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PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF RESISTANCES TO RESETTLEMENT AT
THE TULE LAKE RELOCATION CENTER

An Issei member of the Community Analysis staff, commenting on the general topic of resettlement, recently said: "I am convinced that the greatest bottleneck of the resettlement program is the stubborn antagonism in the minds of first-generation Japanese-Americans. I cannot blame Issei for this. They must be more adequately informed. The WRA policy does not seem to take evacuee psychology into consideration sufficiently. This it must learn to do". Resettlement is a fighting word at Tule Lake. Its connotations are dread and distrust, grim forebodings and vague apprehensions. Here, it is apparent, the community is not resettling. Nor is there any vast exodus or turn in sentiment upon the horizon. Rather, the community is "seething with resettlement"--patterning resistances, ripening with rumor, dramatizing the question in a thousand homes and in a thousand inter-generation clashes of opinion.

At Tule Lake, as elsewhere, the young go first. Since, however, the pace even as regards Nisei is slow, it is probably not too early to investigate resistances to resettlement. There is no doubt, among appointed personnel or residents, that the attitudes of older Issei are crucial in the situation and represent what might be called the central core of this resistance. From this core, for reasons to be discussed below, develops the general body of community attitude and sentiment. As time goes on, these attitudes and sentiments crystallize into opinion. This process is now going on, and has, indeed, reached the advanced stage of opinion, encrusted with attitudes and sentiments, hard and unshakable.

As a matter of fact, the more individual or family resettlement is discussed at Tule Lake, the more definitely these attitudes are patterned and the more widespread opinion becomes. Indeed, arguments are weeded out and responses become more typical and uniform. Only a month ago, discussions of resettlement seemed much more random in the choice of arguments, and while certain fears of resettlement were enunciated repeatedly, they had not completely crystallized. Vulnerable arguments ("Families with marriageable daughters shouldn't go out since the daughters have a better choice of eligible males here") were heard then, which I suppose have been found, on repeated examination ("But they shouldn't get married on \$19 a month") to be devoid of sound

judgment. By today, however, a month of anxious discussion has transpired, and in the process of moving in the direction of new community government, central issues such as this have received earnest attention. The weeding process, while not 100% effective, has gone a long way in crystallizing community opinion. What is reported below, then, is a common pattern of attitude, now relatively fixed and formed and of decisive importance here in any future approach to the problem. As will be seen, the arguments individually are cogent and sincere for the most part. Taken together, they tell the story of residents' reluctance to relocate, and the reasons lying behind that reluctance.

Older Issei Resistances Bearing Upon Resettlement

(1) The Problem of a "New Start"

Issei will say that when they were young, as immigrants to this country, they represented a group interested in a new start in life, at once adventurous and strong. Then, the whole question of making a success in the New World presented a challenge. They came of their own free will, many of them tentatively planning originally to amass a few thousand dollars and return, still young, to establish prosperous households in their native villages. For the most part, Californians represented peasant backgrounds, some of them brought into the California agricultural system directly as contract labor, and some immigrating via the Hawaiian plantation system. Of humbler origin, and originally as contract laborers in an exploitive agricultural system, they soon found their way hard and their hopes shattered. They settled, whenever possible in cultural communities (enclaves) as families were established by marriages with younger women, some imported as picture-brides and some later migrants in families which came subsequently. A smaller proportion attempted to establish businesses and to leave the agricultural fold for towns like Sacramento, Penryn, Fresno and Loomis in search of the phantasmagoria of success. Again, there were a sizable number of failures. The urban element, originally more sophisticated, and of less humble background, generally settled north in Oregon and Washington; while they moved more slowly into the agricultural field, the shifting from small businesses to agriculture and back again show, in case after case, a difficulty not only in making the rapid success once hoped for, but in making their way on a level beneath original expectations.

