

*Files*

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Washington

COMMUNITY ANALYSTS LETTER NO. 1

STAFF

Three analysts are now in the field and three more are due shortly. They are:

- Manzanar - Morris Opler of Claremont Colleges.
- Minidoka - John de Young of Chicago.
- Gila River - James Barnett of Connecticut.
- Jerome - Edgar McVoy, formerly a Social Science Analyst with Farm Security and later an Economic Analyst in the War Department. (Due on duty April 23)
- Central Utah - Weston La Barre of Rutgers University. (Due on duty May 8)
- Heart Mountain - John Useem of the University of South Dakota. (Due on duty about May 1)

Edward Spicer who is working with Dr. Leighton at Poston was at Minidoka for a month in March to make a comparative study of local government there and to assist in setting up the first W.R.A. Community Analysis Unit. He has now returned to continue his work with the Indian Service at Poston. Morris Opler has completed his first report, the subject of which is the motives behind yes and no answers on questions 27 and 28 at Manzanar. Copies of this will be sent to interested Community Analysts.

REPORTS OFFICERS

Up until the advent of Community Analysis all reporting on project developments was done by the Reports Officer and his staff. Studies of local attitudes and social developments, formerly the province of Documentation, now fall within the field of Community Analysis. Due to this past history of reports, it could be mutually advantageous for the Community Analyst and the Reports Officer to cooperate on some aspects of their field work. The Reports Officer will be in a position to provide some types of information and local public relations facilities that might aid in the work of the Analyst. Similarly, the Analyst can aid the Reports Officer by informally discussing with him from time to time local developments in public opinion and related topics involving attitudes and social groups.

*4/19/43*  
*Run for Mrs. Polace*  
*I.B.*

The distinctions of function between Reports and Community Analysis, so far as Documentation is concerned, are made in the attached copies of a letter from John Baker to Reports Officers and in Supplement I to Administrative Instruction No. 56.

BOOKS

The following books have been ordered at the Washington office and as they arrive a copy will be sent to each Analyst:

Adams, Intermarriage in Hawaii  
Anderson, We Americans  
Boas, The Mind of Primitive Man  
Embree, Suye Mura  
Acculturation in Hawaii  
Firth, Human Types  
Miyamoto, Social Solidarity in Seattle

Other books which Analysts feel they need either for their own reference or for training purposes should be ordered through project channels as part of the equipment of the Community Analysis Section.

COLLEGE CREDIT

Tentative arrangements for college credit for social-anthropological research work done by residents of a project have been made with Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago. If an Analyst makes arrangements for a seminar which meets regularly and if he has some reliable means of checking on a student's progress, then the basis is laid for the obtaining of college credit. The next step is to inform the Section in Washington and they will attempt to gain approval of the University of Chicago for this arrangement.

John F. Embree

Attachment



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2ND COMMUNITY ANALYST LETTER  
MAY, 2 1943

*Mr. Portner*  
Not for Publication

Personnel

Four men are now in the field and two are about to go. Forrest La Violette, not John Useem, is filling the Heart Mountain post. James Barnett of Gila has unfortunately been afflicted by a gastro-intestinal disease and so is resigning his position as Community Analyst. Marvin Opler is scheduled for Tule Lake the end of May. John Rademaker is due at Granada next week.

Maintaining Contact with the Washington Office

On the basis of initial experience, the value of frequent reports to the Washington office is coming to the fore. One of the functions of Community Analysis is, of course, to keep Washington in close contact with social developments on the projects.

Field Notes

In order that material collected at the projects may be comparable, it is suggested that certain information be included. The following heading is suggested for general papers:

Relocation Center  
Community Analysis Section  
Date  
Title of Paper

In writing up interviews, descriptions of meetings, etc., the following data should be included: name of relocation center, field report number, date and time, place, and the general circumstances of the interview or meeting. For instance, if it is an interview, the age and sex and social position of the person interviewed should be indicated. If it is the description of a meeting, some indication should be made of the number of people present, whether or not it is a mixed meeting and predominant in men or women, whether appointive staff members are present, the sort of people who are the chief speakers, etc. The role of the Analyst in any of these social situations should also be indicated.

Duplicate Copies

Whenever possible when forwarding notes or reports to the Washington office, two copies should be sent.

Books Sent

The following five books have been sent to all Community Analysts: Suye Mura, The Mind of Primitive Man, Social Solidarity Among the Japanese of Seattle, We Americans, Intermarriage in Hawaii. You should have received all of these by now.

Reports Received

The first report on the problems of resettlement has come in from Jerome and a full account of the fence and attitudes toward it has come in from Minidoka. Excerpts from the e are attached.

*5-8-43*  
*Run for Mr. Sweetser*  
*B. C.*  
*ling sent*



*Mr. Portner*

WRA Library Washington

Personnel

Community Analysts are now functioning at seven of the nine relocation centers operated by the War Relocation Authority. Plans are under way for filling the posts at Gila and Rohwer. Dr. Gordon Brown, who worked as a "community analyst" for government agencies in Africa and Samoa, may go to Gila.

Men now on duty in the field are:

Weston La Barre	Central Utah
John Rademaker	Cranada
Forrest La Violette	Heart Mountain
Edgar McVoy	Jerome
Morris Opler	Manzanar
John de Young	Minidoka
Marvin Opler	Tule Lake

The Washington staff consists of three people:

John F. Embree  
Frank L. Sweetser, Jr.  
Anne O. Freed

Books

All the books listed in Community Analysts Letter No. 1 have been sent to projects with the single exception of Human Types which had to be ordered from England.

We have in the Washington office a few copies of Pauline Young's Scientific Social Surveys and Research. Analysts who would like copies should write this office for them.

Administrative Instructions

Community Analysts should see to it that they receive administrative instructions as issued. These instructions formalize new policy and of course have important effects on project life and attitudes.

Notes from Different Centers

Heart Mountain:

Within the past several days, I have started running across the kind of material in which I am deeply interested -- signs of personal degeneration. This morning I got clues on a case in which a fellow is regressing back to something earlier than six years of age -- a nisei who is now talking much more Japanese and beginning to hang around with the kibeis. Another chap described to me how his letterwriting ability has changed -- at home

6-5-43  
Run for Mr. E. Embree  
B.B.



it took 20 minutes, here it takes two hours. He says he has gotten to the point where he can't think any longer, and he comes from one of the finer families, and is so much an American that it is difficult to realize that he is here. (May 27)

Central Utah:

One clear example of usefulness came out of the ecological maps which I am still hacking away at. They are in three colors, and give as much information in other symbols as I can extract from the statistical information here. For Block 3 some facts were quickly evident: no one has relocated from barracks 7-8 and 11-12. These pairs face each other and form streets; and streets, I suspect, are a significant opinion-forming unit within the block. Why no relocations here, when the rest of the block has been doing pretty well (24 in all, 18 indefinite, 6 seasonal at present)? The ecological map makes one possible explanation stand out: although there are a normal number of young nisei in these streets, they also contain an unusually large number of kibeï and older kibeï and issei bachelors. My guess is that streets are important units of opinion within the block, and that this unbalance may explain the poor relocation showing. (May 24)

The barracks and block set-up here is functionally beginning to express some of the older rural Japanese social and political organization. I mean, for example, the use of the word buraku for barracks. We have found, also, that our ward system (four blocks - a ward) of representation in the council is a rather synthetic thing. The block is very clearly the natural political unit, and yesterday, I believe, the council changed the Constitution to go back to the old block system of representation, and have abandoned the ward plan. The ward system may have been satisfactory to a nisei group of voters, but it doesn't gee with an incoming issei group. (June 1)

Minidoka:

Again rumors are the talk of the day here. A rather nasty one came in the other day to the effect that one of our volunteers had been beaten up and practically castrated in Salt Lake City and was in the hospital there. The story was supposedly straight from the kid's mother. You could almost trace its course with red ink through the camp. I checked immediately with the mother and found that as usual it was mostly exaggeration. It seemed that the lad was walking down one of the streets in Salt Lake one night while on furlough and some fellow jumped him. (the kid was in uniform) He was a jiu-jitsu fan and tossed the white fellow for a loop and escaped with only a few scratches and is now well and happy in Camp Shelby. (May 25)

Jerome :

Everybody here is in suspense, waiting for implementation of Myer's announcement about segregation of loyal and disloyal. I think most of the appointed personnel and evacuees too, would like to see this division take place immediately. .... I think many are pinning too much hope on it. They think segregation will solve all the problems of evacuation.  
(May 21)



WRA Library Washington

*Wm. Jerome*

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
July 3, 1943

Community Analyst Letter No. 4

Personnel

Dr. Gordon Brown of Temple University has accepted the post of Community Analyst at Gila. His previous field work includes applied anthropology similar to community analysis in Tanganyika and Samoa.

Weston LaBarre has been commissioned in the Navy. Some final notes of his on the work of the section at Utah are appended to this letter.

