

The Processes of Cooperation

789

The WRA goals - arrived at without general consultation with evacuees

Contact with most Americans only
Good reasons for goals (JHP)

Consisted of

1. Humane management of camp + people
with minimum of coercion (not)
2. assimilation of group beyond previous
degree of assimilation

Constant request for participation of evacuee
in policy determination

Denied for various reasons

Result = antagonism + regarding JHP
as an antagonist

Basic of evacuee position.

1. Solidarity in face of original attack
2. Preservation of achieved security
3. Long time ethnicity was basic

WRA ignored evacuee experience

Yet asked them to act in given framework

Given this situation what sort of collaboration
developed?

would stay".

There were others who decided to stay in United States who said they could not bear to return to their old homes. Some of these people might be able to reclaim property which has not been destroyed, and would benefit financially by returning. One Jugo-Slav woman said: "I couldn't stand to go back to our old home, even if I knew it was still standing. Too many horrible things happened there when the Nazi came. I would constantly see visions of this horror."

Some of the people fear continued persecution of the Jews in Europe and do not want to go back for that reason. "The anti-Jewish feeling did not arise in Europe with Hitler and his gang", declared a Czech resident at the shelter. "The Jews were long held in low esteem in many European countries. In many instances they lived in ghettos and the non-Jewish population wanted them to continue to live in ghettos. Efforts of the Jews to raise their own standard of living was resented. It was Hitler who brought open warfare against the Jews in Germany, the slaughter of thousands there and in other European countries, but the end of Hitler will not end discrimination. The feeling against Jews is too deep seated for that."

Another man said that hatred against the Jews has been preached by the Nazi too long and it has made to great an impression on the young people of central Europe. This cannot be eradicated, he believes, by legal process. Discrimination against them, he feels will continue for a great many years.

It may be significant that only two nationalities are represented among the repatriates. These countries are Austria and Jugo-Slavia.

Self-government in Rangoon Center 789

I. W.R.A. experience = an experiment completed in short time illustrating the effects of a type of colonial program

II. Similarities + dissimilarities to colonial situation

1. assumptions underlying form system of relationship set up
2. Kind of City W.R.A. had to work with

What we took away
+ gave

3. W.R.A. + execute goals

State of war = dissimilarity to colonial

Policy

III. The development of structure

Over-all plan

1. Retreated category

Adjustments to local city

2. Self-govt

" to proximity

3. Restoration of rights

Causes of structural diversity - General from

4. Relocation

5. Segregation

6. Amalgamation - above

IV. The development of functions

Expression of exec. goals

Implementation of W.R.A. goals

self-govt vs. city org.

The degree of concurrence of goals
+ Reason for divergence

V. The major results

1. Machinery for cooperation - techniques of accommodation developed somewhat - both adm. + exec. generally disatisfied with these?
2. New solidarity of whole group - on basis of antagonism to W.R.A. policies - only solidarity
3. Ambivalent and non-legal feelings to W.R.A., little assimilation to W.R.A. purpose except on basis of resignation to power.
4. Development of dependence on W.R.A. system, or better than other

I. Introduction

WRA experience reveals the effects of a program

Began as self-govt, became city org.

Great variety of reactions to - latitude for freedom

2. Assumptions underlying system of relationship set up

3. Structure

4. How the tool was utilized

Opposition on basis of
Opposition to WRA policy

5. Results

III

Major results =

1. Some training in cooperation
2. Anticipation + communication
to WRA

3. New mentality of group
(just beginning of self-government)

4. Techniques of accommodation -
little accumulation of paper

5. Major result = antagonism to
single system of control, with
not with a single administrative unit

The story of how planning for a paper, - to give them all information
worked.

The means are more important than the end
in self-govt - working habits.

Real leaders said "What we are" - acted at the end only
^{didn't trust the govt}

How much did native power influence the adm?

^{↳ loyalty developed to WRA?}
was Mariana case - largely not - merely a
surprise to everybody - info largely not - merely a
working with major adm. & it would have been hard to get around

II What kind of city did WRA have to work with?
Much like most colonies?

Leaders jerked once as "agitation" + low-
segment lack of confidence

Younger men ready to work for status = city, city
decisions as to how to behave toward causes. =
solidarity here + there

- The Japanese situation + the WRA
Intro - the problem of collaboration
I. The Framework of Relationships
II. The Determinants of W.R. & Policy (JHB)
III. The Local Structure of Collaboration
IV. The Processes of Collaboration
V. Results of the Program

Form No. WRA-93
Form approved by
Comptroller General, U. S.
November 17, 1942

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Relocation Center

Order No. _____

Page No. _____

Subvoucher No. _____

Grant Voucher No. _____

CLOTHING ALLOWANCE ORDER FOR MONTH OF _____, 19_____

LINE No.	FAMILY No.	INDIVIDUAL'S NAME ¹	AGE (4)	DEPENDENT (Relationship) (5)	RELATIONSHIP OF FAMILY HEAD (6)	ALLOW- ANCE (7)	TOTAL PAYMENT TO FAMILY HEAD (8)	PAYMENT TO INDIVIDUAL (9)	(SIGNATURE OF PAYEE) We, the subscribers, severally acknowledge to have received, IN CASH, the sums set opposite our respective names. (10)
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									
15									
16									
TOTAL ² _____									
GRAND TOTAL ³ _____									

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 _____

The Social Structure of Corporation

789

3 institutional systems established

1. The agency - articulated with a sub-ordinate group - the essence
2. Representative govt - articulated with the ~~agency~~ on voluntary basis
3. Civic organization - articulated with the outside on a voluntary basis

Two areas of disarray where sanctions differed & misunderstandings developed

1. The most classification of lemons in the subordinate position - not behaving in accordance with agency sanctions yet asked to.