Consequently, they say, the spirit of adventure has worn thin and the last hopes of economic success have, in many cases, been punctured by an economic reversal of fortune contingent upon evacuation. Fields were left planted and crops unharvested; businesses, representing years of effort were sold; professional practices were dropped; careers interrupted; enterprises which relied on the surrounding Japanese-American community have seen

those communities uprooted. The crisis, affecting community, family, and individual struck home at a time when the older Issei men were still to a large extent the custodians of family fortunes. The age-pyramid of older men, younger wives, and a still younger generation of youth at a considerable distance in age, is not a fixed phenomenon, for individuals of intermediate ages are found. But it represents a clustering around certain age-levels; and in this pyramid, the older Issei heads of families, who were, many of them close to the point of seeing sons and daughters launched on careers and eventual retirement in sight, now tell the story of their difficult start in America, their long, hard lives here in support of these families, and their recent setbacks, so difficult to endure after the long patient pull. They realize, as will be seen below, the difficult problem of adjustment involved. Taunts are aimed at the younger generation:

"What good are your citizenship rights now?"

"You are a generation of gullible children."

"The younger generation no longer has respect for the elders."

At registration--"You are a disgrace to your family": These are all poignant realizations of the ideas: (1) We are old. We have shot our bolt. And a new start is now doubly more difficult than the one encountered with so much difficulty when we were young and vigorous; (2) We are dependent upon an almost helpless younger generation, full of hopes and ambitions, it is true, but little realizing the difficulty of the life ahead, the life we lived and know so well; (3) The younger generation is drifting away. Resettlement for them will speed the process, leaving us old and helpless, parents "without children". Evacuation and relocation, and now, resettlement, have broken family and community ties. For the older people, the economic security represented in family and community solidarity is now gone and they are in danger of being cut adrift,--an older generation required to make a new start. Then, when the war is over, who will operate the family farms in California? While the war is in progress, how can we cope with the high cost of living on the outside, how compete with Caucasian, English-speaking labor in the face of widespread prejudice, and how remain economically solvent and independent when the post-war bubble is burst and the boom over?

(2) The Age Factor

The age factor is used in application to the older age group among the Issei, those roughly 55 years of age or more. Here the difficulty is often described in connection with the foregoing (New Start) though just as frequently it is related to the difficulty of working for someone else, often far from one's usual environment, and, in many cases, in support of a wife and

children. Sometimes the work is conceived of as taking place far from the rest of the family. Always, where age is invoked as a single factor of importance, there is reference to the impossibility of an elderly person undertaking a hard job against the odds of an unfamiliar environment, a language and cultural barrier, and isolation from others who might help.

Often, in regard to the age-factor, the feeling of helplessness is compensated for by stating that it is necessary to stay here and watch out for the children. Nisei, whose feelings of security have been impaired by the entire process of evacuation and relocation, are an easy prey for such emphasis, particularly if cultural sanctions of filial piety have been well-inculcated. One Nisei, when asked if resettlement was in mind, began: "No, it's impossible for me. My parents are gray and both aged, and that makes me the head of the family. Perhaps, it would be better to call me the "foot" of the family. I work here to keep them supported. They take care of me and watch out for me, in return. If I went out, I probably couldn't support myself there and them here, but even if I could, I owe it to them to stay here and be the young head of the family. Other young girls as young as I am, with older parents, feel the same."

(3) The Family Factor

Some Issei, as we have said, have young or youthful children (high school age or younger), and see the problem as the difficulty of supporting a whole family. With many, however, resettlement means individual resettlement, and implies a breaking up of family bonds. As colonists put it: if resettlement means individual resettlement, (husbands going out on the type of job now offered) in most cases such wage-labor unmistakably points to family break-up for an extended period of time; if, however, it means something far more temporary, it is not resettlement anyway. In the face of insecurity and ill-defined plans, the family should remain together. The basis of this position is often a feeling that the family is the co-operative unit which has won through in the past. The exclusion of family cooperation and unity from the picture easily promotes feelings of helplessness, insecurity and self-pity. This is particularly true of younger Issei who fear the consequences of an individual and scattered reliance on wage-labor in strange, new environments.