Go-Between Work

One or two analysts have written that they are asked to act as go-betweens between evacuees and the administrators. This is an almost inevitable role of community analysis work, and so long as the analyst remains a truly neutral go-between, he can serve a useful function in this regard.

Field Reports

In addition to the regular analysis reports, Minidoka has sent in 97 field reports, i.e., field notes on meetings, interviews, etc, as well as copies of various documents, charts and diagrams, ecological charts of relocation by blocks, etc. Some excellent interview material has come in from Jerome. These various items, sometimes only a page or two long but up-to-date, help greatly in giving the Washington office a picture of current attitudes and social developments at the projects.

Maps

It would help if each analyst could send a dozen or so outline maps of their projects. These can then be sent to other analysts and so help to give context to the project analysis reports.

Further Notes on Buraku from Minidoka

"I can't quite understand the use (at Central Utah) of the term buraku for barracks. Here the block is often called ku which is probably the nearest Japanese equivalent. Barrack, however, if called by a Japanese name



is always mune, a literal translation being 'under the same roof'. The block manager is sometimes called 'kucho-- from cho-manager and ku, block. This is, however, a rather awkward use and the English term is probably more often used. Mune, while used frequently, is interchangeable (with the older Issei) with barrack--the pronunciation of barrack comes out quite like buraku."

### Kibei

While the intricacies of devising an adequate definition of Kibei are fully recognized, and while we feel that the best definition is a social-psychological one, in terms of 'a state of mind', it has nevertheless been necessary to work out a more objective definition for general use in the Washington office. The working definition now in use here would classify as Kibei any American-born individual of Japanese ancestry who has resided in Japan for three years or more (whether consecutive or not) since January 1, 1935. Even though the application of this definition might exclude from the category some people who are "Kibei-minded", and might include others who are not, it is desirable to apply it wherever possible in analyses of the Kibei group--especially in statistical analyses--so that comparable results may be obtained.

### Excerpts from LaBarret's Summary of Initial Work at Utah

A mimeographed base map for each block was made; and on these have been plotted data from the files of the Statistics Division which has already done the necessary primary research. These maps have been useful in the following instances:

...The Agriculture Division has been recently hard pressed to find agricultural workers, especially foremen. The three blocks in which persons with rural background are located were pointed out to the Agricultural Section and this saved a time-consuming canvass of the whole camp--which is predominately urban.

Housing at Topaz is one better than the Army standard per room, that is, instead of the Army's 4-6-5-5-6-4 standard, the standard here which has been pretty well achieved has been 3-5-4-4-5-3 for apartments A, B, C, D, E, F, respectively. The maps have so far indicated only two apartments below the Army standard in number of occupants, which appears to be a remarkable showing when compared with other camps. However, a list was prepared for the use of the Housing sub-division here, indicating all those apartments which had more occupants than our own higher standards demanded....



The ecological maps indicate very clearly the status of relocation in every barrack, street and block. This information, which is to be sure purely descriptive only, nevertheless indicates where possible problems exist. The data disclosed have been made available to the Relocation Office here and it is hoped that this will increase the already high efficiency and success of this office in relocating residents. It will probably be a good idea to make a detailed investigation of some of these sore spots in relocation to see if we can uncover and remove some of the causes for it, in those places that fall behind the standards of the rest of the camp.

It is possible, within limits, that information of a miscellaneous sort may be useful to the Council in its formulation of policies. Although the Analyst, in this instance, was not the prime initiator, it would have been clear to him that the ward system of representation (though it may have suited a Nisei Council) was a synthetic and artificial unit so far as the incoming Issei Council is concerned. Blocks at Topaz are very definitely political and sentimental units; and it is clear that an effective Council will have to work with this sociological fact.....

When the members of the committees are plotted on the maps by initial....., there emerges a quick picture of the individuals who are the natural leaders in the community and with whom administrators must work. Some of these key members of the resident population have been on as many as seven or eight committees in succession, and have been probably more strategic political influences than the Council members.

The Social Science Analyst at Topaz has taken over the leadership of a resident social studies group, which is studying research methods. It is hoped to develop in this group research personnel for the future.....

Some special investigations have been made of the significance of various "splinter groups" or marginal cults not recognized officially by the Inter-Faith Council. These are in the long run not merely of academic ethnological and psychological importance, but they have an administrative significance too. Likewise, in cooperation with Community Activities, a study will be made of the various recreation groups, such as, judo, goh, shogi, and the like which have a more conservative Japanese coloring.

In moving around the camp, the Analyst turns up problems

which should be investigated by other departments. For example, one case of a probable psychotic in the warehousing division was brought to the Medical Social Worker.

A project for the near future might be the plotting on transparent overlay maps (to be placed over the present base maps) of the "kens" of the Issei in Japan. ....believes that there is some significance and political importance in such regional feeling here at Topaz.

Another interesting item would be to plot in the same fashion the volunteers in the camp, men in the Army who come back to visit our camp, for they are an important opinion-manufacturing influence concerning the outside world.....

The Analyst is beginning to be a "go-between in some instances between block manager groups and the administration on some policies.....

The Community Analyst has served a source of ethnological information in several instances. For example, at a meeting of the key section heads in Community Services Division, the Analyst has spoken on several points, in an attempt to give a background of ethnological information with an eye to giving suggestions and aid on questions of administration in various sections.....

One query which emerges from the ecological maps would concern the present location of the Protestant and Buddhist churches respectively. The Buddhist church is on the opposite side of the Project from the blocks of heaviest Buddhist concentration; and similarly, the Protestant church is remote from the centers of Protestant concentration; in fact, the Protestant church is located in the midst of Buddhists. This fact may be by accident or by design, but it deserves to be thought about.

Block \_\_\_ has an interesting political rivalry, led by two prominent families from two different cities which might be studied with profit. Similarly, the gathering of historical information concerning attitudes in assembly centers are of value in understanding the community.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
August 16, 1943

Community Analyst Letter No. 5

Personnel

All projects now have an established section of Community Analysis. The Community Analysts are

Central Utah	Oscar Hoffman (due at Topaz in September)
Colorado River	Lt. Alexander Leighton
Gila River	Gordon Brown
Granada	John Rademaker
Heart Mountain	Forrest LaViolette
Jerome	Edgar McVoy
Manzanar	Morris Opler
Minidoka	John deYoung
Rohwer	Charles Wisdom
Tule Lake	Marvin Opler

At the end of this month Frank Sweetser reports for active duty in the Navy, and John Embree leaves for Chicago to participate in the AMGOT Program, as it pertains to the Orient. Ned Spicer of Poston and \_\_\_\_\_ will take over the work of the Washington office. Just who \_\_\_\_\_ is to be has not yet been determined.

Eight Months

It is now eight months since Community Analysis was established. On January 18 John Embree was appointed as Principal Social Science Analyst, and on February 8. Frank Sweetser joined the staff as Senior Social Science Analyst, thus establishing the Washington office. On February 26 Director Myer sent a letter to all Project Directors authorizing the establishment of Community Analysis at the projects. The first two Analysts to take up their duties in the field are John deYoung at Minidoka on March 10 and Morris Opler at Manzanar on March 27.

In the meantime Lt. Alexander Leighton and Edward Spicer had been running a special division of sociological research since the beginning of the Poston project. It was in part their example and in part the troubles of the Poston strike and the Manzanar riot of December 6, 1942, that highlighted the need for Community Analysis to the WRA administration in Washington. Ned Spicer was detailed from Poston to Minidoka to aid John deYoung in establishing the first Community Analysis Section under the new setup.



In many respects, we have reason to be satisfied with the accomplishments of this first period. Some excellent work has been done by the field Analysts, both in their formal reporting to the Washington office and in their functioning at the project level. Six reports in the Community Analysis Series, prepared in the Washington office, have been issued and ten reports in the Project Analysis Series. In addition other project reports have been prepared which have been useful both to project administration and to members of the Washington staff of WRA in planning policy to fit the needs of the projects.

In some respects, however, we have done less well than we might have. It seems, now, that the direction given to most of the Analysts' work by the Washington office has placed too much stress on problems of resettlement and relocation. It has been true, and is still true, that resettlement is the basic policy of the Authority, and for this reason we must continue to devote considerable attention to it. But there are other problems as well.

#### Effects of Center Life

Among some of these other problems of the Authority one of the most serious is that of personal or "moral" degeneration as a result of the unnatural conditions of project life. This is a problem to which we have as yet given very little attention. What is needed is an etiological analysis of the situation as it impinges on the various types of individuals and groups in the center. Such analyses would provide a sound basis for judgment as to potentially effective counter measures to be taken. Very probably our concentration on resettlement, with its outward orientation, has distracted our attention from a careful study of the demoralizing effects of center life. Because large number of evacuees will continue to live in centers for some time, aiding in the prevention of this demoralization is as important a responsibility as that of facilitating successful resettlement.