An accommodation worked out, but never a satisfactory feeling about it on part of administration.

2. The conflicts between management & the concile -

An accommodation - never satisfactory to either side, especially workers

15

to be
vol 8/1949

Idea

2/22/45

The relations of groups — minority & majority, nation, etc. — may be analyzed in terms of 2 questions:-

1. What does the group want that it doesn't have? (minority, usually)
(Why does it want it?
Why can't it have it?
(Are they justified? !! from any
(Can substitute be found? ^{not} now)

2. What does the group fear about the other group?
(majority, usually)
(What is source of fear?
(Are they justified? Why?
(If not justified, how do they feel?)

FROM FILE #784

Idea

2/22/45

The relations of groups —
minorities & majorities, nations,
etc. — may be analyzed
in terms of 2 questions:-

1. What does the group
want that it doesn't
have? (minority, usually)
(Why does it want it?
(Why can't it have it?
(Are its wants justified? !! ^{any} _{not})
(Can substitutes be found? ^{any} _{not})

2. What does the group
fear about the other group?
(majority, usually)
(What is source of fear?
(Are they justified? Why?
(If not justified, how distel?)

5. Assumptions on which WRA
has proceeded

1. Mass justification or con -
demnation of people is bad
policy & must be corrected
2. Institutionalization of people
^{under your care to be avoided.}
_{admittance}
3. Wide distribution of
minority group will
reduce its problems
4. People may be manipu -
lated successfully ^{in mass} without
consulting them in planning
5. Attitudes may be changed
by circumstances
6. The interests of the second
generation are off prime
importance.
7. Family organizations must
not be disrupted.
8. Loyalty is a matter of in -
dividual declaration.

Meeting the Psychological Problem

I. The Problem

A. The immediate one - The center limited view
Reactions to closing

The process of acceptance - 2 plans
The meaning of closing
Personal security

B. Underlying viewpoints - a minority people
Relation to Japan
Citizenship
Outcome of war
Neutralism in the Center
The stake in America
Children
Property
The future &
American discrimination
Expectations
Group insecurity

II. Meeting the problem

A. Establishing securities

Family Personal - trying to make first step
Group Neighborhood group of decision
Community
National

Honest facts

Influence of war - part of problem being not very
duty for us, war

But part of problem is eternal =
prejudice

Withdrawal of Spanish = desperation to

What has happened

Reactions to Conference (Enc. Leadership)

" " to Minister's visit (Adv. Leadership)

" " closing

" " opening

Acceptance of major issue by most people
at all centers - Minidoka Rep. = Leader

The meeting process - slow, planning by lines.

1st at Polmar + Brundage

Now at Minidoka (adv. violent), H.H. dt, May

Things they want adv. to hear are accepted by leaders
a political campaign = not f. induction, but
minority or administration psychology.

Meeting the sociological problem

Need to normal psych. condition in centers
lit.-righter psychology — 1st step not taken
Conscience of state or "enemy alien"

Rentability as solution - solution = atrophy

Myra never cleared up - need. Atty. Gen. Kenny

"Passive loyalty"

Facts such as none in army offset the attack

Memorial service at Brundage

Tell all center Conference as a threat = no import
Psych. effects of additional grants —

Meeting the Psychological Problem

April 2, 1944

1. Present situation

Very favorable in contrast with last views (?) - analytic reports
Trend toward normal psych. condition in centers - 1st time since 1942
Boston most notable, Ht. Mt. the exception (?)

No complete visit-type visits made

Acceptance of major issue by most people at all centers - future
Thinking over center affairs is "out the window"
Mindanao probably an exception - but of little importance
more fear of kick-ups from off-center personnel than anyone -
Identification with former exec. is given, vested interest
Expectation over deadline, anxiety to do more than really condone
Summary - going well indeed

2. How did they get this way?

Three months revolution still going on - slow progress,
but has been faster than expected.

The process of acceptance - 3 levels

Factors against - hope for duration, leaders non-participatory ability

Factors for -
1. All-Center conference - exec. leadership { slow stem
City disintegrates
there's a sit-tighten

2. Directors visit - adm. leadership
Look responsibility personally - J. Potter
Have reasons for - took people into confidence
Established conviction.

3. The scoring process - now at climax
= red zone participation here (Planning)

Robinson, Krause - then Mindanao, Ht. Mt., Yafay
Adm. - indicates - we don't know how
exec. waged a political campaign to pressure WRA for
2 mos - told Adm. what they wanted them to hear - not
J. induction.

