

PART IV

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CHAPTER --
FAMILY COUNSELING PROGRAM

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I BACKGROUND

For over a year following the start of Manzanar in March 1942, life in the Center was looked upon as of a more or less permanent order, so remote seemed the end of the War. The advent of relocation itself started with the call of sugar beet growers for seasonal workers. Manzanar, as did other Centers, released a few workers to work in Idaho, Utah and Colorado. This in turn became known as "outside employment", but was seen only as a variant from the more stable within-Center life. In fact, for the first 18 months, organization and management took most of Center's energies, for evacuee and appointive personnel alike.

In time, however, outside work became so well facilitated that the emphasis turned to relocation. Where only the single persons and more vigorous sons and husbands had before gone out, older men and the fathers of families now followed, finding their places in year-round jobs both in cities and on farms east of the Army's Second Defense zone, which comprised most of the three Coast states.

As time went on, it was seen that the base of relocation alone was too small as a program to accomplish WRA's purpose of resettling evacuees. No fit evacuee doubted that he could find a job in the brisk wartime economy; but employment itself was not the only yardstick for relocation and security. What about these other things, the evacuee asked himself,-- housing, occupational readjustment, prejudice, and

cultural assimilation?

By the summer of 1943, it was realized that WRA must rethink the "whys and wherefores" of relocation; we must know the population in the Center through personal contact. It was seen that the concentration of "Single individual leaves" in many cases did not stimulate family relocation. Although community resources were developed to meet the needs of relocatees, evacuees were not leaving in sufficient numbers to use these services. One could see that evacuees were becoming stabilized on the Center and were growing more unwilling to leave. It was not enough to approach them merely on the basis of fitting interested evacuees to job offers received; WRA must reach that large inert mass who were unwilling or unable to consider relocation. Many were the intangible reasons for evacuees' refusal to leave. Particularly at Manzanar was the prestige of Southern California climate and locality held out to us as a reason to end all further discussion about going eastward, and this meant to "dig in" for the duration.

Family interviews were clearly needed, when it was realized that about two-thirds of the Center population were completely unknown to the appointive staff, except in work relations.

II DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAM

On November 9, 1943, the Welfare Section at Washington issued a memo to all Project Directors (except Tule Lake) outlining steps to initiate a family counseling program. The memo frankly admitted that Washington did not know the size and extent of inert groups within the Center, but knew that our only course was to approach every family to assist in the making of long-term plans,

whether or not early relocation was arrived at. It was seen that social factors were as of much importance as the economic to many families; that counseling was basic to relocation planning; that the relocation and counseling programs must dovetail in their objectives.

~~PROGRAM OBJECTIVES~~

~~III Program Objectives~~

In conformity with WRA Manual Release 130.3.A (2) issued January 15, 1944 as basic authority for the program, interviewers were reminded at each training session, conference, and staff meeting to advance the objectives summarized below:

To assist evacuees, through counseling, in developing a plan, including plans to relocate, for the future of the whole family

To bring to evacuees information about resources available in resettlement communities in the form of financial aid and services of public and private social agencies

To furnish basic family data from counseling interviews and existing Welfare records for a family relocation record; this ^{information} to be assembled by the Relocation Division for eventual transmission to the WRA district office serving the community to which each family relocates

To provide WRA with data for overall program planning. Inherent in these aims was the recognition that the scope of each interview should be broad enough to permit the individual evacuee to express his anxieties and resentments, thus reducing psychological obstacles such as fear of discrimination or the dread of reduced occupational status after relocation. Interview would therefore consider the evacuee's former standard of living, property, responsibility to relatives, and so on.

IV STAFF ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING

A Staff Employed and Duties

It is recognized that the positions of Junior Counselor and Assistant Counselor taken over the entire ~~two~~^{two} years from November 1943 to November 1945 had broader duties than those performed during the family counseling program, and that the duties of each position varied from Center to Center. The descriptions below are summarized to show the duties of Manzanar counselors ¹ only during the family counseling program.

Working under direction of the Head Counselor were the following staff:

1 Assistant Counselor, P-2

Duties: ~~Under~~ ^{To supervise} a program of family counseling interviews, to maintain a workable method of controlling interviews to assure complete coverage of the project, and to furnish weekly and monthly progress reports reflecting these data:

Interviews assigned to counselors
Interviews completed
Interviews remaining to be done
Cases requiring completion or follow-up

In addition, the Assistant Counselor at Manzanar was responsible for staff training *and evaluation.*

¹ Actually the term "Counselor", spelled with a capital c, refers in WRA personnel terminology to the position of Head Counselor, sometimes designated as such. For brevity and simplicity, the term "counselor", spelled with a small c, will be used throughout this chapter as interchangeable with "Junior Counselor" or simply "interviewer".