#### Social Classes

Some research should also be made into social class distinction that survive in the center from West Coast life and how the WRA administrative setup may or may not conflict with these. Special attention might be paid to the existence of the old prejudice against the Eta or Suiheisha people. In the old days in Japan the Eta were an outcast group associated with lowly unclean occupations, such as the tanning of leather and killing of animals. A popular but erroneous Japanese explanation of the prejudice against Eta people is that they were descendants of Korean prisoners. Today the Japanese government



is doing its best to wipe out this social cleavage but the popular prejudice remains even among emigrant groups in this country.) In the light of this knowledge, one can see how the establishment of a shoe repair shop might create complications unthought of by WRA administrators.

### Private Enterprise

It is said that at some of the centers a condition of increasing private enterprise exists. Any notes on this subject would be worth sending in together with some analysis of the reasons behind it. Presumably private income on the part of a doctor might be traced to a different social context than, say, the establishment of a private barbering establishment.

### Reports

In general, the flow of materials from the Analysts who have been longest on the job has exceeded in volume that from more recent arrivals. This is to be and has been expected. Yet the output of some of the project sections is still smaller than it should be. It must be remembered constantly by the field Analysts that many of the social phenomena, especially if they are related to basic policies or problems of the Authority should be recorded in the Analyst's field notes; many of these notes should, in turn, be transmitted to Washington either as field notes, or as brief preliminary reports on topics which may well require more extensive study. Our program is such that to await the last word before sending in such material will quite frequently destroy much of its usefulness. If appropriate cautions as to incompleteness of observation and tentativeness of conclusion are incorporated in such notes, this can be done without exposing the Analyst to charges of over-generalization.

With all field posts now, or about to be filled, Community Analysis has reached its majority. We believe that our policies and functions are fairly clear and that our relations with other sections and divisions in the Authority are well established. The next eight months should be a period of continuing developments during which the Community Analysis Section can make many solid contributions to the sound development and implementation of WRA policies.

### Segregation

Weekly letters covering the segregation program have been coming in regularly from most projects, providing good comparative data. The break in the continuity of the Washington staff interfered with the getting out of news bulletins on segregation for the analysts. However, such bulletins would probably have turned out to be very monotonous. Uniformly in all projects the program has moved smoothly and almost precisely as it had been planned. Except for Tule Lake, which has special problems, the developments have been very similar for all projects. The Washington staff is now at work on a comparative analysis of the segregation and registration procedures and an assessment of the results of the former.

### Unfinished Business

With segregation occupying the center of the stage, it has, no doubt, been difficult for most analysts to work on other problems. In the last letter, we suggested attention to certain phases of center life, specifically, private enterprise, effects of life in the center on morale, and class structure. So far, only a couple of centers have come through with any material on these topics. Minidoka has sent in a full report on private enterprise and a brief description of social classes. Jerome has sent a list of private enterprises. Since we want to make a summary report on private enterprise about October 15, we are asking every analyst who has not done so to send in as full a report as possible on this subject before that time. The other two topics are not so urgent, but we hope they will not be forgotten.

### The New Community

As suggested in Mr. Provinse's memorandum of August 12, the analysts in most centers should now shift their emphasis in the segregation reports to the reception of Tule Lake people and the adjustments of the community to the new situation. Answers to the following questions would be illuminating:

How does the population of the center differ from that of the pre-segregation period? (Age, family composition, Nisei-Issei, former residence, religious affiliation, etc.)

What shifts are taking place in the major vertical social groupings? Is the Tule Lake group forming a new bloc or is it merging into the general community? Do the old cleavages persist?

What significant changes are there in evacuee attitudes and opinions?



Is there any difference in response to the relocation program?

### Communication

We are still groping for improvements in the techniques of communication between the analysts at the centers and the Washington office, between one center and another, and between the analyst and the administrative staff at the center. Perhaps this is the time to re-examine our methods of getting across our material. Some principles governing the use of the analysts' materials might be suggested.

The WRA can justify use of funds and manpower for Community Analysis only if its products are of practical value in guiding policies. We do not mean to imply that this objective precludes the scientific and academic usefulness of this material, for we feel that these two types of uses are reconcilable and often coincidental. But we must make our material effective for its primary purpose. In its application to WRA policy, our material must again be gauged at two levels, the project level and the Washington level. At the project level, the analyst must adapt his methods and his reporting to the peculiarities of his own project and must make his analyses and his recommendations comprehensible and useful for the project director and his staff in making day to day administrative decisions. For the national office, the need is for material bearing on over-all WRA policies and programs and for material which gives insight into local project relationships significant in interpretation of events at that project.

It should be possible for an analyst to prepare much of his material in such a form that it can serve both at the project and at the national level. This type of reporting is especially desirable, since the size of the Washington Community Analysis staff militates against large scale summarization and rewriting. In a few brief paragraphs below, we are attempting to outline certain criteria for the type of report which is most valuable in meeting these objectives. These criteria are presented in a tentative form, and we should welcome comments about them from the field. It should be mentioned also that we believe much of the material sent in to date has satisfied most of the criteria.

### Criteria for Community Analysis Reports

(1) They should have a definite bearing on some important aspect of the general WRA program or on some important situation at the center. We do not mean that they must be of immediate and readily obvious practical value. The analyst must use his own judgment on this score. For instance, description of significant aspects of Japanese culture might not have an immediate practical application, but it could have a long-term



influence on administrators in helping them appreciate Japanese traditions, and in dealing with Issei.

(2) They should be well-organized and coherent, and should contain a compact summary of the main points. They should be provided with appropriate headings and sub-headings, so that staff members can more easily see what is relevant to their problems.

(3) They should indicate the source of the data, the method of obtaining and analyzing data, and the representativeness of generalizations made. For instance, if the source is an interview with evacuee, the analyst should mention pertinent facts about this individual, the circumstances of the interview, and if possible, to what extent he believes the experiences and attitudes of this individual represent those of other evacuees. When generalizations about evacuee opinion are made, it is particularly important to estimate what groups and proportions of evacuees can be said to hold such opinions, and to indicate on what data the generalizations are based. Much of the analysis must be of a tentative nature, and the analyst should be careful to show how tentative it is.

(4) They should, as far as feasible, be comparable with similar reports from other centers. Naturally, this is a point on which guidance from the Washington office is essential. The weekly segregation reports were a step in this direction. The attempt to gain a degree of similarity in treatment of certain topics is intended not as a regimentation of the thinking of analysts but as a means of facilitating generalizations for all or most of the projects.

In the last letter, the desirability of analysts' sending in as much useful material as possible to Washington was stressed. Reports of meetings and miscellaneous events at the center are most useful to us if sifted for their significance to our work, and if accompanied by a note pointing out the setting and the particular meaning in the community. We do not necessarily want copies of everything the analyst obtains for his own files. For instance, suppose an analyst is sending in a report of a meeting of Co-op delegates attended by a member of the Community Analysis staff. Before sending it, he should ask himself, "Does this report illustrate some fairly important aspect of community relationships or attitudes? Does it show a significant incipient trend?" If the answer is "yes", then it should be submitted, with a covering note pointing out what the significance is. Probably most of the material sent in to date has been worthy of consideration by this office. But sometimes the value has not been apparent because of our lack of specific knowledge of conditions at the particular project. We still want more, not less, material from most projects, but we ask for rather careful sifting and pointing up before it is submitted.

#### Circulating Letters

Several analysts have asked for some means of informal communication



with analysts at other centers. In order to meet this need, we are experimenting with "chain letters". These letters will originate in Washington and will contain two or three interesting reports from the field, together with comments by this office. They will be routed directly from one center to another. We hope each analyst will be moved to add some observations of his own. We intend to start one about once a week, though it will take about a month for each letter to make the rounds. The first one was launched last week. We should welcome reactions of analysts to this device and suggestions as to other methods of intercommunication.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
January 14, 1944

Community Analyst Letter No. 7

Notes on the Analysts.

At the Projects:

David French has taken up the duties of Community Analyst at Poston. He carried on field work at Isleta and other Southwestern Indian pueblos while serving as a consultant to Dr. Aberle of the United Pueblos Agency, and has just completed a manuscript on factionalism at Isleta. Before leaving for Poston, French spent a week in the Washington office and several days in Chicago with Alex Leighton going over the Poston notes.

At Tule Lake the Analyst's office has been much disrupted since the entrance of the military police. Marvin Opler, in common with other appointed personnel, has been cut off from contact with his staff, but has been carrying on nevertheless with an analysis of the confused political currents in the center.

John de Young returned to Miridoka from Denver on November 3. He has already produced a report on his survey of the Japanese American community in Denver. This is being circulated especially among relocation officers and will serve as a basis for further studies of evacuee adjustment in middlewest and eastern regions.

Morris Opler has been working on detailed studies of the Manzanar segregants. His reports constitute fine documentation of the complex of attitudes to which evacuation, relocation, and segregation have given rise.