3. Three kinds of people

1. The relocators - going full steam, 500 a week

Honest both

Re-gathering in areas of security

2. The sit-tightens - nothing to do, we cannot touch, influence
comes of war every day; withdrawal of Spanish
will be affected by other countries' leaving
Basic of being - citizenry, J. Crimine Code, deportations
will be residue of

3. The dependents and dead-breakers
This is where we have most to do
Interviews - contact must be established no
with - that they come to us instead of sit-tightens
as leaders leave.

work their relocates friends

Closing centers will convince people of the reality of the program.

1. No, they are ~~actually~~ closing on a ~~fact~~ of the program of reducing to a final one or two centers.
2. It will be no more convincing than the reduction of library centers.
3. People will take the floor to move to another center or a way out of relocation dilemma.
4. A small proportion will be led to relocate before closing but those so influenced will be relocating in 3 mos. anyway.
- 5.

Possible compromises —

1. Close a center with no possibility of going to another center —
2. Assistance grants for all persons requiring them
- 3.

The present state of the WRA program may be summed up as follows:

A govt. agency ~~is~~ is attempting to get a man of people to do something which the mass of people believe is not in their interest. The agency is unable to offer inducements to leave that room without the inducements to remain.

1. Hold off on further pressure to relocate as long as possible
2. The war + all outside events are playing into our hands
3. The need at the center now is for peace + calm in making decision to go out.
4. Closing a center will focus on WRA activities + result in suspending relocation plans.
5. The reduction of center population + facilities of the Jemez will lead people to turn toward the outside
6. Closing Jerome did not banter relocation; the idea of a centralized base is still prevalent.
7. Closing centers will result in concentrating negative people together + reinforce their attitudes
8. As centers reduce in size the contents of staff with however (no necessary for the afternoon) will increase under the going system for welfare + relocation workers.
- 9.

Policy for relocation centers —

1. Residue in centers composed of persons

- a. Determined to get to Dale Lake
- b. Indemnity-seekers
- c. Confused and without initiative
- d. Defiant testers of WRA (excluding all)
- e. Incomplete relocation plans
- f. Segregees

2. Disposal of

- a. Treat as C
- b. " "
- c. Present with job + place to go
- d. treat as C
- e. Complete plans in field offices
- f. Go Justice

3. Further pressures —

- a. Must be individual to be effective
- b. Determining group can be influenced only by (1) implementation of center or (2) good opportunity outside
- c. Greater mass pressure will only increase size of residue
- d. cutting off of jobs — OK
- e. Closing blocks — will have opposite effects
- f. Influence of sit-tight leaders rising constantly

4. Possible policy changes

within 6 weeks
one month
of closing date of a
center — job
assignments will
be made to those
who have not
do not indicate
desire to make own
plans.

- a. WRA has no legal right to detain
- b. Assume that all persons remaining in camp on closing date will be assigned to find own relocation source until gone — no jobs during final month.
- c. Those whose relocation plans are not made by Sept. 1 shall report ~~for~~ reasons. Survey to consider disposal of And will be assigned a plan + de-parture date.
- d. If plan is not accepted — WRA responsibility at an end for individual and he will be given 6 weeks for own plan.
- e. What about closing down — good signatures and/or date

1. Minorization of the Center - not Ignorance
f. only a minor aspect.
Family + group solidarity
2. Relocating communities = C in person a = Individual,
b = family
If back to Calif. = community
3. Evolution of City Govt.
1. Complaints 2. Peace. 3. The future
4. Responsibility for what?
For the W.H.A program
The FPC shouldered a responsibility
5. The role of the block for admin.
The result of public opinion
6. The "persecution complex" as a moral minority
group attitude

Bob Ota - 1/24/44

Kibei in Japan during the 30's who had had
schooling in U.S before - reacted
against Japan strongly.

Rural vs urban life in Japan - Rural
isolated from other areas.

Rural vs urban in California - majority
laborer group & segregated schools
for Negro in Sacramento Valley.

Bay region urban Kibei = not aggressive,
tend with women. Only few appear -
rich enough to be JACL members.

5

- 100
25.
17

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
RELOCATION CENTER
23 June 1943

[This paper was prepared at one of the centers by a member of the relocation committee, in consultation with his evacuee assistants. The work of the entire group has led them to devote considerable attention to problems of resettlement.]

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE RELOCATION PROGRAM AT _____ RELOCATION CENTER

A number of elements have combined to slow down relocation drastically. To begin with, the first rush of well trained and well educated candidates who found Center life intolerable is over. Secondly, the press and political attacks against those of Japanese ancestry in this country have not abated. The Chandler investigation merged into the campaign to prevent those of Japanese ancestry from returning to the coast. The Dics Committee's activities followed closely. The press comments have been most unsettling to those who contemplated relocation. A young lady who was busy making plans for relocation a short time ago remarked yesterday that "she was going to wait a while." She admitted that the constant press criticism of those of Japanese ancestry was responsible for her change of decision. Third, now that the Project Director has come back from Washington with assurance that _____ will not be evacuated on short notice, a general feeling of relief and a "settling in" process has taken place. As one evacuee has expressed it, "There is a great revival of interest in the victory gardens and in the lawns, now that the people believe they will be here to enjoy the vegetables and to use the lawns." Said another, "You can tell by the way the Issei talk and act that they are not interested in getting out. All I hear in my block is the Issei talking about how they have built cellars and will be warm in winter and will sit in them and be cool in summer."