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4½ Junior Counselors,¹ P-2

Duties: ^{To} ~~Counseling~~ with evacuees, individual and family, about their plans for the future, particularly ~~gk~~ regarding their plans for relocation on a family basis; to prepare and refer to the Relocation Division summaries for those families ready to consider resettlement; to bring to bear the use of other Center services to meet needs such as health, education, advice on legal and property matters, and so on; to provide counseling and other services in cases of dependency, neglect or delinquency; to prepare and send appropriate summaries via the WRA area or district office to social agencies outside; to supervise evacuee aides and clerical workers assigned for the Junior Counselor's use in the program.

8 Junior Counselors were contemplated in Welfare's budget for the counseling program April-December 1944, but for lack of trained social workers or acceptable substitutes the staff never reached full strength.² The above-stated figure of 4½ indicates the average number of counselors employed over the full 4 months of September-December 1944, the peak period of interviewing.

¹ Dr. Charlotte B. DeForest, formerly president of Kobe College and 30 years resident in Japan, worked half-time as a Junior Counselor. She spoke Japanese fluently, and her thorough knowledge of Japanese culture and customs was an invaluable asset to the staff.

² Temporarily on the staff during the summer of 1944 were two members loaned from the Relocation Division. While the work of these members was urgently needed by the Counseling program, they were detailed to the program primarily for training under the Assistant Counselor, Mrs. Dorothy Harth, to fit them for better service in Relocation interviewing.

As to education, the following qualifications were held desirable in making appointments for the Junior Counselor position: Bachelor's degree from an accredited university, college or state teachers' college, and 1 year of study in a recognized school of social work.

Experience required for appointment was: "1 year of successful experience in which a working knowledge of government aid, family problems, and a social adjustment had been gained."

4) 4 Clerk-stenos and Clerk-typists

These were evacuee aides, employed at the rate of 16 dollars per month. At times 7 girls were working, but owing to absences, turn-over, and the part-time status of some of the girls in the fall because of high school, the number of typists averaged under 4, or less than one full-time typist per counselor.

All were Nisei girls, Center residents, some of them barely competent to meet wartime standards, and ranged in age from 16 to 20.

1 appointive clerk-steno (CAF-3) served the Assistant Counselor. Her duties were: Office dictation, maintenance of files and controls, and preparation of basic family face sheets block by block ready for assignment to the interviewers.

About 4 interpreters were employed to accompany the counselors in their interviews. These, all evacuee aides, were chosen for their maturity, interest, and community acceptance, although no hard and fast qualifications were applied.

Family Visitors, Evacuee Case-aides

These case-aides worked in the Welfare office, apart from the counseling staff, under the direction of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ the ~~X~~ Assistant Counselor charged with supervision of the public assistance program of Welfare. Each counselor had at his disposal the evacuee visitor who served the block area which he, the counselor, happened to be interviewing. These case-aides had the advantage of knowing well the "problem cases" and dependency situations within their assigned blocks, and enjoyed the friendship and acceptance of their clients.

It can be said with pride that ~~xxxxxxx~~ these lay social workers, most of them still on the job in late 1945, had allied themselves with the volunteer welfare office in early 1942, before any paid Welfare staff was contemplated by Washington. By necessity, most of them learned to handle complicated within-Center dependency questions in spite of their limited English-ability and education. They gained a creditable understanding of social work theory and procedures, as evident from the mature case entries which they ^{wrote} entered in Welfare records.

These family visitors were, during the time of their actual service to a Junior Counselor on a given case or block of cases, under the supervision of that counselor. Usually the functions of interpreting and consultation were one, since the Welfare visitor accompanying a counselor also served as an interpreter. Several of the Welfare visitors scheduled their day so as to spend, say, their forenoons in the Welfare office and their afternoons afield interpreting for a counselor.