John Rademaker has completed a detailed study of evacuee points of view at Granada concerning resettlement. This report is being circulated to all the projects and the relocation offices.

Edgar McVoy, after a brief period in the Washington office, has moved on to become Chief of the section of Procedures and Analysis in the new Relocation Division in the Washington office. Kiyoshi Hamanaka, who assumed the duties of Analyst at Jerome after McVoy's departure, has resigned. The Analyst's post at Jerome is now vacant.

Gordon Brown, Charles Wisdom, and Oscar Hoffman are hard at it at Gila, Rohwer, and Topaz, respectively.

The vacancy left by Forrest LaViolette at Heart Mountain is to be filled about the middle of January by Asael T. Hansen of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.



In Washington:

Ned Spicer has been in the field the greater part of the last two months. He spent November at Tule Lake working with Opler and John Bigelow, Minidoka Reports Officer, at the job of documenting the events of November 1 to November 4, and studying the background of the Tule Lake incident. A portion of December he spent in Chicago looking into analysis needs in the midwest resettlement region.

Anne Freed is at present engaged in a study of evacuee adjustment in the Washington, D.C. area, which will provide some comparative data with John de Young's Denver study.

#### Community Analysis and Tule Lake.

One of the objectives of community analysis is the foreseeing of trouble in the centers so that it may be prevented. An important factor in the establishment of the section in the Authority was the recognition of need for understanding the causes of incidents like those at Poston and Manzanar last year. John Embree wrote one report last January and several memoranda of more limited circulation describing the factors responsible for the incidents. Reviewing those reports, the analysis seems still to hold and to give insight into what happened at Tule Lake. The fact remains, however, that crisis developed at Tule Lake and trouble was not forestalled. Could it have been prevented? Did Community Analysis serve any purpose in connection with the crisis?

There is no question that facts were available on previous disturbances and that the types of sentiments and organization which developed at Tule Lake were no wholly new things in the centers. The utilization of current physical dissatisfactions by purposeful leaders to whip up a large group of people to make a general demonstration was familiar from both Manzanar and Poston. Also the methods of applying pressure through an organized group of young men threatening violence to people who did not fall into line were familiar. In addition, the Analyst at Tule Lake followed closely and reported promptly on the signs of unrest that developed rapidly immediately after the segregation movements were completed. There was, in other words, no lack of information this time.

The Tule Lake incident occurred in spite of good background knowledge of the factors leading to it and in spite of specific information and some analysis of the immediate events preceding it. The failure insofar as community analysis is concerned lay in the coordination of materials from other centers. The obvious facts of crucial importance quite apparent by hindsight are (1) that frustrated minority leaders from all other centers were suddenly concentrated in Tule Lake, (2) that they had had extensive experience with center politics and



knew how to organize in terms of the relocation center structure, and (3) that they had a free hand, in the absence of any organized governmental or other structure, in the new center. This combination of factors resulted in an extremely rapid organization of the evacuees. The new mushroom organization, headed by incoming minority leaders from other centers, stimulated and then found itself unable to control the more radical elements in the population. Violence broke out and the Army came in. It was the situation created by the three factors mentioned above which was not clearly foreseen.

#### The Social Structure of the Relocation Centers.

Probably all the Analysts have been on the job long enough now to have an understanding of the social organization which has developed in the relocation centers. The hospital, the mess hall, the community council, the church, the work project all have become definite social institutions with peculiar characteristics. They are not the hospitals, the city councils, the churches, or the work projects of the society outside the centers. A project hospital, for example, is related to the community in a much more intimate way than is a hospital on the outside. The professional people and the non-professional people working in the hospital are involved in the cross-currents of sentiments in the community much more profoundly than such persons are in an ordinary hospital. This has implications for the management of the hospital, the most important being the difficulties which arise in connection with imposing the usual hospital discipline and professional standards. The problems of hospital management can be worked out only in the light of an understanding of the hospital as a social institution which is a part of a larger community.

Analyses of the various parts of the center as social institutions are greatly needed. To date there has been greater emphasis in the Analysts' work on discovering and describing the sentiments and attitudes of evacuees. There is now a large body of material covering the range of viewpoints of Nisei, Kibei, and Issei. The sentiment systems of the evacuee population and their relation to types of past experience are pretty well recorded. However, the role of the various sentiment systems in the community could be better appraised if we knew more of the framework of daily life through which these sentiments are expressed. The structure of the centers is fairly well crystallized, and life in the centers has extended over a long enough period so that it is possible to describe how the social institutions work. What is the role of the block as a social and political unit? What social functions does the hospital fulfill in addition to the usual hospital functions? How does the school operate in the context of first and second generation relations in the centers?



The Relocation Program.

The Community Analysis Section has embarked on some study of resettlement, the kinds of problems that resettlers are up against in their social adjustment and the nature of the groups which they are forming. John de Young's Denver study and Anne Freed's Washington study are the chief examples of this work so far. There will be more.

At the projects there have been various studies related to resettlement. Ever since last spring there have been surveys of evacuee attitudes concerning resettlement. The most extensive of such studies were the opinion surveys conducted at Poston under Alex Leighton's guidance, and John Rademaker's study at Granada. Probably the range of feeling on the matter and the major factors involved in the attitudes are now on record. The interplay of those attitudes within the center ought to be followed.

There are probably three points of approach which would be fruitful: (1) changes in attitudes toward resettlement on the part of various segments of the population since last May and what factors seem to be connected with these changes; (2) the relation of situations inside the center to outside adjustment and vice-versa; and (3) the nature and growth of the point of view opposing resettlement. This last is especially important at present. There appears to be a trend in several centers toward a political crystallization of this view as the balance of population shifts toward the Issei. What is the relationship of this trend to the specific procedures of the relocation program?

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
February 23, 1944

*Gordon Brown  
Jila*

Community Analyst Letter No. 8

Notes on the Analysts.

John de Young has been transferred from Minidoka to the Washington office to fill the serious need for more help there. He has just completed an excellent analysis of Minidoka's first major trouble — the boilermen's dispute of last month — which is being issued as a project analysis report.

Gordon Armbruster will replace de Young at Minidoka. Armbruster who received training at the London School of Economics has to his credit a study of a Welsh coal mining community, and a period of work as administrative analyst with the Chicago Street Commission.

Asael Hansen has taken up the job of analyst at Heart Mountain. Hansen spent three years in Yucatan working on Redfield's Carnegie study of the peninsula population. Hansen and his wife carried out the study of the city of Merida.

Charles Wisdom has just completed a massive study of the population of Rohwer, providing probably the most complete and concise study of the statistical characteristics of the population of any center to date. He plans to proceed now to use this as a base for interpretive studies of the attitudes of the population, especially in regard to resettlement.

Marvin Opler has been up to his neck in the extremely interesting developments at Tule Lake, where the center is split wide open in terms of the adherents of the original committee who carried out the demonstration of November 1, and those who want to bring the center back to normal operation.

Gordon Brown's brief analysis of the cultural conflict involved in evacuee family structure has been issued as a project analysis report and is being sent in quantity to the social welfare workers on the projects.

Morris Opler's studies of segregants and of persons answering "No" to question 28 have been used recently by the Justice Department in their effort to offset some of the bad bills now pending in regard to denial of citizenship to persons of Japanese ancestry.

Dave French at Poston has been busy organizing a staff and making plans for research problems. At present he is in the midst of a report



on community reactions to Selective Service, a study that probably all the other analysts are also working on.

Oscar Hoffman has been increasingly productive and has projected a number of interesting studies, such as the one dealing with evacuee reactions to the relocation program.

John Rademaker was temporarily assigned to the job of chief counselor at Granada, carrying that along with his regular duties. It was an emergency measure in a situation that simply had to be taken care of.

In Washington:

In addition to John de Young, the Washington staff has been increased by the coming of Mrs. Rachel Sady. She has behind her a study of the administrative history of the Menominee Reservation.

Anne Freed has been doing her bit to helping to clear the dockets on leave clearance, in addition to completing her study of resettlement in the Washington area.

Ned Spicer will spend the next month in the field visiting Topaz, Tule Lake, Poston, and Gila River.

Alex Leighton has recently come to Washington where he and a staff of four retained from the old Poston research unit are still working on Poston material. He has, however, just completed his report on the first year at Poston, a limited number of copies of which have been circulated. It is a massive, illustrated report devoted chiefly to an analysis of the general strike there last November and its implications for general administrative problems.

John Embree has been at work on a brief history of the establishment of the Community Analysis Section. He is at this writing attending, as a speaker, the Young People's Conference at Topaz.

Frank Sweetser dropped in the office recently to say hello and get the dope on recent progress.

#### The Projects as Analysts See Them.

Heart Mountain: Reaction to atrocity stories.

For the first two or three days after the news broke, it was the subject of many conversations among evacuees. But interest faded rapidly, and by February 1 or 2, it was not often mentioned.....