These factors, and many others which have previously come to the attention of the relocation committee are real and powerful, separately and cumulatively. A many-sided program is necessary in order to offset them. A meeting of the staff of my section, called for the purpose of making what recommendations we could to this end, has resulted in the following suggestions.

The entrance to the present relocation office is small and bare. At present there are a battle scarred table and two stools there. As long as it seemed that the main job in relocation was to gather data on available jobs and to present them in some way to eager candidates for relocation, the present arrangement may have sufficed. But now that we realize that our task is just as much one of interpretation, reassurance and social psychology, something more in the way of an inviting atmosphere is required. The work of the Community Analysis Section, and that of other sections and divisions as well, has indicated that there are valid reasons why the decision to relocate is often not an easy one. There are significant barriers, psychological and practical, to overcome. The person who is trying to make a decision can lose courage and enthusiasm at any point along the way - even in a relocation office. That the physical arrangements at the relocation office may not be without their influence is suggested by a well-informed young Nisei who said: "You go to see Mr. _____. He's busy. So you wait in that little hall. There's nothing to read; nothing to do. So you just hang around. You can just feel your interest go. It's depressing. The relocation office should be the busiest and most interesting place around here. But who wants to go there unless he has a specific question to ask or an appointment? There's nothing much there."

We raise the question, then, of whether the relocation office has not been too entirely concerned with the mechanics involved in relocation and whether more attention to the promotional and publicity angles will not be necessary in the future. It is our impression that so far, the best posters and display materials relating to relocation have come from Adult Education. While the attention of other departments to this problem should not be discouraged, of course, the primary responsibility for guiding this phase of the relocation program should rest with the relocation office, in our opinion.

At the relocation office there should be a waiting and reading room

C-0421-P2-BU-COS-WP

comfortably furnished and of respectable size. In such a relocation waiting and reading room it would be well to have a filing cabinet with data and graphic materials pertaining to various cities or localities alphabetically arranged in folders. Some able and cooperative person should be assigned the task of keeping it in order, classifying new materials that come in, and finding the proper folders for those who wish to consult them. In this way an individual who sees a position advertized which he thinks he might be able to fill, but who is uncertain about the character of the place to which he would have to go, can quickly review the information necessary for a decision and will avoid the period of hesitation or doubt which so often ends in no action at all.

The material to be placed in the files can be obtained, in large measure, from the relocation officers stationed in the various cities throughout the land. It should be part of their work to send to each Center, and particularly to the Centers from which most of the evacuees whom they place come, whatever literature and graphic materials they can find concerning the city or region. Chamber of Commerce pamphlets, maps, guides, newspaper or magazine articles, etc. should be included. Any tables, articles or other data which give an authentic picture of living costs, transportation problems and the housing situation, should also be provided. Many evacuees are more concerned about general living conditions in a region than in the bare details of work offer and salary, for they know that the salary must be related to the general picture to be meaningful. Where there are children involved, the nature of the school system, climatic conditions and other considerations loom important. If we will simply recall all the questions which the average heads of normal households ask before making a major move in work and location and then remind ourselves that those of Japanese ancestry in this country have been less mobile than the general American population, the need for accumulating full and reassuring data of this type becomes apparent.

In this relocation reading room we would like to see, too, a number of "better" newspapers selected from various sections of the country. The Saint Louis Post-Dispatch might represent one region, the New York Times another, etc. A newspaper file such as this would serve a number of purposes. It would attract those interested in the outside world to the Relocation office. By their presence in this particular place, these papers would emphasize the relation between events of the outside world and relocation. By their content they would prove that newspapers are not printed mainly for the purpose of badgering persons of Japanese ancestry. They would give the person who is interested in going to a certain locality, some indication of what people in that locality are thinking and doing. He would learn something about the social and political atmosphere of that place and from the want ads and business section he would get an impression of the kinds of industries and work opportunities represented.

In some central place, such as an enlarged and refurbished relocation reading room, there should be a file of clippings and materials, not only about the localities to which those of Japanese ancestry might go, but particularly about what is being said in the press of that region concerning the relocatees or Americans of Japanese ancestry. The contrast between how such news is handled elsewhere than on the west coast will make a deep impression, and should stimulate interest in going to a place where those of Japanese ancestry are often given a "break" in the news. The task of locating all these press items and calling them to the attention of the relocation offices in the Center can also best be accomplished by the relocation officers in the field.

In addition, the walls of the relocation reading room might be used for the display of posters and graphic materials which call attention to various phases of the relocation program. A map of the country, showing where persons

C-0421-P4-BU-COS-WP

from this Center have relocated, and in what numbers, such as the Project Director has in his office, might turn minds outward. Something of a competitive spirit might be generated if a large graph might be displayed, showing the progress of relocation from the various Centers and emphasizing this Center's relative position. Charts showing wage levels, living costs, etc. for various sections of the country would have a place too. The aid of the Art Department might be solicited in the assembling of such graphic material. By relating it to the work of the Art Department (through a poster campaign with a formal judging of the best posters on relocation and the giving of prizes, perhaps,) the idea of relocation can be spread in another direction, too.

