Papers

November 21, 1945

Dr. Regina Flannery
Secretary, National
Anthropological Association
Catholic University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Flannery:

I am enclosing an abstract of the paper which I propose to give at the December meeting of the American Anthropological Association.

Sincerely yours,

Edward H. Spicer, Head
Community Analysis Section

EHSpicer:hr

Papers

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APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Some 20 social scientists, most of them anthropologists, were employed by the War Relocation Authority in its program of resettlement of Japanese Americans after their evacuation from the West Coast in 1942. The contribution of the anthropologists consisted chiefly in interpretation to administrators of the background, points of view, and problems of evacuees as the latter conceived them. The work was of an advisory nature. It raises problems of the relationship of this sort of work to the science of anthropology and of the need for training in departments of anthropology for participation in government or other current programs of administration involving communities of people.

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Annual Meetings
The University Museum
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
December 27-29, 1945

PROGRAM

Papers by vote of Council, December 30, 1930, are limited to fifteen minutes.

All meetings except the annual dinner will be held at the University Museum.

Thursday, December 27th.
10:00 A. M.
Room 1.

Elizabeth Bacon, A preliminary attempt to delimit the culture areas of Asia.

Mischa Titiev, A Dasehra celebration in Delhi.

Nabendu Datta-Majumder, Cultural changes among the Santal.

Douglas G. Haring, Some aspects of Japanese personality.

Weston La Barre, Some observations on character structure in the Orient.

1:30 P. M.
Room 1.

Paul Honigsheim, The American Indian in the philosophy of the French Enlightenment.

Marian W. Smith, Biography and mythological style: Examples from the Coast Salish.

Ray L. Birdwhistell, Historical shifts in Hill Kin structure (Lantern).

Volney H. Jones, A pre-peyote Plains narcotic cult.

Loren C. Eiseley, Man, mastodons, and myth.

Richard A. Waterman, The role of musicological analysis in the study of a culture (Phonograph).

Pedro Carrasco, The Paracutin volcano in Tarascan folklore.

Thursday, December 27th.
1:30 P. M.
Room 2.

Work Table: Common ground and interdependence of the several branches of Anthropology.

4:00 P. M.
Room 1.

Council meeting, American Anthropological Association.

8:00 P. M.
Room 1.

Discussion: Professional aims and needs in Anthropology.

Friday, December 28th.
9:30 A. M.
Room 1.

Gordon W. Hewes, Recent archeological work in Korea.

Gordon F. Eckholm, The probable use of Mexican stone yokes (Lantern).

James B. Griffin, The southern Buzzard Cult is post-Columbian (Lantern).

C. T. R. Bohannan, A Guadalupe Cave item (Lantern).

J. Lawrence Angel, Race and ethnos in ancient Greek culture growth (Lantern).

Earle L. Reynolds, Dynamics of human growth and development (Lantern).

S. L. Washburn, Experimental analysis of cranial form (Lantern).

Kenneth MacGowan, A proposed Pre-Columbian Fund.

1:30 P. M.
Room 1.

Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association.

David Bidney, The concept of cultural crises.

Gregory Bateson, Diachronic problems of Cultural Anthropology.

Margaret Mead, Implications for Anthropology of the Gesell-Ilg studies of maturation.

George Devereux, Typology of human relationships.

William H. Kelly, The analysis of roles in terms of basic orientations.

Leslie A. White, Atomic energy.

Friday, December 28th.
7:00 P. M.
Hotel Philadelphian

Annual dinner of the American Anthropological Association.
(Business dress)

Neil M. Judd, Remarks by the retiring president.

Charles P. Mountford, The aborigines of the Central Australian deserts (Motion pictures).

Saturday, December 29th.
9:30 A. M.
Room 1.

M. F. Ashley Montagu, Sanctions and racism.

Mary Ellen Goodman, Evidence concerning the genesis of interracial attitudes.

Hans Stefan Santesson, Some currently popular attitudes on race relations and interracial marriages.