A good many persons expressed skepticism regarding the facts



presented in the announcement and consider it propaganda designed to stimulate the purchase of War Bonds. Others who accept the news as substantially true give this same explanation for its release at this particular time .....

The news did not create much excitement of any kind at Heart Mountain. It did raise an additional question in the minds of those who are considering moving out, and it will be a factor in inducing some to remain. It emphasized that, despite its disadvantages, the center provides evacuees as much or more security than does any other place in America.

Note: Much the same type of reaction was observed at Minidoka, but if anything, even less interest was evidenced. Similar attitude seems to have been expressed by residents at Manzanar.

Minidoka: From a report written by one of the research assistants of the Community Analysis Section, on individual behavior and social phenomena of evacuee life in a relocation center.

While it is admitted that life within a relocation center is a temporary life, nevertheless, there is a strong sense of security attached to it. This is perhaps one of the fundamental reasons why many evacuees are reluctant to relocate in a strange community. Within the center there is no economic insecurity, no fear of discrimination and violence.....

Regardless of one's social and economic status prior to evacuation, the evacuees in the center live in the same type of barrack rooms, eat the same food, and share common laundry and shower rooms. To a large extent the old social and economic status symbols through which people secured recognition no longer hold within the relocation center — other means of attempting to secure recognition have thus come into operation; striving for elective offices, certain jobs invested with more prestige than others, i.e. ---

Topaz: Attitudes Toward Relocation.

After a study of resident attitudes toward relocation, the conclusion is inevitable that barring some unforeseen major happening, a majority of evacuees, possibly a large majority, will remain in camp for the duration of the war. So pronounced is the resistance to relocation that even those with relatives or close friends on the outside who are allegedly doing well, even these residents quite consistently balk at relocation. Imbued with a morbid anxiety about the future, they are quite determined not to venture into unfamiliar localities where job opportunities and public acceptance are of doubtful quality. Consequently, it is quite unpopular to discuss relocation, especially the pros of that question. Residents who seriously plan to go out on indefinite leave generally keep their own counsel about relocation,



whereas those who oppose submitting to the process are enjoying a field day .....

They (a large majority of the people) are imbued with the idea that something big will happen to make relocation more attractive to them. Generally they look to WRA for this help and desire it in form of larger cash grants ..... Others in the form of cessation of hostilities both in the European and Pacific theatres of war .... some evacuees look for an early lifting of restrictions on the West Coast area from which they are now barred. Whatever the peculiar form of these hopes, their common denominator is generally a lack of appreciation of what is politically feasible.

Gila: Attitudes Toward Resettlement.

Resettlement is retarded by fears which are partly rational and partly pathological. The pathological fears, though deep-seated, may be diminished by a constructive policy within the project aimed at restoring the confidence of the evacuees in themselves and in the American community. But the project and the WRA can work only within limits. They cannot completely overcome the results of the adverse reports from outside, and thus they cannot completely banish the exaggerated fears of the outside world. The centers offer security; "outside" means danger.

Problems of the Analysts:

One of the basic problems of the analysts is the conflict between record-making and effective participation in project policy-making. This is a perplexing problem that probably all the analysts have wrestled with at some stage of their activities. Analysts have discovered that taking time to write lengthy reports on current problems detracts from the time needed to look into the problem or find that another problem has become pressing in the meantime. Further, much of the analyst's value to the project administration comes through verbal discussions with staff members in which various points of view can be worked out. Thus a great deal of the project work will be oral. Yet if the results of the analysts' work are to be of use to the Washington office for comparative and long range purposes, record-making and analysis of the local problems are needed. There seems to be no simple answer to the problem. In some instances it may be possible to prepare an immediate analysis of a situation, in others this may not be feasible. As far as the analyst is able, some record should be made.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
March 20, 1944

Community Analyst Letter No. 9

Notes on the Analysts.

Gordon Armbruster, who replaced John de Young at Minidoka, has left the center to be with his wife who is very ill. The evacuee staff has been carrying on alone, sending in material on reactions to selective service and community activities.

John de Young, recently transferred to the Washington office, has left WRA for the Office of Strategic Services; he expects to get an overseas assignment.

Community Analysis Reports.

In the last month a new series of reports has been started, called Community Analysis Notes. Three have been issued: Engagement and Marriage Customs in a Relocation Center, Traditional Japanese Therapeutics Practiced at Minidoka, and Social and Political Organization of the Block at Manzanar. "A Nisei Who Said 'No'", will be mailed soon. The Notes will include material of a miscellaneous nature, and observations too brief to be general or project reports.

Ned Spicer's report on the Tule Lake Incident is about to be mimeographed and given distribution.

Anne Freed has completed a study of the Buddhist Church which will soon be distributed.

The study of the social adjustment of evacuees who have relocated in the Washington area, by Anne Freed, is now being used by the Washington Relocation Office. Copies may be obtained by request at this time. The greatest difficulties evacuees coming to Washington have faced are not housing, employment, and adequate salaries, but integration into the community. It was recommended that the community should be organized to assist particularly in this area of adjustment.

The Washington office has received a paper on Ethnic Groups in Utah and Some Socio-Economic Aspects, by Prof. Elmer R. Smith of the University of Utah, which contains some good observations on the Japanese and Japanese American population of Utah. Dr. Smith and Dr. A. L. Beeley also of the University of Utah, have been conducting a survey on Japanese relocation in Utah, from which the data for this paper were obtained. A summary of this study will be made and distributed in the near future.

Suggestions to the Analysts.

At the Project Directors' meetings held in Washington recently,



the Directors discussed the increasing Japanization of the center communities, and also changes in Japanese culture patterns. For example, some of the Directors were disturbed that family solidarity did not mean that members who have relocated will try to get the rest of their family to join them. The National Director said that the Community Analysis reports have shown how changing conditions have caused changing customs and attitudes. More material on these points, i.e., changes in the social institutions at the centers, the trends toward Japanization, and, on the other hand, the breakdown of certain elements of Japanese culture, from the Analysts would be helpful to both local and national appointed personnel.

In the next Community Analyst Letter we would like to include some information on the evacuee members of the Analysis staffs. Biographical data would be appreciated.

At present the Washington Analysis staff is working on labor relations, caste attitudes, Issei points of view, and reactions to selective service. Any material from the field, on these subjects in particular, would be very welcome.

#### Cooperation with Counseling Service.

An agreement has been worked out between the Community Analysis and Welfare Sections by which the Analysts will work with the Counselors in analyzing the material gathered in the family relocation interviews. In addition the Analysts may be called on to give background information to the Counselors about the people at the centers, their culture patterns, their attitudes and their pre-evacuation and relocation center experiences. This general sociological material should be of educational value to the Counselors. A letter is being prepared for the Chief of Community Management at each project regarding this arrangement. You will be hearing from him.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
April 18, 1944

Community Analyst Letter No. 10

Personnel Notes.

At the Projects:

Minidoka. In Minidoka a new analyst, Elmer Smith, will be arriving shortly. He is a graduate of the University of Utah and has taught anthropology there for several years. He is well-known in Salt Lake City for the interest he has taken in the problems of Japanese Americans since evacuation. He has been in close touch with Issei and Nisei who have settled in Utah.

At the time John de Young left Minidoka, he was working with four research assistants, a secretary, and a typist. One of his assistants, Dick Kanaya, a young Issei who has a degree from the University of Washington in sociology, has been managing the Section since de Young's departure. He has been especially interested in cultural assimilation and in the effects of center life on the family. He has also been concerned with community government. A young woman assistant, Mary Watanabe, has concentrated on churches and women's groups. A young Nisei, Hideo Hoshida, with a degree in journalism, is working on a historical study of community activities.

Tule Lake. The Tule Lake staff has expanded recently and includes one Issei, one Kibei, four Nisei research assistants, and two stenographers. The staff have varied educational backgrounds, but all have had some study in social sciences. Mr. Obayashi, with degrees from Japanese and American universities, is heading the Cultural Research Bureau of the Section; while Marshall Nakachi, formerly of Poston, who has a degree in economics and statistics from UCLA, heads the Statistical Research Bureau of the Section. A Nisei who received some education in Japan is serving as staff artist, and is "particularly concerned with the frustrations of center life".

Gila. Gordon Brown's staff has recently been reduced as a result of the inroads of relocation. He is at present working with one research assistant, Mr. Oguchi, and a typist. Mr. Oguchi has been especially interested in problems of health and the hospital.

Poston. The staff at Poston, under David French, has been composed of three research assistants and a secretary. Mrs. C. Sugino, a graduate of University of Southern California, formerly worked with Alex Leighton's Sociological Research Project at Poston. She is at present chairman of the Poston Women's Club. Kiyoshi Shigekawa and James Sera (the latter in Poston III) are also working with French.



Topaz. Mr. and Mrs. Yoshida, formerly of San Luis Obispo and Tule Lake, are working with Oscar Hoffman at Central Utah.