In everything that has to do with the relocation office there is one basic fact that should be kept in mind, - pleasantness, patience and encouraging friendliness should be the rule in dealing with evacuees who are contemplating relocation. Much of the inertia relating to relocation stems from the circumstance that, psychologically, moving is still associated with evacuation. People who lived for years in a locality "moved" because they had to under traumatic conditions; they resist anything that savors of a duplication of this process. Then, too, many who seek the advice of the relocation office are defying family pressures or overcoming doubts and fears in doing so. An impatient or arbitrary attitude is enough to overcome the delicate balance that exists in favor of relocation, and can send them into the ranks of the apathetic once more.

We have recommended the liberal use of art and graphic materials in a relocation reading and waiting room. Some could be used to good advantage, doubtless, in mess halls too. An evacuee asked to see the compilation of favorable press notices which was distributed to members of the appointive staff at the end of May. His comment was: "This is something that should be posted in every mess hall. It should be distributed among the evacuees here."

Instead it goes to the A.P.'s, who take one glance at it and stick it in a file or throw it in the wastebasket. I got B's copy and showed it to a group of residents. They said, 'This isn't what we see in the coast papers. We didn't know articles like this appeared in the press.'" The suggestion here was that the common gathering place, the mess halls should be used for the display of material that would neutralize misconceptions concerning the press and political situations. There is no reason why the mess hall could not be used for the display of materials pertaining to relocation as well.

_____ has suggested another manner in which display material can be used; he suggests that a traveling exhibit on Relocation be sent to the Block Manager's offices for a week at a time. Discussion groups and groups of men playing goh often meet in these offices and such a display might well turn conversation and thought in the direction of relocation. Besides it would bring the issue to people who seldom come to the administrative center of the project.

Still another powerful medium might be moving pictures. A special effort might be made to obtain shorts and travlogs showing various parts of the United States. It would be well if these could be shown before large groups at the Friday and Saturday performances in the firebreak. These films need not be formally labeled a part of the relocation program, but they might help to stimulate interest in the outside and thus supplement a many-sided program.

The Department of Education here has shown a wholesome and avid interest in promoting relocation. It may be, however, that its program can be still further correlated with the efforts of the relocation office. During relocation week, one teacher had her typing class "write letters" to firms and notables on the outside, telling of their qualifications and asking for a position. Such an approach is most valuable, psychologically. The young person who has written a strong letter explaining why he is fit and suitably trained to take

C-0421-P6-BU-COS-WP

his place in normal life on the outside, has taken an attitude concerning himself which will logically end in relocation. There is no reason why a similar relation between relocation and other subjects cannot be established. English themes, for instance, might be written on the subject: "The Reasons Why I Wish to Relocate in _____." Geography and History might emphasize knowledge concerning the regions to which relocatees are going, etc.

The libraries, too, might be logical places at which to have relocation exhibits. The young people who are finishing school and who are thinking seriously about their futures and the means of making a livelihood would see them there. The better educated and better trained persons who have responded best to relocation suggestions thus far would receive added stimulation.

Because the main doubt and worry of candidates for relocation has to do with their fears of public reaction, it is imperative that their dread of hostility directed against them and their concern over loneliness and friendlessness, be overcome. This might be accomplished to some degree, if interested people, in regions which are friendly and receptive to those of Japanese ancestry, would write friendly and encouraging letters to individuals or groups within the Center. Through the churches and the committees which Mr. Rundquist has organized in various localities, opportunities for written exchanges of this kind might be worked out. Psychologically, they would be most important, for it would mean much to evacuees to feel that someone is actually and personally interested in them in places to which they might go.

As soon as the supply of relatively independent and unattached candidates runs low, the continued success of the relocation program will depend increasingly on the ability to convince families that it is to their advantage to relocate, or that it is wise to allow some members of the family to relocate

even though, for reasons of age, health, etc. other members have decided to remain in the Center. More publicity should therefore be given to the degree to which the administration here is willing to aid with arrangement so that family affairs can be adjusted. For instance, too few know that if younger members of the household depart, the older or infirm persons who are left behind will be cared for by aides especially selected and paid for the purpose.

There is also complaint that the cost of relocating for a family is too high, that too little baggage can be sent out with a family without personal cost, and that the individual relocatee has the advantage in this respect. This is something that should be carefully checked, and, if adjustments are in order, they should be made.

Last, the growing idea that this Center is now becoming an ideal community and represents a normal way of life should be combated. Life here is now tolerable, and a great deal of discord which existed in the past has been markedly diminished. But for those who expect to re-establish themselves in ordinary American communities, it is an artificial and essentially unsound existence. For one thing, it is not desirable that the basic relations between Mongoloid and Caucasoid as is the case here, should be that of teacher and pupil or evacuee and appointive staff. The repercussions of this for those who grow up in the atmosphere and come to take it for granted are bound to be unfortunate and are likely to affect race relations on the outside in the future. Simply on the physical side, because of the density of population, the character of housing, and other inescapable features of Center life, the potential hazards of fire and epidemic are greater than in the ordinary community. We believe that a catalog of the artificialities and abnormalities which Center life necessarily imposes should be made up and that these should be frankly discussed with block managers, the Advisory Council and other responsible leaders and groups.