(4) The Rural Factor

Issei who are farmers, a large proportion of the population of Tule Lake Center (Sacramento Valley region) frequently argue firstly, that they are disadvantaged in competition with individuals familiar with urban conditions and urban employment. They state that a farmer cannot simply "start up" anywhere. Having

found their greatest degree of success in agricultural pursuits in the past, they project the picture into the future. Thus, a farmer who is used to the soil, the climate, the growing conditions, the crops, and the seasons of the region where he has worked, often for decades, cannot view with equanimity the prospect of attempting, on short notice, to plant and harvest elsewhere. Though it is not stated, it might be added that there are indications that Issei farmers (Californian particularly) are often limited in their experience with farm operations, though capable in a restricted sense in truck gardening in certain areas. Some have functioned as farm laborers, some as tenant farmers. Others, independent operators, have had less access to printed information about varying types of farming operation than would one for whom the language and cultural barrier did not apply. There is also a community, locality factor ingredient here, as where one hears that there is no soil or climate like that of the old valley. The latter notion is frequently sentimentalized and forms part of a rationalization, though it is true in some cases that land is still held in the expectation of going back. Since also, Californian rurals experienced discrimination in that state, and formed communities as buffers against it, there is still a good deal of psychological intensity in regard to the importance of community solidarity. The good soil and climate is seen as the place where "we" lived as a group. In addition, leaders of the former communities who often occupy a relatively inferior status in the project situation, desire to recapture their former position and role in the local grouping. Rural community bonds, though now somewhat disrupted, are nevertheless remembered.

(5) The Community Factor

To continue with the community factor, those communities from which Issei recently came were ones in which community solidarity, Japanese-style, functioned for the mutual aid of all. Elders will tell me that they could get help (economic, labor, professional advice, etc.) in communities from which they came. Discrimination, economic or legal, was countered by reliance on the in-group for market, for labor supply, for professional services, for loans and for business. The tendency, in the center, to form cliques and groups broader than the family is a token of this dependence. In the projected picture of resettlement, Issei especially feel an advanced sense of isolation and helplessness in emergencies. This feeling is reinforced by the keen enjoyment experienced through participation in group cultural and recreational activities at the center. There is, therefore, a reluctance to break with the past, or even to an extent with the present, in favor of a resettlement program which is seen as a destroyer of community bonds. In much the same way, rumors of the re-emergence of "Little Tokyos" over east in Colorado are welcomed as evidence that the cultural groups can remain intact. The cultural enclave is seen as a form of security for the

individual, economic and social, in the event that dispersal becomes the order of the future, or if the road back (to Penryn, Loomis, Fresno, Stockton, or the valleys) is cut off.

(6) The Economic Factor

The economic factor, a continuation of the foregoing, is voiced more simply and unemotionally. The somewhat realistic picture painted is of an individual entering a new community with inferior financial status. The emotional overtones come, if at all, when the discrimination experienced on the West Coast is projected into any and all of the forty-eight states. Where this additional factor is involved, colonists point to the supposedly insuperable difficulty of economic survival at a time like the present when prejudice is rife. In addition, a major consideration is felt to be the problem of making a fresh start, following a period of economic loss. The opposite contention, namely, that now is the best time to get a start while jobs are plentiful and manpower is short, is almost completely lost from sight because of the foregoing factors and emphasis. Some few individuals go out on temporary leave with this fact in mind, but the intention is merely to lay up a modest reserve against the time when "we" can really go out and plan effectively.

(7) The Distance Factor

Just as caste-line or color-line is felt to embody a threat to security, so distance is felt to entail an added item of danger in the Issei mind. Resettlement is frequently discussed in terms of the young Nisei who have gone off to distant cities. To the rural Issei, a former resident of cultural enclaves, Chicago, or New York or Kansas City seem, apparently, to be at the end of the world. Distance, urbanization, and unfamiliarity are all danger signals combined to overwhelm the average rural Californian Issei mind.