In Washington:

Katherine Luomala will take John de Young's place as Community Analyst in the Washington office about the first of May. John has accepted a foreign assignment with another government agency. Miss Luomala earned her PhD in anthropology at the University of California, and has done research in Hawaii and this country. She recently carried out a study for the Soil Conservation Service of Navaho economic and social adjustment.

Rachel Sady of the Washington staff is now working as Community Analyst in Jerome until the center is closed. The Community Analysis Section in Jerome has not functioned since last November.

At the Conference of Chiefs of Community Management, May 8 to 13 in Denver, Ned Spicer will participate. One half-day session of the Conference will be devoted to the problems and contributions of Community Analysis to phases of Community Management. Any suggestions by analysts to the Washington office or to their Chiefs of Community Management as to material vital for such discussion will be appreciated.

#### Selective Service Reports.

This past month we received an excellent and comprehensive report on selective service at Heart Mountain from Asael Hansen which is being mimeographed and sent to all the projects.

Some of the analysts have asked us about reactions to selective service among the Nisei who have relocated. Unfortunately, we have been unable to obtain reports from the other cities and can only tell you about the Nisei in Washington, D.C. Those in this city are a select group, since a large number are college graduates and are employed in civil service positions. There have been no comments opposing selective service and no efforts to petition the government for additional civil rights. They have accepted the fact that they are to be called just as the rest of the population. However, most of the men are anxious to avoid Shelby and many are spending their evenings studying for the Camp Savage examination. They point out that at Savage they will learn the Japanese language which may be valuable to them for post-war jobs, that Minneapolis is a less prejudiced city than the southern towns, that they will have better promotion opportunities, and that in Savage they will escape such unpleasant aspects of army life as K.P. duty.

The general opinion among those in Washington is that since relocating they have felt closer to the war. They feel they are living



more normal lives than those in the centers and this has helped them regain their balance and perspective. When they see their colleagues and neighbors leave for the army and when they witness the hardships created in families because of the draft, they do not feel as bitter about their personal situations as they would have if isolated from these events.

Most of the Nisei feel that it is to their advantage to participate in the war. They say they are being realistic about their future in this country and think army service will improve their status. Those on civil service say it will help them regain their jobs and, furthermore, they will be given veteran's preference ratings in future civil service examinations. Those who have arrived in Washington recently and are IA are not so optimistic about future job possibilities in civil service since they cannot find jobs now because of their classification and therefore cannot build up a job record in the government. Several frankly admit they would like to work a few months before going into the army, but in view of their IA status they can only accept dull temporary jobs in private employment.

#### Relocation Studies.

Frank Miyamoto and his associates of the Chicago staff of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study of the University of California recently completed a preliminary report on the resettlement adjustment of evacuees in Chicago. They found that their adjustment has been reasonably good, and that there have been very few cases of serious personal disorganization. The life of the resettlers is nevertheless characterized as uncertain and changing. The people are very young, most of them are single, and their interests and attitudes are characteristic of emancipated young people unrestrained by their families. With emancipation has come an instability, but the Study predicts that this will have the effect of maturing the youths and developing their personalities and individual initiative. Various agencies in Chicago are now taking over some of the functions once performed by the family. The evacuees are not forming a real community of their own, since they do not all know each other and the channels of communication are limited.

The most serious problem of relocation remains integration of the evacuees into the community. How this can be done in a large impersonal city is the question they and the agencies are struggling to answer. A basic cause of the lack of integration is the insecurity and the increased sensitivity of the resettlers to possible further rejection. Their major wish remains to be identified with the majority group but their recent experience as a group apart has established a barrier. This schism with the main current of American life is the chief source of discontent. In spite of these negative factors in relocation, life is more gratifying to them now, as indicated in the lack of desire to return to the centers. They have found better opportunities than they had on the West Coast, and in spite of their initial dislike of the city they have developed some ties to it and have learned to appreciate its advantages.



The study of relocation in and around Washington revealed similar problems and trends. The Washington Study has been mimeographed and will be sent to the analysts.

#### Repatriation Requests.

In response to the teletype sent to each center requesting an analysis of repatriation and expatriation requests, reports from the Community Analysts of Poston, Topaz, Manzanar, and Tule Lake have been received. The report from Manzanar is being mimeographed and will be sent to the projects. The occasion for asking for this material was the recent upswing in repatriation requests noted at most projects. The Manzanar report, like the others which have come in, points out that selective service has been an important factor in this trend. It emphasizes, however, "the delicate balance that exists" in connection with the decision to request repatriation or expatriation. This balance may be tipped by various events in the centers which affect the feelings of security of evacuees. An event like the opening of selective service threatens one of the few still remaining securities, namely, the solidarity of the family. Tule Lake appears to be, in the face of such threat, a source of security and hence the mechanism for getting there is resorted to. The mechanism at present happens to be a request for repatriation. Other factors besides the draft may be expected to tip the balance from time to time. It remains to be seen whether the closing of the Jerome Center will result in increases in the requests there.

#### Pre-evacuation Studies.

Among the analysts, Morris Opler at Manzanar has sent in the most extensive studies of pre-evacuation communities and individual experiences. He has concentrated on Florin, Venice, Terminal Island, and a section of Los Angeles. These studies have been valuable in showing the background of the people at the centers, the experiences which have influenced their adjustment in the center, and their attitudes and feelings toward life before evacuation and toward the impact of evacuation and the relocation centers. In analyzing the events at the centers, this background material is important for a better understanding of the various groups of evacuees. It has been recommended by John Provinse that this type of material be made available to the family relocation counselors to assist them in their work. Not only is this material of value at the projects, but in Washington frequently questions arise about pre-evacuation conditions in certain areas of the West Coast and this data has been helpful in completing the picture.

#### Community Analysis Notes No. 1.

The distribution of Community Analysis Notes No. 1 has been delayed until now. It was mimeographed at the suggestion of the Welfare Section, who thought it might be especially useful to family counselors as an example of what lies behind an individual's paper record at a center.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
May 18, 1944

Community Analyst Letter No. 11

Personnel Notes.

No changes in Community Analysis personnel have been made during the past month. For the first time since the Section went into operation, an analyst is at work on every project.

In June, Margaret Lantis of Reed College will join the Washington staff as a consultant to the Community Analysis Section. Continuing a study of farm resettlement which she began in 1942 under a Social Science Research Council Post-Doctoral Fellowship, she will follow up some selected Rohwer families who have resettled in rural areas.

Mr. F. Obayashi of the Community Analysis staff in Tule Lake recently prepared under Marvin Opler's direction an excellent report on Japanese poetry groups in the segregation center. Besides presenting a good technical analysis of the poetic forms practiced by the groups, he has pointed up the content of the poetry as indicators of the attitudes towards center life and the preoccupations of the Issei. The paper has been submitted to the Journal of American Folklore and is being considered for publication.

Community Analysis Report No. 9.

A summary report on Buddhism in the United States before and after evacuation is now being mimeographed for distribution by the Community Analysis Section. It draws on data from all the projects and is designed as general background material for the WRA staff and others.

Evacuation and Resettlement of Japanese Canadians.

Forrest La Violette, former Community Analyst at Heart Mountain, who returned to his teaching post at McGill University in September 1943, has continued his interest in problems of the Japanese in Canada. He has written an article for the Far Eastern Survey on evacuation of Japanese in Canada. Recently he has been assigned by the Canadian government to prepare a report on the administration of the relocation program in Canada. This will require his going into the field again to visit several of the camps of Japanese evacuated from the Pacific Coast area. He says, "Part of my job will be to try and figure out how American decisions and reaction affect the Canadian program and public."

Om-1079

EDWARD H. SPICER  
PAPERS - MS 5

1943-1945  
COMMUNITY ANALYST LETTER NO. 11



Community Analysis Conference.

A conference of the Community Analysis Section had been tentatively planned for August, to take place somewhere in the mountain states area. It is now likely that this conference will be moved up to June or July, and will take place in Washington. Definite plans will be announced about June 1.

The Denver Community Management Conference.

At the last minute due to needs in Washington, Ned Spicer was unable to attend the Denver Community Management Conference. Oscar Hoffman, Community Analyst at Topaz, attended in place of Topaz's Chief of Community Management, and John Rademaker also came up briefly from Granada. The originally planned half day session to be devoted to Community Analysis was turned over to other matters on the agenda.



EDWARD H. SPICER  
PAPERS - MS 5

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
November 3, 1944

Community Analyst Letter No. 12

The Red Tapeworm Speaks

Taking inventory of the files of papers from Community Analysts with a view to preserving their work for National Archives; and rearranging the office furniture to give an illusion of non-existent space, privacy, and quiet have shaken up whatever Indian-summer lethargy the Washington staff may have felt after The Conference.

As a result of burrowing deeply into the files, the staff Red Tapeworm presents a worm's eye view of the Analyst whose praise it shouts unto the stratosphere.

He sends in an original and ONE carbon copy addressed to the Director, Attention of Community Analysis Section. The carbon is readable, unsmudged, and on the thin paper called manifold.