Edward H. Spicer, Applied Anthropology in the War Relocation Authority.

Katharine Luomala, Community readjustments in relation to changing prejudice patterns in central California.

Rosamond B. Spicer, An appraisal of the Indian Reorganization Act on the Papago Reservation.

Program Committee:

Frank H. H. Roberts Jr., Chairman
Wm. Duncan Strong
John O. Brew
Cornelius Osgood

Spicer

Ned - This should be published, with the four points elaborated slightly. Much as the Jnal of App Anthrop needs it, in the interests of applied anth. I think the Anthropologist should have it. It will be useful also to the NRC Committee working on the history of a. during the war for which work we are now trying to raise a grant.

John

Spier

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John

1/5/46

John:

Here are the notes from which I talked at the AAA meetings.

Fred

December 26, 1945

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

This is a report on the experience of a group of anthropologists during the war. In making the report I am taking it on myself to speak for 22 social scientists, 14 of them anthropologists, who participated in the program of the War Relocation Authority during the years 1943-44-45. Fortunately there are in the audience a number of the anthropologists with whom I was associated. They will be able to comment on and amend what I have to say.

The War Relocation Authority, at first an independent agency, later under the Department of the Interior, had the responsibility for solving the problems created by the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast. In carrying out its job it sought the aid of trained social scientists, hiring them to work as analysts of the evacuated group, not as administrators. In one aspect of their work the social scientists were required to study communities of human beings, much as a field anthropologist carries out studies of tribes or modern communities. The other aspect of their work was that of aiding a specific administrative program through the knowledge which they gained in their study of the communities. I wish to discuss and evaluate both aspects. First it will be necessary to describe just what it was that we did.

As a result of an Army decision in 1942, 110,000 persons of Japanese descent were evacuated from their homes on the Pacific Coast of the United States and placed in ten camps in the mountain states and Arkansas. These camps were called relocation centers. The people who were evacuated consisted of first generation immigrants from Japan, their children, and a few of their children's children. They were from all economic levels and occupations, ranging from poorly paid agricultural laborers to extremely wealthy businessmen and successful farmers. They were in all stages of assimilation to American culture, ranging from elderly men and women who spoke no English to young men and women who knew no

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November 17, 1942

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

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Japanese whatever. Two-thirds were citi zens of the United States---by birth; one-third were citizens of Japan denied by our laws the right to apply for American citizenship. The Army decision made no distinction among them, but threw them all together in the ten relocation centers under government supervision. The WRA was created to care for them in the camps and work out the problems of their future. Accepting the first responsibility immediately, the WRA after several months decided that the best interests of the whole group would be served by widespread resettlement over these parts of the United States from which they were not excluded.

The two major sets of problems which constituted the framework within which the WRA had to work were (1) the problems connected with maintaining the camps as livable communities with hospitals, schools, recreation and the basic elements of ~~all that constitutes~~ community life and (2) persuading persons to leave the centers and assisting them in resettling in places of their choice elsewhere in the United States. These practical problems determined the foci of interest and research for the social scientists, rather than questions arising out of the theoretical framework of the sciences of anthropology and sociology.

The top administrators in the WRA did not immediately decide that the special knowledge or techniques of social science would be helpful in administering the camps of evacuated people. At one of the camps, however, which was administered by the Indian Service, the decision was made very early (independently of the rest of the WRA) to establish a small unit of social scientists to aid the administrators in understanding the community. The activities of this unit have been described in some detail in Dr. Alexander Leighton's book <u>The Governing of Men</u>. I shall not discuss that work now, but will merely point out that Leighton's unit had some influence in the decision finally to make use of social scientists in all the camps. John Embree, in an article in the American Anthropologist, has described the beginnings of what came to be called Community

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Analysis in the WRA. His article was written about a year after ~~the~~ its establishment. I wish to go beyond his exposition and describe what happened to the Community Analysts and what sort of contribution they made.