The striking fact about the above arguments is that they form a pattern, which, when repeated continually, makes for uniformity of response, or in other words, community opinion. The several factors are inter-related; one argument "leads to" another. For example, what we have designated as the factor of a new start is inextricably tied up with the age factor, the community factor, the family factor, the economic factor, and for farmers, the rural and distance factors. This inter-relationship of arguments suggests that the resistance to resettlement is emotionally well organized and centered in the reactions to the program of older Issei. The above opinions are, obviously, the arguments which they have offered, as Issei and leaders of opinion within the community. When such convictions are repeated by Nisei, as indeed they are, it is equally evident that sentiments and convictions

are formed initially and with greater uniformity among the first-generation group.

General Resistances to Resettlement Related to the Relocation and Project Situation

(1) The Difficulty of Life "Outside"

When evacuation was in progress, a major emphasis was that relocation centers would safeguard Japanese-Americans from the prejudice and hysteria of other West Coast residents. Apparently, the relocation center as a protective buffer against the outside world was over-emphasized in the minds of evacuees. This version of what the relocation center is for is still accepted as the authoritative one. Evacuees still believe in the formula and many are grateful for the "asylum". There is a distinct feeling of being cut off from the war effort by reason of physical traits which cannot be concealed. Attitudes vary all the way from the wish that the war were over, to the hope that the status quo of relocation centers will be continued long enough to allow the initial hysteria to wear down; "If it is a long enough war, and we stay here all the time, then they'll forget about us and slowly lose the prejudice". "If the war were over, the old hates would disappear".

Partly as a consequence of this originally negative (and morale destroying) emphasis, every rumor of outside prejudice is seized upon and exaggerated. The center is seen as a way of avoiding the problems of the American scene, especially those contingent upon the war.

The most dangerous aspect of this idea is the feeling of complacency it engenders. The talk of the difficult life outside and the exaggeration of anti-Japanese (American) hysteria is, in effect, propaganda to the tune of "Life's not so bad here". The cost of living is assumed to have reached astronomical proportions, and any evidence received from the outside of prices out of line is taken as proof that the entire price structure has been similarly increased.

Besides the present being a time of the cessation of hardships, there is the corollary that the present is the time to enjoy life. Issei men and women, bred to a life of unmitigated toil are for once finding the time and the companions for all the things they always hoped to accomplish. Farmers, who never before thought of themselves as poets, join poetry circles; Issei women, off-guard, admit that they are getting the first real vacation of their lives, --away from cooking and domestic duties which in many cases were heaped on top of exacting labors on the farm, -- to classes in flower arrangement and artificial flower making.

There is, therefore, an amount of cultural revival and escape which centers largely in the interests of Issei, difficult to imagine. For the most part, it is psychologically necessary and constructive, and may be expected for any group which has suffered the sudden deprivations and changes encountered by the Japanese-Americans of the West Coast. This may be seen by noting that the cultural revivalism and escape-psychology grew rapidly early in the process of relocation, the most striking development occurring in the assembly centers during evacuation and remembered as the pattern for later developments. In this case, as in others, cultural revivalism serves a distinct purpose of providing group values making for solidarity and mental comfort in the face of adversity. It is not surprising, therefore, that traditional values should be invoked, especially by Issei.

(2) The Psychology of Caste

Perhaps the most important resistance to resettlement, however, comes under the heading of unconscious motivation. In all our inquiries into community organization and attitude at Tule Lake, the major finding of significance is the importance of past history, both as regards the people and their experiences during and after evacuation. Present attitudes are premised solidly on past experiences. The crucial question therefore becomes one of determining precisely what items of past experiences have deciding weight in the formation of current attitudes and opinions.

Before answering this question, it is necessary, first of all, to state that Community Analysis is not finding political attachments to Japan to be of the slightest importance in community reactions to W.R.A. administration, to American government, or to such crisis situations as were involved in the recent registration period. Caucasian personnel who somehow feel there must be this interconnection ordinarily are unable to make the very necessary distinction between cultural and political affinity. One finds ample evidence of cultural affinity to rural, peasant Japan of a half-century ago on the part of older Issei, which may be said to characterize the most venerable patriarchs. But one does not find political affinity, or even political-mindedness. It will be noted that Japanese politics (in Japan) are authoritarian and anti-democratic, and for that reason they do not represent a grass-roots product of the agrarian hinterland from which the older Issei necessarily stem.