At the top of the first manuscript page he has (1) Community Analysis Section, (2) the name of his center, (3) the date, and (4) a brief but descriptive title of his subject; or if it is his regular weekly report the heading, "Community Analyst Trend Report from (date of last Trend Report) to (final date covered in Report submitted)."

If you do this too, the Washington staff will have more time for the bigger job of passing on your research faster and more effectively to the rest of the Authority and other agencies.

In the next Letter, the Red Tapeworm hopes to unwind sufficiently to give you a blow-by-blow account of everything that happens to your communications from the time the mailman dumps them into the Washington "TRA mail-room until they have spiraled so far up that they reach even an office with just one desk in it and a rug on the floor. This Letter should answer the question nearly every project Analyst lobbed at the Washington representatives at The Conference, "What do you do all day in Washington besides---(fill in your own wisecrack)?"

New Mimeographed Reports Ready Soon

"Labor Relations in the Relocation Centers," Community Analysis Report No. 10, will be mailed in a day or two. Worked on at various times by different members of the Washington staff, it was Rachel Sady who sat still long enough to get it done. While still in rough draft, it was read and used by Mr. Huberman, Community Management Chief at Minidoka, and by Inez Mercer of the Washington Personnel Section.

1943 - 1945  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS



Just as Joan Ishiyama started to mimeograph the report, Elmer Smith's excellent paper on labor relations at Minidoka arrived and led to the report being revised to include some of Smith's research.

As soon as "Labor Relations" is mailed, Joan will mimeograph Gordon Brown's "One Year of Community Government at Gila River Center," Project Analysis Series No. 19. It is Part I of a group of studies called "Community Government in the Relocation Centers." Morris Opler has sent in a paper for this series on Manzanar up to the incident of December, 1943.

We look forward to getting a comparable report, as soon as we can, from each Community Analyst, not only because of interest in the subject but as concrete evidence of smooth teamwork between the project and Washington Analysts.

#### Other Washington Reports in the Mill

The Community Government and Community Analysis Sections are cooperating on a study of community government for the Community Analysis Reports series. Working with Sol Kimball and Rachel Sady is Robert Pitcher, an interne of the Rockefeller-financed National Institute of Public Affairs.

Before taking maternity leave November 15, Anne Freed has been finishing first drafts of three papers, "The Changing Japanese American Families," "Juvenile Delinquency," and "Refugees of Oswego--their Cultural, Religious, and Historical Differences." As if this were not enough, she has tossed off incidental memoranda like the one today for the Health Section on Koen Kai (Hospital Benefit Funds).

J. R. McFarling of Granada is applying his specialized training and experience in social work to a detailed report on juvenile delinquency. We hope it will be ready by the time we get to preparing the final drafts of the Community Analysis Reports on the family and juvenile delinquency, and that other Analysts will send in what they have.

Ned Spicer is kept very busy with meetings and special memoranda, usually of a confidential nature. So far he hasn't had much chance to tell of his trip to the centers at the regular Tuesday and Saturday Community Analysis staff meetings.

#### Reactions and News Regarding Field Reports

Besides the field papers mentioned above, we have been getting other interesting material from the project Analysts.

The weekly Trend Reports have been coming in regularly from all centers but Gila and Manzanar. Gordon Brown, back at Gila River from Chicago CATS, recently sent in a Trend Report for the period from his return to the present. Morris Opler has left Manzanar to come to Washington to



EDWARD H. SPICER  
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work with Lieut. Comdr. Alex Leighton at O.I.I. Thus far, the Manzanar Analyst has sent in 242 reports and still hasn't tossed his gloves into the ring. His successor at Manzanar has not yet been appointed.

The newly revamped Information Digest of the Reports Office has asked Oscar Hoffman for permission to quote part of one of his weekly reports. Hoffman gave a talk, "Basic Issei Resettlement Attitudes," to a group of Utah educators recently and handled this difficult subject very well with regard to outside publicity. Eight of the educators have asked him for copies of his talk.

Do you get the Information Digest? If not, ask your Reports Officer to put you on the mailing list.

Merwin Opler's weekly Trend Reports from Tule Lake have also been very successful. They are generally regarded by the Washington CRA as the most interesting and useful things that have come out of Tule Lake.

David French is continuing his studies of West Coast locality groups and recently sent in a paper on the Miland area.

Hansen at Heart Mountain played an important part in bringing evacuees and administrative representatives of Washington and the center together in settling the problem of Block Coordinators. Heart Mountain now has both Block Managers and Block Coordinators as well as a functioning Community Council.

Charles Wisdom reports that there is a great deal of interest at Rohrer on relocation in the south and that he is making a special study of the factors involved.

John de Young, formerly of Minidoka and Washington, has just come back from Ceylon where he worked for Office of Strategic Services. He reports that the babies of Ceylon (undisclosed age) have remarkably beautiful eyes. This is not a military secret.

Last Word

Whew!

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1943 - 1945



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
February 13, 1945

Community Analyst Letter No. 13

Analysts, Ex-Analysts, and Future Analysts

For the past two months analysts have been on the West Coast surveying community sentiment in a few selected spots in regard to the lifting of the ban and relocation westward. Katharine Luomala has been in California since early December; and Elmer Smith on detail from Minidoka, has been covering Washington and Oregon since the last of December. They are winding up their work on the Coast now, after visiting and reporting on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys and the Puget Sound area in particular.

John de Young, recently of the Office of Strategic Services, is temporarily back at his old job in Minidoka in Smith's absence.

Morris Opler left his new duties with OWI long enough to drop in on the Washington Analysis staff one afternoon and talk about Manzanar. That center is still without an analyst.

Bruce Frederick Freed was born December 10, 1944. Anne says that Community Analysis is easy compared with the hoops a new baby can make you jump through.

Morton Grodzins, of the Dorothy Thomas-University of California group studying evacuation, has been in Washington for a month studying WRA policy formation at the national level. He spent some time in our office gathering material to be copied for the use of the Thomas group.

From the Projects

West Coast locality studies have been coming in steadily from Topaz, Tule Lake, Poston, and recently from Granada. As they come in Margaret Lantis has been combining and summarizing the data for use by the San Francisco regional office and the centers. Only Dave French so far has sent in a census of his center by locality groups. The census should have a top priority because the San Francisco office has been anxious to use this kind of information.

Most of the trend reports are coming in regularly and are helpful because of timeliness as well as content. The mimeographed Weekly Summary is being read with increasing interest in Washington. From issuing 25 we have jumped to issuing 75 copies, in response to the demand for them. So far no reactions to them have come in from the centers (except for the Granada Director's spotting of a mistake in fact). What do you think? Are we interpreting your center correctly?

Concentration on locality and trend reports has shown up in the few project analysis studies we have received. Oscar Hoffman wrote an interesting study of "Atomization in the Topaz Community"; Gordon Brown continued his analysis of community government in Gila; and Marvin Opler's staff at Tule

EDWARD H. SPIFFER

WRA COMMUNITY ANALYST LETTER NO. 13  
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Lake has done a couple of short studies on organized religion there. Marvin has been reporting in detail on the exceedingly complicated situation at Tule.

At Rohwer the appointment of Charles Wisdom as "Official Rumor Chaser" has raised him to front-page prominence (the Outpost, January 20, 1945).

In Washington

Besides assimilating locality and trend reports and passing on the information to the rest of the Washington office, the staff here has been busy completing old projects and starting new ones. Ned Spicer wrote the semi-annual report for Community Analysis for the period ending January, 1945. Besides working on various special memos and papers and planning for the final Community Analysis report to end all Community Analysis reports, he is preparing the second Trend Report covering November 15 to February 15. The long period between reports was due to X-mas and X-day and related activities.

The last two sections of the Rohwer Relocation series have been given their polishing touches by Margaret Lantis, and are now being stenciled for mimeographing.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section  
May 15, 1945

Community Analyst Letter No. 14

Persons and Places

On the Projects.

Gordon Brown will leave WRA on May 30 to take a research job in Philadelphia. It is with regret that we see him leave. He has recently entered his most prolific period as analyst at Gila. So far no arrangement has been worked out for replacing him.

Elmer Smith has returned from his assignment in the Northwest and is hard at work in Minidoka. It is likely he will continue to combine some work outside the center with what he is doing inside. He has just completed an intensive study of the juvenile problems which have been disturbing his center.

John de Young, who filled in at his old spot in Minidoka while Elmer was in the Northwest, has just finished a two month assignment at Manzanar. After a brief stop at Gila, he will come to Washington for some special work. There will be no permanent analyst at Manzanar during the closing period.

David French has recently begun mimeographing at the project all his weekly reports as well as other studies. This was in response to growing demand on the project for his output. Besides turning out a steady stream of pre-evacuation locality studies, he and his staff have been working on a variety of phases of center life, including radio listening, sports, marriage, and funerals. Dave's report on information channels was a most revealing study of staff-evacuee relationships.

