-abiding alien: that is, by obtaining the proper permits from the United States District Attorney and following his instructions.

The following paragraphs are for your information and general guidance. Read them carefully. When in doubt on any question, seek the advice of the nearest United States District Attorney. You will find him interested and cooperative.

1. Always carry your Certificate of Identification. Show it upon request to any police officer or authorized Government official. If you lose it, report your loss immediately to the nearest United States District Attorney.

2. Use only your own legal name. Apply to the United States District Attorney for his written permission before using any assumed name for any purpose.

3. If you change your name, residence, or place of employment, immediately notify the Alien Registration Division of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The local address of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is shown on your Certificate of Identification.

4. Do not have in your possession, custody, or control and do not use or operate radio transmitters, short-wave radio receiving sets, cameras, firearms or any other articles forbidden as contraband by presidential Proclamations.

5. To travel outside your own community you will need a travel permit. Apply for this permit in person at the office of the nearest United States District Attorney at least seven days before you plan to travel. If you can not apply in person, write for the permit, stating why you are not applying in person. Only in an emergency, may a permit be issued in less than seven days. The United States District Attorney will require you to fill out an application, stating when you intend to leave and return, the purpose of your trip and the places to be visited. Carry the travel permit at all times when away from your home community.

6. You will not be permitted to travel in any type of airplane or aircraft or to enter or be found in or upon any highway, waterway, airway, railway, subway, public utility or building not open or accessible to the public generally.

7. Do not enter or reside in areas closed to alien enemies by the Attorney General.

Ms. Robinson's copies, 1942-1944, unlabelled

8. If you make several trips for business purposes you may apply for one permit for all business travel. Apply for this business travel permit to the United States District Attorney, stating your business, how many trips you expect to make and to and from what localities. If the permit is granted, the United States District Attorney will make a note on your Certificate of Identification that you are permitted to travel for business purposes.

9. You may not leave the United States unless you comply with all regulations governing foreign travel. Information regarding foreign travel may be obtained from the State Department, Washington, D. C.

Remember! If you comply with the proclamations and regulations prescribing the conduct of alien enemies, you are entitled to the same freedom of movement and rights and privileges extended other law-abiding aliens. If you violate them, intentionally or otherwise, you are subject to arrest, detention and internment for the duration of the war. In case of doubt, additional information may be obtained in the office of any United States District Attorney.

If you are a parolee or a deportee you must comply with the general provisions which apply to all parolees or deportees. You must also comply with the specific instructions contained in the parole order which was issued to you by the Attorney General.

SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS FOR ALIEN DEPORTEES

To travel outside the relocation center, apply to the Project Director, stating where you wish to travel, for how long and the purpose of the trip. The Project Director will forward this request to travel to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. If approved, the Immigration and Naturalization Service will make all arrangements for your supervision while you are away from the center. The Project Director will give you a leave permit which states you are traveling under a bond and agreement awaiting deportation. Carry this at all times while you are away from the center.

SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS FOR ALIENS ON SHORT TERM PASS FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXPLORING RELOCATION OPPORTUNITIES

The Project Director has approved your trip. You must travel according to this plan and return to the center on the date fixed by the Project Director. You will not need to report to the United States District Attorneys in the districts you will visit as they already have been notified when you will arrive, when you will leave and what localities you are permitted to visit. If you cannot arrive or leave any locality on the date set by the Project Director, or if you find you need to visit any other place, you must notify the United States District Attorney for the state or district where you are when the change is made before going any further without his consent. Also telegraph the Project Director if you cannot travel according to plan, notifying him of the reasons for the change and to get his consent before visiting any other localities.

SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS FOR ALIEN PAROLEES

To travel outside the relocation center, apply to the Project Director, stating where you wish to travel, for how long, the purpose of the trip, and

the name of a person who will act as your sponsor and to whom you will report while away from the center. The Project Director will forward this request to travel to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for approval. If approved, you will be required to sign an agreement to travel as approved by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to report to your sponsor and to the Immigration and Naturalization office in the district you are permitted to visit. You will be given a leave permit which states you are traveling under a parole order of the Attorney General. Carry this permit at all times when away from the center. To make a short trip of less than 10 days from the center you may apply for permission to the Project Director. He will notify the District Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the date of your departure and return.

In any case, you must comply with the conditions set forth in the parole order issued to you by the Attorney General, and if you desire any changes you may write to:

The Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

EDWARD H. SPICER

JSA: Robinson copies, 1942-1944, updated

FILE 785

10/26/44
EHS

THE PROBLEM OF EVACUEE PARTICIPATION

The War Relocation Authority's program is one which has been built up, in its fundamental elements, by the National Director and his staff. It has not been formulated in consultation with evacuees, and evacuees have not been asked in any organized fashion to undertake any aspects of its formulation. This fact lies at the heart of the major difficulties in the completion of the program--- namely, the response to relocation and the efficient running of the centers.

Many of the staff of the WRA have for a long time emphasized the necessity for getting evacuee participation, and there have been many examples of effective and successful evacuee participation in aspects of the program. The remarkable fact has been that there has been so much of this participation in a program which in its broad outlines and the greater part of its detail has not allowed for evacuee participation in the fundamental planning.

The essential situation on the projects is ~~xxx~~ similar to that on the Indian reservations, where we have a longstanding disfunctional ~~xxxxxxxx~~ cultural milieu. The appointed staff and the evacuees move in distinct cultural worlds. The small appointive staff has little cultural influence on the evacuee population. As on the reservations, the influence is primarily an external, administrative sort of contact which does not result in a transfer of values, but on the contrary tends rather to stimulate antagonism to the values of the minority group.

Many devices have been tried to overcome this lack of flow of culture to the evacuee group. Elaborate organizational, as well as proselytizing, techniques have been attempted. They have been as successful as those on Indian reservations perhaps.

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

WRA: Relocation Centers, 1942-1944, updated

If we view the relocation centers as disfunctional communities in which two cultures, disarticulated in terms of cultural values, exist side by side, a number of the administrative frustrations of the program are thrown into clear relief.