The idea that social scientists could be used in the program did not come from the administrators working directly with the evacuees in the field. It came from Washington, where the top staff was more isolated from immediate events in the communities. A general strike at the Colorado River Center and another disturbance in the Manzanar center in California convinced top staff in Washington that more knowledge of the evacuated people was needed, if trouble was to be avoided. The social explosions in these camps, some six months after their foundation, were a result of throwing together a very heterogeneous group of people under conditions of considerable restriction. The disturbances threatened public relations and other aspects of the total program and led Washington staff to seek more information about the people they were administering. The fact that they turned to anthropologists was largely due to the presence in the Washington staff of two anthropologists who had already been hired as administrators. The idea of Community Analysis originated with them, and one of them was selected to form a Community Analysis ~~Unit~~ Section.

The Section consisted essentially of 13 or 14 trained scientists, anthropologists and sociologists --- one in each of the 10 centers and 3 or 4 in the Washington Office. The center analysts worked with whatever staff of evacuees they could recruit, usually four or five untrained persons. The analysts in the Washington office attempted to give some coordination to the work in the 10 centers, but found themselves chiefly occupied with processing the data from the centers to those judged to be the most appropriate persons in the Washington administrative staff.

The set of relationships within which the analysts operated was much more complex than that which usually confronts the field anthropologist in making a community study. The functions of the analysts were carefully defined in the agency

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regulations in terms somewhat similar to those which might be used in instructing a graduate student in preparation for a field study, however, with the inclusion of the instruction that his ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ findings were to be made available as an aid in the administrative program. The analyst was a member of the administrative staff, on the civil service payroll, occupying quarters the same as those of other staff and quite different from those of the evacuees. He was required to report his findings concerning the community to the camp director at more or less regular intervals. This opened him to the charge of being a sort of spy or stooge for the administration in the eyes of evacuees. Thus although he was constantly making the effort to establish ~~xxxxxxxx~~ relations of intimacy and mutal trust, like any ethnologist, he inevitably found certain walls between himself and evacuees because of his official connections. These were not so serious, however, in practice as they sound in a formal description. The behavior of the analyst over a period of time and scrupulous handling of information concerning specific individuals usually eliminated or reduced the most serious barriers.

Relationships with administrative staff were probably more complex and difficult to handle than those with evacuees. The analysts were set up with the definite understanding that they were to have no responsibility for getting administrative jobs done. They had the job merely of studying the community and reporting on its characteristics. This position was difficult for almost every administrator to understand. The tendency of most administrators was to feel that administrative responsibility, at least some experience of it, would make the analyst a better analyst. This ~~is~~ was probably true, but our experience was that in the long run it was better to resist efforts of the administrators to draw analysts into administrative jobs. Once begun it was difficult to withdraw and it proved impossible to combine effective analysis with administration. The analysts thus remained persons somewhat apart from the rest of the staff, were often suspect as "Washington spies", and always regarded by some segments of the staffs as quite useless.

Report read by P.L. - check on data

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The only precedent in government for the position of the analyst in the administrative organization was that of the lawyer. Like the attorneys the community analysts were in an advisory relationship without responsibility for accomplishing the various aspects of the program. Establishing the analysts in such a position indicated a recognition in the WRA that there would be continuous need throughout the program for specialized data and advice on human relations. Community Analysts were hired not for special consultation on specific problems, but on the basis that there would be constantly recurring problems requiring social science data and techniques for full understanding. This is a relatively new development in government in the United States, comparable programs having been established only in the Indian and Soil Conservation Service (chiefly), and in one bureau of the Department of Agriculture.

The community analysts worked in a complicated organizational structure. They were not unobtrusive observers. They had defined, if not always well understood, roles in the communities. Thus their position contrasted strongly with that of the ethnological student who goes to a community with no official definition of role. I believe that this "visibility" (if it may be called that) is a great advantage in connection with the scientific use of their data. Their biases, the coloring of the information which they secured is much easier to get at, and hence sound evaluation of their findings is more possible. If an observer's role is sharply defined, the influences on his viewpoint are more readily determined.