Oscar Hoffman has sent in a very fine set of studies of pre-evacuation life organized in terms of occupational groups chiefly in the Bay area. He is at present working on an analysis of community government at Topaz, being stimulated by a summary of the subject prepared in Washington by Rachel Sady. We hope that his revision will appear soon as a Project Analysis report.

Ralph McFarling, whose running analyses of Issei points of view about relocation and other matters have been most instructive for Washington staff, has been working closely with the Council at Granada and has still in preparation a study of juvenile problems.

Marvin Opler at Tule Lake has had his hands full reporting the complexities of a center much disturbed by the Department of Justice hearings for renunciation of citizenship. He has recently turned in an interesting statement of suggested policy for Tule Lake as urged by responsible evacuees. Marvin's staff is a large and a prolific one, but reports indicate that it is one of the foci of relocation interest in Tule Lake and we may therefore expect him to be beset with personnel problems shortly.

Isaiah Hansen writes long and intimate weekly reports which give most effectively the flavor of life in Heart Mountain. He says, "I have a firm notion that

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reporting trivia communicates the sense of a situation in a way that more derived and abstract statements never can." We in Washington appreciate his interweaving of the record of events with direct quotes from evacuees who are living through the events.

Charles Wisdom is still working as rumor slouth at Rohwer and is as well chairman of the Adult Education and Orientation Committee.

#### In Washington.

Margaret Lantis has completed the writing up of her Rohwer material and her service as consultant in the Washington office. She expects to take a job with the Army, but until that materializes will do a special research job for the Department of Agriculture in Georgia.

Jean Ishiyama has been promoted from Section Secretary to an analyst position in the Washington office. Among other things, she is working at present on an annotated bibliography of Community Analysis reports from all centers. This will be distributed to libraries and others on our mailing list and should be useful to all students of Japanese American problems now and in the future, after the reports go into the National Archives. Increasingly we are getting requests from graduate students, inter-racial organizations, and others for Community Analysis material.

Katharine Lubala wended her weary way back from California in late February, fed to the teeth with West Coast reactions to the return of evacuees. Her "Exploratory Survey of California Attitudes toward the Return of the Japanese" (Community Analysis Report No. 11) was useful to Washington staff and contributed to thinking on policy matters.

Ed Spicer, more or less in convalescence recently (it was a girl), plans a long delayed field trip beginning about the first of June. He expects to go to the West Coast, Boston, and Tule Lake certainly. Other centers for this trip have not yet been decided on.

Rachel Sady spends much of her time on preparation of the weekly summaries, but has also been working on a study of the history of prejudice in Hood River and a history of Tule Lake.

Anne Freed, at the expiration of her maternity leave, has been unable to return to the section. We regret losing her.

Mrs. Vivian Silverstein has taken over the secretarial job for the section.

Jobs: Old and New

#### Weekly Reports.

The job of reporting current reactions in the centers to the post-exclusion program has been handled by every analyst in a most systematic and useful manner through the weekly reporting plan. As a result, Washington staff have been better informed concerning the human problems which the program gives rise to. There is also some indication that the weekly summaries prepared in Washington have been read and found useful on the projects, but so far there



has been no comment by analysts as to the utility, accuracy, or adequacy of the summaries. When we suggested recently here that the center situations had stabilized to the point where the summaries might be discontinued, we were urged to continue them, and the Relocation Division asked to have a copy of the summary go every week to each relocation officer outside the projects.

Recognizing that the major problem during the first months after the lifting of exclusion would be a psychological one, the reporting job was conceived here as one of the most important functions that Community Analysis could serve. It is our feeling that from about June on there will be less need for this sort of thing. The whole situation will be more settled and the problems will be reduced more and more to those of how particular families can be re-established outside the centers. It is planned tentatively, therefore, to discontinue the weekly reporting system after June 30. What do you think about it?

#### Final Reports.

It will then be time to draw together material for final reports by the analysts. An important part of the analyst's job in the closing phase is the assessment and documentation of the WRA program as an experience in human management. In terms of effects on the human beings administered, how, for example, did the community management, segregation, and relocation programs work at your center? Did they achieve what the administration wanted or expected them to and why or why not? Every center has had a somewhat different approach in the various phases of the program and often somewhat different interpretations of over-all policy. If government or any other agencies are to benefit by the WRA experience, we must have some systematic analyses of the program in at least its major aspects. The variations in the administration of the program from center to center, when fully described, will provide clues to the causes for successes and failures. An over-all comparative analysis of the program can be built only on careful analysis of the various center experiences.

Gordon Brown has already submitted an outline for his final report on Gila, covering the period up to the end of his residence there. When his report is turned in, we plan to get copies out to each project so that you can use it for comparative purposes in preparing your own report. We suggest that every final report include at least the following:

1. The relocation program, how it was presented, and what the reactions of the various segments of the center population were to it.
2. The employment program and its effects on the people.
3. Community government, evacuee and staff reactions to it, its achievements and failures.
4. Registration and segregation, reactions to them and effects on the community.
5. Social organization of the center, its development, its relation to administrative successes and failures.
6. Community analysis, its problems and methods, weaknesses, and achievements.

These suggestions are designedly presented only in broad outline. We would like to have your comments on them in the form of a more detailed outline for your center, adapted to what you feel can be accomplished and to the data



which you already have or feel you can gather in the closing months.

#### Estimating the Future.

Two interesting and important studies are in progress at Gila and Heart Mountain. Gordon Brown at Gila has under way a detailed study of 7 blocks in the Butte community in terms of the relocation plans of the population. He is gathering data, with the help of other members of the center staff, on pre-evacuation locality, occupation, property status, and state of relocation plans by families and individuals. With the study only partially completed, Gordon's findings indicate that 40% of the evacuees studied are "definitely adverse" to relocation, about 30% are "favorable", and 30% are "doubtful, hesitating, or plans unknown." Gordon once branded estimates concerning evacuee relocation plans as "pseudo-statistics." If he can correlate the various factors which he is studying in such detail and give us some interpretation of his numerical findings, the present study should be much more valuable than any previous estimates.

Hanson at Heart Mountain is working on a family by family survey of one block determining what the families are thinking and what they intend to do. His approach is chiefly through women who live in the block. He says, "The method is informal, so informal that the results will be pretty true, I think." These studies of Hanson and Brown ought to give by June a more solid base for viewing the nature of the problems of the final six months.

David French has turned in a most useful statistical study --- a comparison of the terminal departures at Poston since December with short term leaves. The Relocation Division here has found it useful and suggestive, although it could stand a little more interpretation in human terms. It indicates a considerable backlog of scouting activity, which is probably the best measure for predicting relocation in the immediate future. As Hanson says, "The present volume of this preliminary and preparatory activity is much more indicative of the eventual success or failure of the closing program than is the volume of current terminal departures."

#### Washington Office Activities.

The work of the Section in Washington, aside from Rachel Sady's preparation of the weekly summaries, has been oriented pretty strongly towards the West Coast. In the first place we have been working on making available the material on pre-evacuation localities to relocation and welfare workers inside and outside the centers. The excellent West Coast locality studies sent in by Morris Opler, Oscar Hoffman, David French, Marvin Opler, and Ralph McFarling have been summarized for issue as Community Analysis Notes. The job was begun by Margaret Lantis and is being continued by Katharine Luxalle and Jean Ishiyama. The data in the original reports adds up to something which goes far beyond the immediate value to WRA officers in relocation activities, giving as they do a remarkably complete view of pre-evacuation social organization, economics, and cultural values.

In the second place, we have been engaged in some analysis of West Coast attitudes, both historical and current. Katharine Luxalle's "Exploratory Survey"



is the only report mimeographed so far, but she has nearly ready a study of the effect of the housing situation on West Coast attitudes. Elmer Smith's Northwest community surveys have been used both by relocation officers and at the Minidoka project. Rachel Sady has been working on a study of Hood River, attempting to point out the roots of prejudice in that spectacularly publicized community. It may be issued soon as a Community Analysis Report.

Issai Biographical Material.

We are very anxious to have some Issai life history material, which we want to use in the Community Analysis Notes series such as we have used Wisei life stories. We would appreciate any Issai biographical notes that you may have, even if they are fragmentary.

Opening for Graduate Student at U. of North Carolina.

Copy submitted for the Student Relocation Newsheet dated May 11 included the following excerpt from a letter addressed to the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council by Miss Nello Norton, General Secretary of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen:

"The Council on Religion in Life here at the University (North Carolina) has asked me to see what possibilities there would be of getting a Japanese-American student here in the Sociology Department, provided a tuition scholarship in the Graduate School of Sociology would still be open for such a student. Also, what possibilities are there of getting a student in any other department. If you would let us know specifically they would make approaches to see if scholarship would be offered."

If you have an evacuee assistant who is eligible and interested, he should consult the Student Relocation Counselor at the project.