C-0421-P8-Final-BU-COS-WP

The effectiveness of the primary group in
forcing behavior in the center, e.g.
Domination.

Breaks down into primary groups
whose sanction are usually
different from majority
secondary group.

Importance for administration ✓

The Community is
Built — Note
B M Solidarity
at Mayogram
Jan 14, 1944

On Yule Lake &
Identifications

~~PL 13 - May 1868~~

~~W. L. Vintonator~~

Feb 20 - Semi-
Annual report

Evangelical sect
preaching against
relocation

Hot Mt.

Mimidoka

Injunction for reparation
intervenior

The Concept of
Breaking Down
Resistance to Re-location

Relocation Center Community: —

Assuming responsibility

What has happened in centers?

Family - how have responsibilities been accepted? Losses of functions

Block - a new territorial unit

Where are responsibilities? Confidence
Stealing lumber

Economic - the coop

Release of collective energy = not
successful assumption of responsibility

FPEC - failure + success
and work projects - Camouflage &
adobe, cotton - picking

Political - The councils - who has
assumed responsibility?

Fair Practice Cte - how dealt with
National Conference - how dealt with

Factors retarding assumption of responsibility

Withdrawal of real leaders

Lack of feeling of real responsibility

The situation not caused by themselves

Objectives not really recognized by WRA

"Future = in terms of usage + means
only of putting plan basically
that out by WRA. WRA has
the responsibility for it, not us."

"Here is our solution; what is yours?"
Building people's confidence by giving
them real responsibility.

Institutionalization -
People learn how to get something out of agency
How deeply effected? Lastingly

... T. ...

The social structure of the relocation center -
The family - see E C study

Its strength + its weakness under the
new conditions

(a) the breaks in the structure in the center
reciprocal obligations broken down +
also the family rituals accordingly

(b) increased association with parent-like
people - other Issei and greater
sympathy with parents' viewpoint -
all oppressed together - all a

minority group = type of "Japanization"
Americanized to some extent - new
"reversion" in minority attitude.

The block - a new territorial unit

Family largely merged there

Its strength = the unit of public opinion formation -
control over residents - outer + dimensions

Food control
Its weakness - the internal division + conflicting
sentiment patterns vs core of the community

The community

The council + the community

Poston - the emergence of Issei sentiments

or dominant
What are Issei sentiments? "Personality complex"

Important ones for one concern

1. Sp. Council vs W R A
Japan vs U.S.A (distress)

2. Relocation vs Little Tokyoos.

In unity in strength

3. The children + their future

Chances to the Issei

The family, the block, + the minority group

Let us set aside
"the Japanese". Let us
have in a minority
group

The concept of the "Japanese village"

It failed with a attempt to divide the nature of Boston as an effort to establish "a Japanese village". He was good at labels and substituted them for thinking. Of course there was no question of a Japanese village developing in Boston - only the question of to what extent a California Japanese city might grow up, in other words, the infiltration of culture.

The position here is one of a set of admin. goals trying to operate without city connections. The adm. must realize the necessity for operating not only with the Board, but also the participation of the general public, does not mean a few who understand the view of the adm. & their duty to make use of the power he has. The burden of leadership is as follows - find the effective social force in the city, then try to influence them in the adm. direction. If the adm. ~~isn't~~ set up its own

The Japanese village can not function in Boston. Integrity then red goat took, but it nevertheless is the job of the adm.

Idea #1 —

Early closing date of June psychological effect because the people would already be whipped by June 15 (balance heavy toward going out).

Epi - Possibly trying Good effect?

Idea #2 —

Early closing date engage the issue earlier with those who were set to resist anyway. Your issue for action to wrestle with well before closing time.

Idea #3 —

Center staffer all convinced will be a residue — generally lower than ignorance estimator of residue. More thinking ones wanted, but generally feel that D.S.M. has a "secret plan" to pull things thru.

Idea #4 —

Walrus leader all convinced will be a residue — steadily driving estimate downward — probably R.N.

Idea #5 —

concept of 3 periods or stages in closing, with first one climactic and different (kind of forcing), obtain re-intake + change of W.R.A. policy).

Idea #6 —

Center public opinion — has changed from anti-revolution to belief in residue = a profound shift, but still only in degree not in basic feeling. Ignorance acceptance of group "also don't tolerate" concomitantly with acceptance of death threat.

Idea #7 —

"My ideological war" between Issei and a.f. (noted at Niimata), but a basic element in this first phase.

Idea #8 —

Oct 1 (Closing of Postos II + III) will be crucial, or at least determiner of disposal & thus which will be crucial for all other centers. All are waiting.

Idea #9 —

Effect of recent announcements on
education later — Smith = will rise.
Zoryay = fell immediately.

Idea #10 —

Other form of dilemma = those who
would leave but can't by law!