The Community Analysts came into the WRA organization not because they were wanted for assistance in working out the over-all objectives for the WRA program, that is, in over-all planning. The major objectives in the program, such as widespread resettlement and early liquidation of the relocation centers, had been decided on before any anthropologists were set to

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work. They were brought in primarily to help solve current problems in human relations. The program was not going smoothly. They were asked to help make it smoother, to get at the causes of friction between staff and evacuees and among evacuees. Their function was early defined as that of explaining "the trouble pattern" in the centers and they were hired pretty much as trouble-shooters. Although they continued to be thought of as such by some administrators in the organization., they developed promptly a broader function. This was one of assisting in the general education of the staff in respect to a better understanding of the evacuee viewpoints and their causes. They were given considerable scope in presenting a continuous interpretation of evacuee behavior to the whole WRA staff. They prepared, mimeographed, and distributed widely brief reports on customs, attitudes, social organization, and analyses of current behavior of the evacuees.

Roughly, there were three periods in our work. At first, the work consisted chiefly in analyzing the social disturbances that had taken place in the camps and pointing out the factors in social relations which had brought them about, for example, the diversity in viewpoints of the immigrant and citizen generations, the attitudes of staff towards the Japanese Americans, evacuee attitudes concerning their treatment by the government. These analyses were immediately supplemented by others as a new series of crises arose in the camps during a program of registration for army service. Studies of these situations were made and recommendations for avoiding such "troubles" were presented. The recommendations were of little importance, since by the time they were completed they had become pretty much a part of WRA thinking generally, or at least of the top staff who made the decisions. The real importance of these early reports lay probably in the fact that they put in systematic form what staff generally had learned as they themselves went through the various crisis situations.

In the second phase of work, much time was devoted to surveys of attitudes regarding the WRA proposals for resettlement and predictions as to response to

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the resettlement program. The surveys generally indicated that a majority of the evacuees did not agree that resettlement during the war was in their best interest. These findings did not alter WRA's decision to concentrate on resettlement, but rather led to efforts to find means of persuading evacuees to resettle. The analysts' data on resettlement attitudes helped to make clear what sort of problem confronted the WRA. The analysts never did discover the solutions to the problem. Insofar as it was solved by WRA, the solutions were hit on by other members of the administrative staff.

Third, after these first two types of activities had contributed to the definition of the human problems involved in the WRA program, the analysts settled down to record and report the trend of events. This meant the analysis and reporting of reactions to the policies adopted in managing the camps, the description of changing attitudes and social structure among the evacuees, and the reporting of reactions to the various techniques for persuading evacuees to resettle. Analysts produced for their camp directors and the Washington office weekly reports on the constantly shifting relations among evacuee groups and between staff and evacuees in their communities. The analysts became commentators on the social scene before them, interpreters of the current life in the centers as it was affected by administrative policies and procedures. The reports of the best analysts were read regularly by a number, but not by all, of the key administrators both in Washington and in the camps.

Looking back over the experience, it seems to me that the basic contribution made by the Community Analysts was this: they kept constantly before those administrators who were interested the nature of the human material with which the administrators were working. Someone once described Community Analysis as "the conscience of the WRA." What he meant was, I think, that the Community Analysts helped to keep administrators from forgetting that they were working with

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human beings whose hopes and fears for the future were being played on by every action of administration. They helped to prevent the growth of an attitude that each evacuee was merely a unit to be manipulated by the power that lay in the hands of the agency. More specific contributions were made in the course of the work, but the most important contribution was of this general nature. Themselves free of the responsibility for manipulating evacuees in certain ways, the analysts were able to keep before other staff members what the evacuees were saying and thinking about what the WRA was doing to them . Some of this would have inevitably come to the attention of the administrators without the analysts, but through them it was presented systematically and at regular intervals. Their data came to be something which key administrators habitually took into consideration in making their policy decisions. It was this rather than the discovery of means that worked in carrying out the program that constituted the essential contribution. efficiency of operation

The activities of anthropologists in the WRA program raise a number of questions as to what "applied anthropology" is and is not and what relation it bears to the "pure" science. I wish to discuss briefly four of these points here.