Cultural distinctness, on the other hand, has roots far back in the past history of the colonists of Tule Lake. The residents come from three states, all west coast: California, Oregon and Washington. The areas of greatest concentration were valleys near Sacramento and Marysville in California (Walerga and Arboga centers) and certain business and residential areas

of those towns, and also Japanese-American cultural enclaves in Placer County (Loomis and Penryn). Washington represents the next greatest concentration, largely from rural areas near Kent or from the urban settlement in Seattle. From Oregon, come colonists from the rural Hood River district and urban Portland.

Location in the colony follows a like pattern, the Sacramento urban population, for example, being settled in Wards II and III largely, those from the Placer County settlements in Ward IV, the Marysville residents in Ward V. The latter two, the last half of Ward IV and practically all of Ward V, represent cultural enclaves,--Californian rural, and mainly dominated by conservative Issei. They likewise represent, according to colonists, the strongest pressure of Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry in pre-evacuation days and the most flagrant cases of internment of individuals devoid of political influences and interests (e.g., Buddhist priests of ripe years whose dominating motivations were wholly religious). Wards IV and V harbor the most excruciating memories of what appear to have been the most unpleasant assembly centers from the point of view of the most minimal standards of comfort, privacy, sympathetic handling and the like. And, finally, Wards IV and V are notable among appointed staff as being the centers of resistance to registration, to the now defunct (and formerly Nisei) Community Council, and generally, to administrative regulations. In a recent food hoarding trial involving a block of War V, (the roaring Forties), there was evidence of strong feelings of insecurity in regard to both the quantity and quality of food in the future, the residents having saved up food for reasons which, on interpretation, suggested earlier shortages in the history of the project and complaints on the score of Japanese "taste".

The memories of Warders IV and V actually go back, in account after account, to times previous to F.B.I. investigation and assembly centers. The Sacramento Bee, the Examiner and other Hearst publications are still remembered with trepidation and still referred to for clues to American attitudes toward Japanese Americans and for indications of what the future might bring. But the past for Californians goes deeper than this: they recall, with little difficulty, the whole history of exploitation and hard times as farm labor in that state.

It is necessary to stop at this point and by way of summary note the underlying factor of basic importance. This factor may be called the psychology of caste-line (erroneously called "color-line"). The period of investigation by federal authorities, of evacuation and of assembly centers forms a unity with a difficult and exploitative past in this country. Bars to easy assimilation which have really never been completely let down on the West Coast seem now to be raised, curiously, at a time when the group as a whole is enjoined to resettle, or earlier, to express a degree

of loyalty (on very official-looking forms) not required of the average American. As concerns W.R.A., it is quite natural that the theme of broken promises should be reiterated time and again while an insecure and fear-ridden population sees no certainty in roseate promises that resettlement will somehow solve problems intensified by the recent past.

The fact that the entire prelude to W.R.A. emphasized the unity of Japanese Americans of the West Coast: that evacuation was, in effect, a racialistic decree which made no distinctions according to citizenship, has served to reinforce the caste-line. I dwell on this point because it serves to clarify and explain items in my own experience at Tule Lake, and I suppose, to an extent, the experience of others at different centers. It is generally said, for example, that Tule Lake and Gila Relocation Centers present the most challenging administrative problems. Certainly Tule Lake experienced a most turbulent registration period and more than its share of labor disturbances. Evacuee staff members of Community Analysis here with knowledge of other centers are willing to explain this in a manner which I believe has some substance: not in terms of organized disloyalty, but in terms of a more exploitative past, more deeply rooted cultural enclaves, worse assembly centers for the majority of the population, and by consequence, a more poignant sense of insecurity as regards both the present and the future. As a result, resistances to resettlement are, most likely, more highly organized here than elsewhere. Resettlement, particularly individual resettlement, is thought of as a dispersal. The desire not to be separated from family and community for reasons of language barrier, cultural difference with the outside world, and economic reliance upon the in-group may be thought of as logical, verbalized reasons for reluctance to relocate. But the intensity of this reluctance is best explained by noting that the real "organizer" of this elaborate pattern of negative response is not merely the weeding out process of argumentation noted above, but a real feeling of cultural and racial distinctiveness which the total process of relocation, W.R.A. included, has only served to strengthen.