Staff Training

I Induction

a WRA history, policy and procedures: The Assistant Counselor devoted the first day or two of each Junior Counselor's service to an explanation of the ^{origin of} WRA, and how to interview with with this in mind. It was brought out that contrary to ~~outside~~ ^{outside} opinion, shared even by many evacuees, ~~that~~ WRA was not responsible for the evacuation, nor did WRA exist until after the Centers were established. It was essential for the counselors to know that WRA was set up by Executive order in March 1942 to "facilitate the return of loyal and law-abiding evacuees to normal American life" as soon as possible, through a program of voluntary relocation, the WRA succeeding the Army's temporary organization, the WCCA, to operate Centers to this end. It was made known to new workers that each Section was primarily responsible to its own program director in Washington, channeling all reports and correspondence through the Project Director or his assistant. Policy was outlined by the Washington office in Administrative notices and memoranda and subsequently in Manual supplements, with the Project Director interpreting policy to the counseling interviewers, where necessary, ~~through~~ ^{through} his subordinates. Procedures were set forth in administrative notices from the Sections concerned in Washington, the program to proceed under the guidance of the Assistant Project Director as to policy and interpretation. Under direction of the Head Counselor, the Assistant Counselor ~~was~~ supervised the interviewing program.

ADMINISTRATIVE 11332 8
NOTES ON 1

b WRA organization: The Center's inter-departmental chart was explained, with the 2 Assistant Project Directors heading up Operations and Community Management. In the latter, the breakdown into Health, Relocation, Welfare, Relocation, ~~and~~ Education and Community Activities was shown, with a few words on the function of each section. The relationship of the Washington office to Welfare was explained, with the concomitant need for uniform procedure and policy from Center to Center.

c Japanese cultural patterns: It was essential for social workers who knew Japanese people only through books to understand that the evacuees' culture assumptions were those of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Dependency in their midst had been absorbed within the bonds of family and church. Thus the concept of public assistance was alien to most evacuees. In fact, their language contained no word for the terms "relief" or "financial aid", as evident from their use of the jargonized, half-English term help-sh'te in that connection.

d Purposes of the program: Interviewe^{r's} were apprized of the basic program aims as defined in Sect. 130.3.A (2) of the WRA Manual, dated January 15, 1944--namely, to reach every family on the Center insofar as possible, to stimulate thinking and planning toward actual relocation, and to prepare potential ^{resettlers} ~~relocates~~ for interviews with the Relocation Division.

e Accent of Interviews: As a matter of discretion, counselors were cautioned not to shake the evacuee's faith in the

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voluntary character of WRA's relocation program. Consistent with WRA's basic tenet of democracy within Center organization, it was evident that those who relocated early without pressure would be the best influence on their stay-in relatives. It was recognized that housing, racial feeling, and cultural adjustment were still very real problems even in the midwest and east, and that a gradual acceptance of relocation was a surer foundation to build on. Hence, interviewers at Manzanar from June through July 1944 spoke little of relocation if resistance was sensed, but emphasized "planning" and "thinking about the future".

In July, 1944, with terminal and short-term leaves increasing, the counselors were directed to talk openly of "relocation now", although never to urge haste inimical to the family welfare.

I Impact of personalities: In this connection, the counselor was made to realize that to evacuees isolated on the ~~Sierra~~ Sierra desert, the interviewer was perhaps the only official WRA representative with whom they ever came in contact. To them, he represented the WRA and the whole outside summed up in one person. Therefore it was the counselor's double responsibility to be both objective and sympathetic. Counselors needed to ~~xx~~ recognize hostility or evasion not as a repudiation of the counseling program, but as a symptom of earlier frustrations and the shock of being uprooted from the ~~xxxx~~ coastal homes almost overnight.

2 In-service

a Case conferences: Regular conferences between Assistant Counselor and Junior Counselor were held to discuss problems cases, both from the standpoint of service and development of the worker. Since the counseling office was small, this schedule did not have to be rigid, as the supervisor could always be seen on an "as needed" basis. Back of these conferences lay the supervisor's periodic meetings with the Head Counselor, whose maturity in the program included speaking the Japanese language, ~~10~~¹⁰ years of previous residence in Japan, and the current guidance of several social organizations --YMCA, YWCA, and the churches. Suggestions from the Relocation Committee¹ were passed on to the counselors thru these conferences.

The Assistant Project Director of Community Management read wide samplings of case summaries, giving the program the benefit of her comments on content, emphasis, and recording, which the counselor heard about in conferences. At one staff meeting, she repeated the elementary principle that interviewers must delve beneath evasions for the real reasons underlying failure to plan, and must, in recording, carefully label opinion to distinguish it from known fact.