1. There is the question of the misuse of information such as that supplied by the Community Analysts. Knowledge of how people react or may react to administrative actions unquestionably increases the power of manipulation. Whether or not people are manipulated in their own best interests depends on the motives as well as the understanding of administrators. I believe that to some extent Community Analysis became a subsitute in WRA for self-government devices which could have brought administrators and evacuees into closer touch. Community Analysis was an easier, more direct, and quicker method for administrators to use in getting at community sentiments and reactions. I do not believe that the use of Community Analysis was against the best interests

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of evacuees, but it could have been, given a different set of administrators. It seems to me that the community analysis type of work ought not to be used as a subsitute for direct means of expression on the part of groups being administered by government agencies. It can be used to good advantage in conjunction with self-government institutions. I wish here merely to raise this point for discussion. I think it is a fundamental one, about which anthropologists should be clear in embarking on similar jobs with government agencies.

2. Then there is the question of whether or not what we were doing was science. It strikes me that this question has seemed of greater importance to those anthropologists who have not been engaged in the various sorts of war work than to those who have, and usually springs from a simple lack of knowledge of what anthropologists have been doing in the various agencies. I believe without any question that what the Community Analysts have been doing is science. They have been constantly engaged in two activities which are scientific, namely, observing human behavior and recording their observations. This is precisely what ethnographers and social anthropologists do when they are in the field. These two steps in scientific activity have been carried out by the analysts. The further steps of comparison, analysis, and generalization from the data are now being carried out by a small staff set up by the agency to carry through on the scientific end of the work.

There is however the question of whether or not the analysts have been guided in their work by scientific considerations. In allowing the purposes of an agency to determine their fields of observation were they being scientific? There is room for debate here. It appears to me that the essential approach has been something like this: what did people in the relocation centers do, how did they behave, when certain stimuli were applied to them? The stimuli were always well defined— an administrative order, a turn of events in the war, an action by Congress or the American public. The reactions were observed within the

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limits of the analyst's training and abilities. Which reactions were selected for close observation was determined largely by the major concerns of the administrative program, that is, those which would shed light on the interests of the administrators. ~~Those interests~~ In most cases it was purely a matter of phraseology as to whether a problem was a practical or a theoretical one. For example, from the administrator's point of view a problem was phrased: how can I get first generation men and women to resettle now? From the analyst's point of view the same problem was attacked with the following question in mind? what family influences, what attitudes towards other Americans, what attitudes towards life in the center are determining the present action of first generation men and women? In other words still, what is holding the community together and what might break it up? Every analyst collected much data on the bases of community solidarity as he worked. It is true he wrote reports, or tried to, in terms familiar to the administrators he was working with, but the work was constantly carried out in terms of concepts of community and human behavior developed by social scientists. It is probably an unusually fortunate circumstance that the WRA has been willing to provide funds and personnel to carry through the analysis of such data to the point of deriving some generalizations from it.

3. How well equipped were the anthropologists to do the work assigned them in the WRA? We were without exception persons trained in the accepted discipline as taught in departments of anthropology in Yale, California, Chicago, Columbia. Only 3 of us had any previous experience, and that very limited, in applying anthropology to an administrative program.

I think that we demonstrated that we were not very well equipped to take hold of the job that we ultimately learned to do. We were slow to adjust our academic interests to the needs of the program. We learned slowly how to work within a given administrative framework and be effective within it. We were at first not sympathetic with administrators as a group, having eyes only for the

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administrated who, in the relative strangeness of their culture, fit our ideas of subjects for study. Few of us developed the ability to analyze our communities as wholes, taking the administrators along with the evacuees as phenomena to be studied with equal efforts at objectivity. Some of us seemed unable to focus our observations on the present community before us, but fixed our attention always on the past; we lacked an interest in the community, its social structure and sentiments, as it took form before us. Most of us learned very slowly to use prediction as hypothesis, something which ought to have been the basis for our best contribution in the program. Most of us went through painful experiences in learning how merely to work with others who did not have theoretical interests.