The feeling of caste-line, or "evacuee psychology", which motivates so powerfully the resistances to relocation may be illustrated in a number of ways: (1) The hold of Buddhism in this community and the gravitation of so many of the Nisei in the direction of Buddhism. The Buddhistic cult stresses endurance in the face of suffering and hardship, and more specifically Japanese virtues like filial piety, the pious enjoyment of nature and of beauty, and faith in the savior, Amida. The actual statistics for Buddhists vs. Christians is in the ratio, roughly, 2 to 1. While Buddhist youth have more of a social than a religious, or strictly theological, organization, as a group they are more respectful of Issei and familial strictures, and more impelled in the direction of community status quo than are the young

Christians. The Christian group have a higher proportion of registrants and a greater emphasis on resettlement and assimilation. While some of this difference is traceable to differences in leadership, it is true also that Buddhism appeals because of its emphasis on elements of cultural distinctiveness. (2) The prevalence of rumors related to caste feeling. Rumors are still heard concerning the Japanese American Combat Unit. While it was said during registration that the Combat Unit was to be placed in the south, at the mercy of color-line discrimination or was intended for slaughter in front-line warfare exclusively, it is now argued with greater cogency that such a unit is, by its very composition, discriminatory. Gossip has it that advancement in the officer's ranks is impossible and that non-commissioned officers due for advancement find themselves transferred to other sections with practical demotion as the purpose: namely, to fill out lower ranks which are vacant. In the same way, resettlement is sometimes described as a program of unloading Japanese Americans from the projects for purely budgetary reasons. Or else it is described as an elaborate plan for providing "stoop-labor" or menial work at cheap wages. At least, so the more realistic argue, the better positions advertised in the Tulean Dispatch or through the Employment Office pay ordinarily less than 60¢ per hour, which, it is said, is decidedly below the norms of West Coast defense industry. In addition, it is alleged, wages and in particular, living conditions, seldom are as good as described.

As with rumors concerning the Army and outside employment, so caste-feeling is projected into conceptions of life outside. For a people required to leave their homes on short notice, it is not surprising to hear of rumors of the difficulty of obtaining housing in large urban centers. Here, of course, urban resettlement is largely the target of criticism. We are not allowed to live side by side with Caucasians in the large cities, they say, and the alternative is to file into the slums as a declassed population grouping. The "slums" in turn are notorious for their effects on family bonds, and in particular, on child development. Or else, if the housing barrier is hurdled, discussion and rumor has it that Japanese physical traits, since they are not concealable are by their very nature dangerous stigma in view of the anonymity and coldness of the large American city. The recent Detroit race-riots, the zoot-suit outrages on the West Coast, and every evidence of criticism emanating from high places add weight to the fears centering in caste-feeling, and consequently to the barrier against resettlement. In Chicago, for example, it is said that the Japanese Americans are becoming very noticeable (2,000 in three and one-half million!), and that people are beginning to stare at them in the streets. In addition to these rumors, one hears that the people of this center are going to be segregated before long, anyway, the usual story having it that some (the desirables) will be moved out, and others (the so-called undesirables) brought in from other centers. (3) The presence of