¹ The Relocation Committee comprised 6 or 8 members, usually section heads, who met periodically to clear suggestions on how to increase interest in relocation. Typical and "problem" cases were discussed. Usually participating at the meetings were the Head Counselor and her two assistants, the Relocation Program supervisor, the medical social worker, and others at call.

b Community Analyst's Talks: At irregular intervals the Community Analyst was invited to talk before the assembled welfare, housing, clothing, and counseling staffs to report on his findings. In the two talks heard by this writer, the analyst summed up ~~xxxxxx~~ current popular opinion toward WRA and the relocating evacuees. These reports he gave from a selection of significant newspaper clippings on evacuee resettlement progress, "incidents" occurring to Nisei soldiers particularly in California, and editorial expressions of coast papers toward the then proposed lifting of the military ban. Court decisions affecting ^{the} status of evacuees were also reviewed, in which it was predicted that the Endo case would be favorable (as it later proved to be) to an early reopening of the Pacific coast to returning evacuees.

a Joint staff discussion meetings: In the summer of 1944, a series of training sessions were held for the Joint staffs of Welfare, Counseling, and Relocation. Relocation procedures were ^{reviewed} ~~revised~~ for the benefit of Counseling staff, and included discussion of the terms of short term leave, seasonal work leave, and WRA district office facilities compared in various parts of the country, consideration of the various types of employment, and the need for PMGC (Provost-Marshall General clearance), housing and other questions that commonly bother ^{the} the evacuee.

For 2 days of the 5-meeting session, the Education Section was also represented, with the Superintendent participating.

Her discussion was mainly on the theme how to turn the minds of Nisei outward thru an emphasis on preparation, at the Center,

for skilled or semi-skilled jobs outside. This emphasis would exploit the Center's present vocational training facilities, recognizing that Manzanar then had good teachers and equipment for courses in mechanics, cosmetology, stenography and bookkeeping, and nursing aide training. It was agreed that the use of this training could be a lever for turning parents and children's plans toward resettlement.

d General Welfare Staff Meetings: Included in these regular Wednesday forenoon meetings were the counseling staff, welfare visitors, and the ~~evacuee~~ ^{staffs} (all evacuee) of the housing and clothing sections. Spokesmen from the YMCA, YWCA, the churches and any other organizations whose presence might be helpful, were invited. Bulletins and directives received during the week were discussed.

Visiting speakers added to the interest of programs. The relocation program officer, upon returning from field trips to the midwest or to other Centers, usually was present to report his observations. Thus, he gave the counseling staff first-hand information on employment offered evacuees at the Tooele Ordnance Depot in Utah. Earlier he had reported on farming opportunities in the Tri-county farming area of Nebraska. A Nisei recruiting agent from Seabrook Farms, N.J. spoke briefly about job offers for Center residents in a new industry, vegetable-growing and quick-freeze process as a part of the same enterprise, with low-cost housing furnished to employees.

A Nisei girl research student of inter-racial relations from Fiske University spoke to the staff in September 1944.

Her testimony encouraged the evacuee staff present to feel that discrimination in the east was less than they had anticipated, and strengthened the interviewer's faith in the Nisei's ability to adjust outside.

3 Informal

a. Conferences with Project Director: Counselors were usually introduced early to the Director, who welcomed them as new staff by relating informally the history and organizational set-up of Manzanar Center, with perhaps a few anecdotes on Center government.

Once in August 1944, the Project Director talked to the staff about the results he would like to see realized from the counseling program. As the "California complex" was analyzed, and it was pointed out that many evacuees would cheerfully try to bring the discussion to an early close by stating that a return to the coast was their simple wish. If the interviews were to be penetrating and of any value, he added, they would have to search behind superficial excuses and present the real total picture of evacuee thinking and plans. Further to clarify the resistance which "Tule Lake" families might show toward the program, the Project Director went on to explain the origins and meaning of the December 6 "riot".

V INTERVIEWING PROGRAM PLAN

A Physical Aspects

1 Office Space The Counseling staff occupied a floor space of about 25'x75' in one wing of the U-shaped building which housed Relocation, Records, and Statistics. The office interior was rough, not different from the plaster-boarded interiors of the barracks housing the evacuees. Few evacuees had occasion to be seen at this office in the course of the program, but for those who did the atmosphere was cheerful and inviting, with easy access to pamphlets, bulletins and the personnel of the Relocation Division in the rooms adjoining.

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The Welfare Section, including the Head Counselor's office, was housed in a standard barracks building adjacent, reached by wading ~~across~~ ^{across} a 30-foot grass strip.