We overcame many of these weaknesses as we went along, but we wasted time and lost materials in the process. I feel very strongly after 3 and a half years in Community Analysis that there should be more effort in departments of anthropology to equip students for the sort of opportunity which we have had in the WRA. One step might be courses setting forth the facts of ~~other~~ collaborations of anthropologists and administrators, so that students would at least have some familiarity with the possibilities and limitations of this sort of work. Another would be provision of field experience in collaboration with administrators in various situations.

4. Finally, I want to say something about the relationship of this sort of work to the science of anthropology. I believe that the sort of work we have done in the WRA can and will be a major factor in the advancement of the science. It will be so only if we equip anthropologists so that they can participate in administrative programs effectively and if we make sure that this sort of work is carried on by thoroughly trained anthropologists.

We have worried about having no laboratories in social science and have worked out various clumsy devices as substitutes for laboratories, such as studies

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of the same community at different times, or studies of groups with similar cultural heritages under different circumstances. These ~~may be~~ are useful devices, but at the same time we should be making use of the laboratories which any program seeking to move human groups in certain definite directions provides. The NRA program, under a set of well-defined conditions, carried a group of people through a series of changes to a new condition. Social scientists were on the spot to observe and record the changes and the conditions producing change. For example, in a space of three years we had under observation the beginnings, development and climax of a cultural revivalistic movement (in the segregation center). The whole series of effects of attack on the group from without is recorded and is in process of analysis. We have had the whole recording system of a government agency to aid in the study. The NRA program has been a laboratory.

~~Knowledge~~ To the extent that we can get anthropologists working in such laboratories, bringing their techniques and data into the milieu of social change and bringing out of it tested hypotheses and systematic records of specific social changes, the science will be enriched.

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THE USE OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS BY THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Introduction---- The WRA utilization of anthropologists and sociologists represents a new and special sort of application to a government program, having its chief parallel in the Soil Conservation Service and the Indian Office previously. It consisted of the establishment of a trained social scientist as a permanent and full-time adviser to the major key administrators in the Washington and field offices. It sought to inject in policy making and program implementation the kind of facts and social understanding of the scientists without at the same time turning the scientists into apologistsx for the program. It represents a sincere, if not always successful, effort to allow social science to contribute to a program and to xxxxxx keep intact the techniques and the viewpoint of the science.

What the WRA did in this respect xxxxxx provides a very specific and well-documented experience in applied social science from which much can be learned. xxxxxxxxxx The successes and failures may be clearly assessed as a guide for further such utilizations. The experience raises certain questions of fundamental importance as to the possibilities of applied anthropology and suggests next steps in the development of the field.

The Purposes of Application------ The administration of the WRA found itself in a cross-cultural administrative situation --- one in which they felt that they did not know sufficient about the people being administered. Having set up definite administrative objectives xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx based on assumptions derived from their own point of view, they rapidly found them-

selves in the position of engineers whose planning has not included a basic knowledge of new and refractory materials. It quickly became apparent that the human material of the program was not behaving in ways which the administrators had expected it to behave. Realizing gradually that more knowledge of their material was required, methods were devised for securing that knowledge so that planning could take it into account.

The approach was one of attempting to hew to the original plan, but to find ways and means of accomplishing it through adjustment of procedures to the realities of the materials involved. Thus the role of the social scientists was primarily that of the expert called in after the primary decisions were made to advise on the means of accomplishing it. It was not a case of calling the experts in to formulate the original plan. In a sense it was not even the sort of operation which we usually think of as one of calling in experts. It was rather an operation involving not the use of the omnisicient expert but rather of the specialist in materials who contributes information as to the limitations and characteristics of the material for use in the original design. It was therefore not a wholly ideal use of social scientists. But it was nevertheless a significant use which reveals quite clearly the possibilities and limitations of the utilization of social scientists in a fast-moving, cross-cultural program involving the destinies of thousands of human beings.