rumors related to caste-feeling one sometimes finds connected with an actual awareness of caste-feeling (real or assumed) on the part of administrative personnel. At Tule Lake, appointed personnel are classified, by and large, into two groups: "the Japanese-haters" and "those sympathetic". The sensitivity to any evidences of racial feeling is acute, and even the slightest cues are followed, it must be admitted, with amazing perception. There is equal acuity, it should be added, in rejecting as useless any sentimental actions or expressions of the "angel of mercy" variety. The sincerity of this effort to classify may be gauged in a positive sense by the fact that residents opposed the resignation of the Chief of the Internal Security Division recently, following incidents attendant upon registration, and circulated petitions to that effect. (One petition is known; others are said to have been in process). The gentleman concerned was obviously a favorite among the residents generally and so remains despite the type of function enjoined upon his Division. It is amazing how broadly throughout the colony his interest in doing a preventive, rather than a purely punitive, job is appreciated. In contrast, a sentimentalist attitude formerly exhibited by a small group of teachers (who loudly proclaimed their desire to live the life of the residents, sharing their fortunes) was generally stigmatized as undignified, condescending and charitable. (4) Caste-feeling is likewise exhibited in cases of personality disorganization and inter-group animosities. Nisei and Kibei have been found who are losing all facility in English. A few whom I have interviewed stated that they didn't understand "what was wrong". One said, "It must be the Japanese in me coming out, like the color of my skin. English is beginning to sound very funny. I find I hate to hear it, but I don't know why that is." The family, in this case had lost heavily in an economic sense during evacuation; a father had died in the assembly center, and there was in addition a good deal of unconscious resentment against administration in W.R.A. attendant upon certain experiences during registration. The Social Welfare Department of Tule Lake reports well over a dozen cases of psycho-neurotic breakdown, all of them interestingly enough exhibiting symptoms of a persecutory nature. Women whose husbands are detained in internment camp for reasons which they cannot understand really present delicate emotional problems in which caste-feeling and persecutory elements are both present. One, obviously unbalanced, feels that people generally are talking about her and laughing at her: that all have lost their sense of courtesy and politeness and that she is becoming "white" and unrecognizable. Another, mentally well-balanced and emotionally stable, confided that she hates to "look at" Caucasians when she talks to them now, and finds it most embarrassing.

In regard to inter-group animosities, there is again evidence of caste-feeling, the most notable instance occurring when Oregonians and Washingtonians, many of whom had lost heavily in status during evacuation, spoke of the incoming Californians as

tanned and bronzed "niggers". The first tendency was to lay the blame for evacuation at the doorstep of groups from other localities, or to regard them somehow as an inferior breed. As time went on, however, an opposite tendency came to the fore, namely, a certain feeling of unity--of being in the same boat--regardless of locality of provenience.

Conclusions

It would be unwise to close this discussion without referring first to certain positive and healthy reactions in the local population which are encouraging indications of the feasibility of resettlement. Despite the caste psychology, the fears, the insecurities and the verbalized resistances to relocation, there is a growing awareness that the time for decision is growing short. A major motivation in all of this is the knowledge that economic losses are occurring even in the project situation. Families, whose total earnings in project employment run as high as \$50 per month, find that outlays from cash reserves or other sources of income frequently exceed that amount by anything from \$100-\$150 per month. The economic reverses of evacuation have, in the cases of property holders especially, been continued through the period of confinement. Stories are common of renters "squatting" for a few months without payment of rent as per agreement, and then vanishing in thin air with expensive equipment, belongings and household furnishings. Real property--farms and possessions--have been allowed to deteriorate in other hands. Actually the reliance upon project employment has been slight, and there is no real evidence that curtailment in jobs here would "force" resettlement. The notion that evacuees are living within their incomes is fantastic. They are dipping deeply into their private reserves, taking out personal loans within the group, going into debt, or slowly depleting capital. Consciousness of this fact in a thousand households is a powerful motivation to resettlement. But lack of a plan which meets the above objections is a powerful deterrent.

I am convinced therefore that resettlement would become the order of the day if such a plan were provided. That people are thinking in these terms is evidenced by the fact that an important movement is in progress looking to group co-operative resettlement on farms as a possible way out of the present impasse. In one plan, for example, the basic notion is of genuine co-operatives: replete with business agent, architect, landscape gardener and individual family plots of land. This "plan" is not pure romanticizing; its originator has taken great pains to study the attitudes of residents toward co-operatives, the nature of such enterprises, and their possibilities for success. In much the same way, a number of people who have casually examined the idea claim somewhat critically that the local farm, if divided into family plots parcelled out to local farmers who have had experience, and capitalized to something like the same extent as at

present, could be made to yield an abundance now hardly in prospect.