2 Blocks as the the Geographical Unit: Each counselor was assigned his interviews one block at a time. Thus from 4 to 6 blocks were in progress at once, as seen by a map on the office wall, shaded to show blocks completed. Each block required from 3 to 5 weeks to cover, there being from 60 to 75 families in a block.

3 Place of Interview Families were usually seen in a vacant room adjoining the Block Manager's office, or in a recreation or ironing room nearby. It was felt that this would not invade the family's privacy, and yet would make the evacuee feel that the interviewers were "going half-way" to meet him. Choice of place in any event was optional with the family; convenience and privacy were the main considerations. Occasionally the counselor was invited into the evacuee's apartment, where tea and cakes might be served.

4 Rate of Speed New interviews were completed at about 4 per day per counselor. This included the dictation of current interviews, intra-Center referrals, and the assembling and editing of summaries typed from the previous day or week.

Owing to lack of sufficient stenographic help and the time required for in-service training courses, it was found impossible to accomplish the maximum quota of 6 interviews per day as contemplated in the Washington instruction memo of November 9, 1943.

B Program Approach to the Evacuee

1 Method of Scheduling Interviews The Block Manager was, just before the opening of his block, invited in for a talk with the Assistant Counselor and the Junior Counselor. It was recognized that he, speaking Japanese and

being the ~~XXXXXX~~^{elected} representative of of his block, could best announce the arrival of the counselor in the block next week and could best explain the purpose of the visits. The Block Managers were of course already instructed in a general way as to the scope, aims and methods of the program by the over-all publicity outlined in Paragraph 3 below. Appointments were scheduled the next week from barracks to barracks, taking the buildings 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on. ¹

1. Other approaches for the program were considered, but discarded after discussion with the Block Managers. It was thought, for instance, that a plan earlier tried by the Center at Topaz, Utah, might be used to assure top interests and results in the first interviews. This plan was to approach the Center population first on the basis of families with one or more members relocated. Block Managers at Manzanar, however, feared that such spot calls would not be understood by many on-lookers in their blocks, and that the program scheduled on this basis would be disquieting to residents. The Managers preferred a blanket coverage, to proceed block by block, barracks to barracks, missing none. All residents, it was felt, would then feel that they were participating in the same kind of interview, without regard to time, place, or status of plans.

2 Individual Interpretation to the Block Manager The following points were stressed in advising the Block Manager how to prepare the people of his bailiwick ~~xxx~~ for the counselor's arrival:

a Interviews were to be voluntary. No pressure would be brought to bear on any family who declined to appear.

b Information given would be held confidential, and would in total reflect the hopes, fears and economic needs of the evacuees as a basis for intelligent future planning by the government on their behalf. It was therefore in the evacuee's own interest to speak frankly on his plans.

c The evacuee interviewed could expect to receive general information on outside community resources and jobs, and particular information on the use of Center services. (See Paragraph C of Section VI following, on Intra-Center referrals)

Thus instructed, the Block Manager announced the counseling in his block by one or more of several ways--by a special block meeting, a mess-hall announcement at mealtime, by written notice posted on the mess-hall bulletin board, or by word of mouth to his residents as he met them from day to day. At the end of each days interviewing, the counselor would know the names of of next day's families, and would assemble in advance all social and medical data available in existing welfare records.

3 Over-all Publicity

a Block Managers' Meetings At its inception in June 1944 and thereafter for several months, the counseling program was announced to the Block Managers' Assembly. It was recognized by the Head Counselor in her opening remarks to the group that there was a crying need on the part of the average evacuee family for information about jobs, housing, public reception in various localities, and the availability of financial aid for cases of permanent and short-term dependency. Most of the Block Managers were disbelieving or skeptical, as many continued to be throughout the program. The Project Director added his word that just as evacuees had been accepting the fact of WRA maintenance and subsidies, the counseling program as an extension of WRA's program was entitled to the same acceptance. If the family in a relaxed interview would reveal what obstacles it saw in the way, and where it would want to resettle if those obstacles were removed, then the government could tabulate the total findings. The survey would then tell the WRA on which problems to concentrate its services, and where to strengthen its district offices.

b Max Free Press The counseling program was announced in the Manzanar ~~semi-~~weekly Free Press ~~xxxxx~~ in the late spring of 1944. Occasionally the arrival of new staff members connected with the program was also noted in its columns to inform evacuees that a program was really shaping up.