Adm. Notice H-285

Irian Republic "Bridge Among Jpa. Ameria"
New Republic, Feb. 1, 1943 H.142-143

Introducer -

Pro-Japanese sentiment } Played a part
Plain hoodlum element }

Troublemakers took advantage of

1. Great sense of frustration of ad.

2. Clearance between 1st & 2nd generation

Cooperation with authorities = a hazard

Because - only citizens hold office

Riot helpful because forced problem only solvable by public opinion.

Re-education = WRA's solution

Should be group education

30,000 can be re-settled

Hoodlums & "pro-Axis" people & traitors should be moved to a separate camp

80,000 - left in camp

"Will there be a real attempt to make these men self-supporting before the people in them become too demoralized?

small group terrains developed by women own reported, etc.

WRA should go forward in this

50% of men now fairly loyal to U.S. }

to the

to the

Inter-Center Restoration Council

Adult education

make centers as much like other places in America as possible

Aug 28-1942

Policy (announced by Dick & Horine) of WRA
Assimilation + Segregation

A simultaneous program obviously directed toward the maintenance + encouragement of Americanism, that is, the elimination of Japanese influence on the Japanese-American.

These influences seem to be those of in terms of pro-Japanese "sentiment in connection with the war (but not including necessarily "simple emotional" involvement). WRA would not discourage especially an O Bon festival, e.g., but it would discourage a council chairman who wants and believes that Japan will win the war. Thus such a chairman, it is thought, should be segregated from the nisei, but the O Bon festival should not be suppressed.

It is thought that a recognition of pro-American feeling + effort should be ~~fully~~ worked out, e.g., aid to the nisei desire for segregation and assistance in getting all Japanese out into the U.S. where they can participate directly in the U.S. war effort. Since there is to be assimilation directly involving in the out-group + simultaneously a segregation of elements in the in-group.

How is this related to the nisei-nisei relationship within the relocation centers at present?

How is this related to the problem of stable community development in relocation centers?
How is it related to the facts and conditions of assimilation in the U.S. at large?

This policy places the relocation centers in a new life. It gives a new function to them and partly eliminates some function. It establishes them in some measure as way-stations in the process of assimilation from West Coast slantly segregated communities to middle west assimilation. It defines them as relatively unstable communities of uprooted people looking to establishment elsewhere. Yet it does ^{not} alter the fact that they are communities & that they will be places to return to & also to remain in for at least a portion of those who come to them. The most unstable period will be the year immediately coming, for if the Japs were ^{are} to go out to participate in the war effort itself that means they provision must be made for them immediately. We should not look for the community organization to be established in the immediate present. We must expect in fact immediately a period of considerable upset & disturbance, for a great many individuals will be making decisions now as soon as they hear of the new situation.

It will give the community a sense of voluntary participation which it lacked before. But it could produce the feeling that this will result in a community of cells also, a lowered dignity of the community & ^{a different} ^{raison d'être}. It will focus the interest on the outside world rather than on Boston, at least until Boston gets going as a fostering community.

The consequences of this for the community at present are probably (1) the seiving out of younger people, returning possibly a more normal age-

Instrument — 10 - 33 ✓
14 - 4 ✓
6 - 6
4 - 11
3 - 12
8 - 13
10 - 14 ✓
2 - 16
8 - 18
4 - 19
6 - 21
4 - 22
5 - 26
6 - 27
4 - 31
1 - 32
3 - 36
3 - 37
6 - 38
10 - 39 ✓
7 - 42
5 - 43
2 - 44
4 - 45
9 - 53 ✓
7 - 54
10 - 59 ✓
14 - 60 ✓

Borton —

Forman —

NJ - protective attitude to him

"They suspicion of F + K
wants segregation

"Democracy cannot be exported to other
human beings who have had no
experience with it but phaser . . ."
placed too much responsibility on
younger people

Freeman - No rapport with SNC

"When for months we tried to get info
from these people, we couldn't get
it. They sat back apathetically.
Then over a trivial case they rose
in a mob & got strong port
offered. It looks now like we
have a tiger by the tail.

a wartime agency by special executive order
Salter Interior.

I. WRA & its Basic Problems

1. Where into people?
2. Under what conditions of restriction, etc?
3. What kind of cities to aim at? self-govt, economy, etc?
4. Permanent & character of cities? Service, John. aspects? ^{new} ^{aspects}
5. Resettlement? Legal basis, etc.
6. Segregation of loyal & disloyal, null security, etc.
7. Type of relocation program in & out of centers, policy, etc?
8. Parallel activities? Religion?
9. Within framework of policy, how get cooperation?
10. When & how to close centers? Care aids?
11. Effect of Rehabilitation aid? and details?

II. Problem sphere within which CA worked

6.
7
9
10

III. Nature of the Section

6

I A 8

Roto = *bokkegen*
Asia Company
Kawale

Jap Assoc

53-54
54-60

mizusawa
45

Nakayama ken
Hiroshima "

Yamaguchi "

Kumamoto "

Kagoshima "

Mizusawa = secretary
Nagai

From große abo

12/22/2022

elbow antec.