The Basic Plan of the Aplication. ----

use of Soc Sci.

Knowing the problem —
if we want to do this, what is
the problem.
Cf — Approach — what shall we
do?
Defining the problem — before + after
At what point bring the social
scientist in?

STK — Report on Govt.

Diff. in evac. — WRA vill. Spokane

1. War Relocation Homes (evac.) vs. military reservations no longer requiring exclusion (WRA)

STK — Policy not based on evac. - formulated needs.
(Hence C.A. falls down — merely expectant, not planning — EHS)
"Managerial philosophy" — STK

Ongoing report excerpt in # 3, p. 4.5 = STK
Yule Lake
Which center discouraged block Org ??

Chapter II — Problem
More specific on communication problem

Chap. IV — C.A. becomes a tool
replacing real operation of evac.
pt. of view.
loss of confidence in Commish to maintain
law & order by Wash. & admin.

Yule Lake Planning Board — TI, TN, TK

The Use of Anthropologists by the WRA

1. Classification of Affiliated Anthropologists
   vide Yost + Herskovits + Redfield
   To what extent is there employment for bona fide anthropologists outside of academic + foundation field?
   Not hooked up with a Univ. dept. like Chicago (Warner) + MSS (Lewin, etc)
   A series of affiliations in the tradition of U.S.+ G.C.?

2. Nature of the collaboration
   Reportorial, rather than specialized policy-planning
   Addition of subjective viewpt. — "the concerns of WRA" — definition of problems
   Weaknesses — 1. ineffectiveness of anthropologists (also of administration)
   2. Place in org. structure
   3. Reluctance unadjusted to pert. moving program, always too late + too little
   Some results —
   1. AHL's recs. after policy comes well-defined

3. Questions raised
   1. Lack of training of anthropologists
      Need course in applied & ap. anth.
      " internships in adm.
   2. Source of experimental data — we always complain that we have no laboratory: here it is
      any program = a functional experiment, when carefully done & used
   3. Kroeber's law + the delusement of anthropology actually can be to mutual advantage of ant + adm

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY in the WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

I want to make clear to you what one group of anthropologists did during the war. Our experience is probably not wholly unique. It is probaboy not a specially crucial instance of activity in the field of what is sometimes called applied anthropology. But it was interesting and I believe that, along with a number of other experiences during the war, is very important to discuss and consider the implications of for anthropology as a profession and as a science.

In doin this I am ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ taking it on myself to speak for a group of 13 anthropologists and 7 sociologists. There were that many involved in the program of the WRA, at differnt times. Fortunately some of them are present in the audience and will have the opportunity to check my report.

What I wish to do is to describe precisely what the nature of our work was, how we worked, what we seem to have accomplished. Then I wish to discuss the relation of this work to the science of anthropology, its implications for training in anthropology, and the possibilities and limitations of applying anthropology as indicated in this particular experience. I hope this will raise a number of questions which have been discussed recently by anthropologists concerning their role in practical affairs.

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~~Smmmfhzakhyyx~~ The major work on incidents and their related problems was carried on at and from the Washington level. By the time incidents of the type which brought CA into existence had run their course in the centers no analysts had yet been established in the centers. Moreover, the only analyst working during the period of incidents was Embree, still in process of setting up CA. However, the experience with incidents gave rise to the attitude in Washington that later policies such as segregation might develop into incidentsand consequently the job of "avoiding incidents" was frequently assigned to CA later on, as insegregation, center closure, and instituting the relocation program at Tule Lake.

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Applied Anthro in W.R.A.