Two other points of significance should be mentioned. One concerns basic community attitudes toward the project. It is no secret that when Tule Lake was first established, early among centers of this sort, there was a dearth of administrative rulings and a decided reliance upon resident personnel. In addition, the southern centers with their heat, Manzanar with its Terminal Island group and attendant difficulties, Gila with its notably unfinished center, the reservation centers with their connotations of "barbarous Indians nearby", and the inland centers, some of them in the Deep South (or so it was said), -- all made Tule Lake appear as the best stopping place for the duration. In addition, the Tule Center was Californian, and those most mindful of a return to the Coast in post-war times naturally built up a picture of this locale, climatically and in terms of living conditions as the ideal place to settle and to wait. An original impulse in the community was to improve it, to "cultivate the garden", to make the unpleasant interim "count". Community organization here, consequently, was sincere and well-intentioned. With the passage of time, however--with the increase in administrative control in centers nationally, with the incidents of food shortages, shoe shortages, registration, administrative rulings, and the increase in Caucasian personnel, the dream was shattered, and evacuation was felt to be, perhaps, merely the prelude to a continually distasteful future. The theme of broken promises rang out during this period, and to an extent, it is still heard. With hopes raised, the disappointments have been doubly damaging. Partly for this reason, and partly for those given above, the rumor of segregation, and the "dispersal" of resettlement become doubly threatening to the local population. It is not that they have been pampered; it is rather that in the entire adjustment process, their handicaps, both as to origin and past history, and also in regard to expectations of life in relocation centers, have been doubly difficult. This, too, forms a part of "evacuee psychology".

But there is another factor of importance, of lesser psychological voltage perhaps, yet indispensable to a well-rounded view of this question. As such, this second factor is more verbalized and conscious in the minds of residents, though it bears equally on the same issue. While there are almost 14,000 residents at Tule Lake, the preponderance of population from California, originally farm laborers, makes for age-groupings in the population which we have mentioned above. The results of the age-pyramid are, however, not merely in terms of Issei controls in familial decisions. Roughly speaking, of the 14,000 evacuees, almost 5,000 are below the age of 18; with like numbers between the ages of 18 and 35, and between 35 and 75. Almost one-half of each category are female. As a result, if all the males in the middle-aged, young and vigorous categories went out on indefinite leave, they would comprise a group of less than 3,000. On the other hand,

the age-grouping upwards of 35 is notable for large families, younger wives and extremely young children; and contains, further, the classification of Issei whose resistances to relocation are so marked. The group below eighteen, a sizeable proportion of the present population, obviously will be resettled only when family movement is thought feasible. Again the consequence is that unless the antagonism in the minds of Issei is removed, the population as a whole will not be moved on any voluntary basis.

From these observations it is clear that group resettlement only can affect the trend, statistically, of indefinite leaves at Tule Lake. While the present policy points clearly in the direction of individual indefinite leaves, or family resettlement at best, the community views with grave apprehension any widespread encouragement of the current program. Their dilemma may be summed up in the phrase: "Resettle, yes, but not according to the present pattern which amounts to dispersal and in such a way as to shatter family and community bonds". The opposite argument might be in terms of assimilation, but obviously, in the Issei mind, the present is a strange time to stress encouragement of individual assimilation, when their whole impulse is to guard family and community lines so necessary to the welfare of the group as a whole. They realize now, perhaps more than ever before, that assimilation, as exhibited in their own homes and experiences, is a phenomenon illustrated by the Nisei who have been brought up in another culture and in another set of circumstances. The strength of family organization, the prevailing youthfulness of the Nisei, the doctrines of filial piety and patriarchal control, on the other hand--all argue against a solving of the assimilation problem through the transfer of decision into Nisei hands. Finally, in the peasant mind, there is no theoretic reverence for the doctrine of assimilation. He is willing to see the process unfold, and his children make their way in the outer world, but in the process he is perhaps more conscious of the hard cultural realities involved--the family and community stake in particular--than are his theoretic brethren.