Self-port & relocation pg

Porter -

Developed leaders who had
to maintain an attitude of
anti-administration for conditioning
worked behind scenes with
adm. + cooperated within limits
for adm.

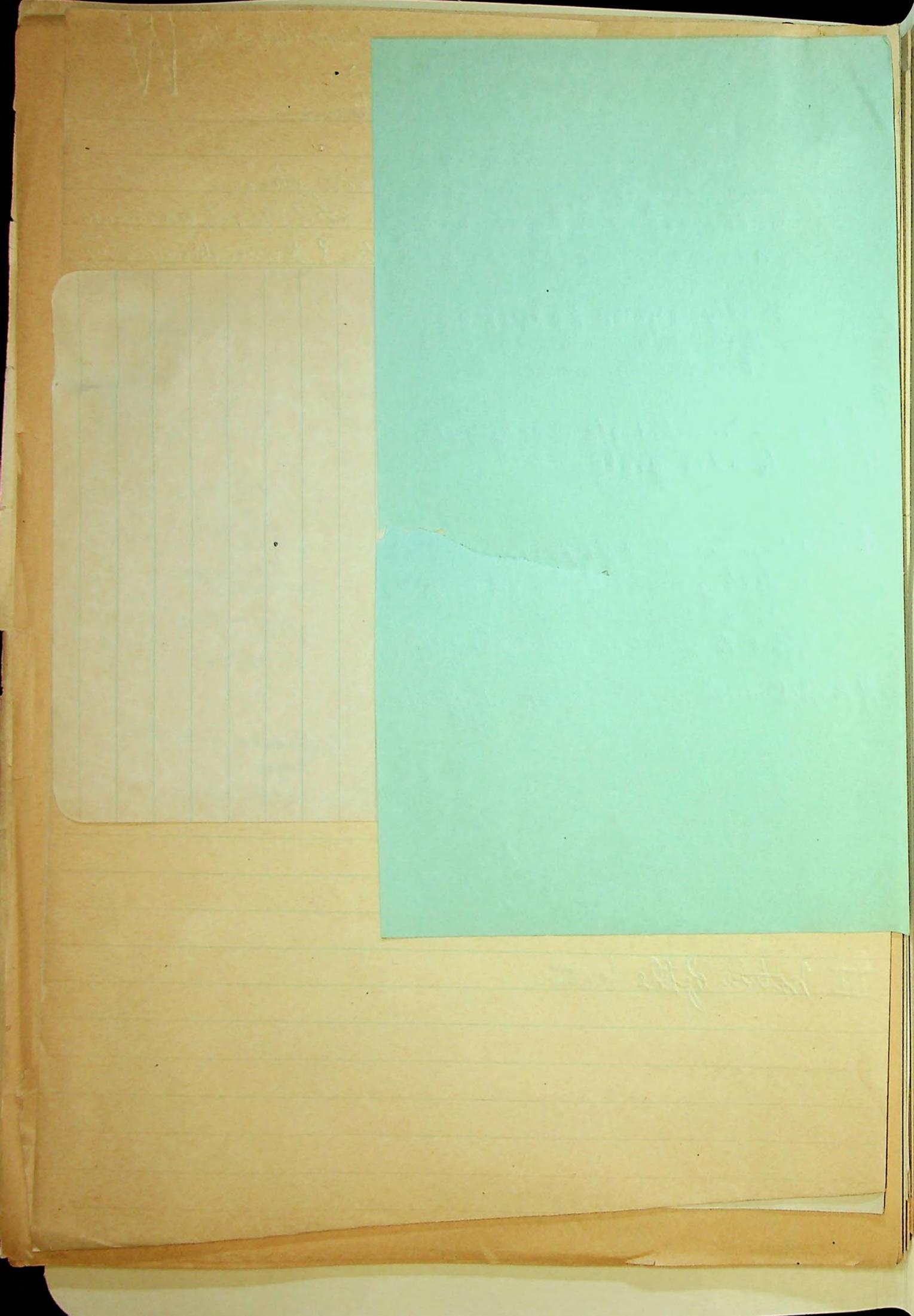
Finally referred to accept adm.
goals wholly + advised execs. to
hold out against it.

Zopay - Consistent open antagonism
to adm. goals

Mimisha - Constant inference
a feeling of working for adm. goals
in spite of adm.

Effort to charters + educate adm.

Ht. Mt. - Passive resistance to adm. goals



Aug 11, 1945

notes for article for "Colonial Admin. Hypocrisies" (789)
Every colonial situation requires definition of people administered - based on
Basic assumption as to definition of
Japanese on which W.R.A. program rest

Development of policy relating to "restricted" persons
No civil service jobs
less pay than soldier
Power to leave

Tendencies to "liberal colonial policy"

Premises against industry +
agriculture

Plan Committee

W.R.A. solution
complete elimination of restriction

Effects on the people

Original solidarity denied acceptance
of blanket restriction

Police splitting city - race office - broken

shifts + re-definition of status system

Development of new sanctions

Retain the caste - anti-socialism
all Japanese together

What will be effect on American public?

Imposition of new social structure

Consequences of basic assumptions as to nature
+ status of Japanese Americans