Kind of work
Came in after basic policy decisions & allocation made
But participated in auxiliary policy decision
Primarily technical adviser — advising on nature of human materials

The set-up
a running community study
Every six months a sharply new situation

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Applied Anthropology in the W. R. A.

Gordon Brown — A — Ph.D.
J. Barnett — S — Ph.D.
E. Spicer — A — Ph.D.
D. French — A — Ph.D.
M. E. Opler — A — Ph.D.
M. K. Opler — A — Ph.D.
J. De Young — A — M.A.
G. Aembuster — A — Ph.D.
E. Smith — A — M.A.
W. La Barre — A — Ph.D.
O. Hoffmann — S — Ph.D.
M. La Violette — S — Ph.D.
A. Hansen — S-A — Ph.D.
J. Rademaker — S — Ph.D.
R. McYoung — S — M.A.
E. A. Hoebel — A — Ph.D.
C. Voiden — A — M.A.
E. McVoy — S — Ph.D.
R. Lady — A — M.A.
K. Lomada — A — Ph.D.
F. Sweetser — S — Ph.D.
J. Embree — A — Ph.D.

A = 14
S = 8
22

no Ph.D = 5

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Weidom — slow + non-current
definitive studies

Morris — non-current
ignoring of staff

Marvin — language of social scientist
protagonist

Hare —

Rademaker — Protagonist
Non-current

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The nature of applied anthropology did not become clear to me until perhaps after the program was over. An understanding of methods to be pursued was not clear to me until the very end. I was reluctant from the start to make a quick generalization for the purpose of establishing a base for policy. I resisted Leighton's earliest efforts in this direction, for example, his first memo on over-all organization. He made extensive use of my analyses of situations, extracting recommendations from them which I was unwilling myself to make. My set was entirely toward understanding, not doing something about a situation. I was unwilling to and hung back from assuming responsibility for any course of action. In the problem of relocation I never set myself to devise means for bringing it about, even suggesting possible alternatives. I did not accept it necessarily as something that should be accomplished. Having this set I was concerned constantly with analyzing but never with seeking means for accomplishing it. It was true thruout that my analyses seemed to be grasped at by others and that they led to decisions which I neither forsaw nor realized the implications of. I never thought about what would be an ultimate result, but rather what would be an immediate reaction. Judgment of policies was consistently in terms of what I regarded as an immediate good or bad reaction. If it appeared that it would cause an unpleasant immediate reaction, I was prone to advise against it. Beyond that I rarely looked.

Very slowly the set toward getting things done began to take hold of me, but I never achieved it and believe that it is something that my training has conditioned me against. I had been conditioned to a concern for analysis of what was before me, not to a conceiving of social forces in dynamic terms which would lead me to predict and foresee the results of an imagined continuing interplay of social forces in certain ways. I believe that training which stimulated speculation within the framework of social facts, rather than mere descriptive enalysis of facts would be desirable in the use of social science. But I remained offended at ~~the~~ what seemed to me the speculative manipulation of social facts. Perhaps philosophy would be a more effective training than anthropology for applied social scienistists.

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The Failures of C. A.

Criticism of in W.R.A.

1. Tule Lake incident

2. Being a mole –

3.

Contribution (to add)

1. A summary of Human relations
2. A " of trend reporting
3. A " of California survey
4. Re-write summary
   1. Focus on people –
   2. Part of the problem – defining problem
   3. ~~[illegible]~~ Why the analysts could not – needed
   4. Limitations on the use
   5. Telling the admin. what they were doing to people
   6. " " " what might be effects if they did something

Not only

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14									
15									
16									
TOTAL[2]									
GRAND TOTAL[2]									

[1] Show names of dependents first, then related family head immediately following in order that column 8 will show subtotal for dependents plus family head.
[2] Do not show total if forwarded.

Prepared by _____

Approved _____ Audited _____

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1. Is it science or not?

2. Is it prostitution or policy-making?

3. Does the scientist have to become administrator?

4. How well-equipped are anthropologists by present training?

5. Is it anthropology?

6.

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