From time to time as late as mid-October, 1944, short informative articles on the purposes and progress of the program were prepared by the Assistant Counselor. These appeared in the Saturday printed edition of the Free Press, followed by a translation in the Japanese-language edition the Wednesday ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{after.} These articles were immediate in their appeal, stressing that the evacuee had to gain by getting his property, ~~and~~ legal, and medical matters cleared up early, and pointing out what the counselors could do to secure for the family an social Security benefits or Army allowances to which they might have been entitled. "Planning" was at first the tenor ~~in~~ of the articles, and they later spoke more concretely of job offers and "relocation now".

VI OUTLINE AND SCOPE OF INTERVIEWS

At the end of this report are appended a skeleton outline and two actual ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{counseling} summaries which represent average problems encountered in the interviews .

The interview usually opened by the counselor's reference to some known point of mutual interest, such as "I understand that your son in Chicago is doing well in his trade school course. Does he write you often?" Later the counselor, usually through the interpreter, explained briefly the purposes of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the program, adding that the whole Center is being covered and that similar interviews were in ~~effect~~ process that very moment at all other Centers. This was necessary to reassure many families who felt, in spite of all publicity, that they were being subjected to an individual rehearing. The interview then proceeded, covering the points outlined ~~XXXX~~ below:

A Present Situation

1 Employment

a Post-evacuation: The evacuee's work was discussed only as it was

significant to his past occupation or the kind of work he wanted to do in the future. The evacuee's attitude toward his present job could be the key to his whole feeling toward the evacuation. Often the man, formerly a fisherman, could find no similar work at the Center and resented the loss of skill or status he suffered in doing now, say, messhall work. It here became the counselor's duty to point out tactfully that a variety of occupations could be found only outside the Center; that the Relocation Division could show him ~~xxxx~~ actual job offers, with wages, hours, and qualifications verified by teletype if he so desired.

b Pre-evacuation: Often it gave the evacuee some satisfaction to tell what he once did. The counselor, having surveyed relocation literature currently, was able to comment on similar job openings known to exist in the east or midwest, advising that details were available at Relocation. If the man was sufficiently "warm" on an offer, a referral to Relocation was occasionally possible. With his consent, an appointment was made.

2 Finances

This was a difficult area of discussion. The counselor usually was wise to explain that no financial statement was desired, nothing would be signed, but that to enable WRA better to program its future, it was wondered how many families felt a need for financial aid ~~xxxx~~ when resettling. If such help was needed, how much and for how long? Was it a business loan that was needed, or simply expert advice or counsel? Unless the family frankly declared itself "flat broke" as many did, counselors ~~xxxx~~ were able to record only non-committal or very guarded replies to questions about resources.

3 Health

This question had to be entered upon discreetly, and often was better omitted entirely. Obviously the counselor, guided by any available

medical data in the Welfare record, discussed health only insofar as it stood in the way of resettlement. If the evacuee gave health or disability as his reason for remaining at the Center, it was first in order to see if he ~~was~~ ^{were} fully utilizing the free clinical services at the project hospital. Many individuals, accustomed to self-diagnosis and home doctoring,¹

1. The writer encountered a number of Issei who patronized masseurs on the Center at perhaps a dollar per treatment. Others followed more bizarre cults of treatment. The hari practitioner treated patients by protracted needlings of the skin. The mogusa doctor used a slow-burning stick of punk in a skin burn treatment. It was believed that burning stimulated nerves, and that the nerves, interconnected with certain organs could transmit the benefits of stimulation to the ailing organ. A burning of skin on the elbow would stimulate nerves in the eye, and so on. ~~The zinky~~ ^{emma} treatment used the massage principle to cure muscular ailments, and presumably was patronized by arthritics and rheumatism sufferers.

were not even aware of the free services they might receive at the Center hospital, and could often be persuaded to accept an appointment.

Even more important, however, was the counselor's rôle of bridging the gap between the evacuee's ^{feeling of} security ~~xxxxxxx~~ at the Center and his fear of the unknown void outside, as concerned his health survival.

It was difficult to assure the doubting evacuee that he would have the same access to public health clinics outside that any other resident would have; that a community, to protect itself, would provide clinics to treat certain diseases. But results were worth the effort. Some families did ask what became of persons needing an operation after resettlement, and could be told of concrete instances of being helped by the liberal use of Social Security funds for operations, especially where such an expenditure would reunite a family.

4 Legal

While most serious legal matters (as in the area of divorce, insurance, property, or indemnification suits) were matters discussed only between

the evacuee and the project attorney, the counselor did in many instances serve as a go-between to encourage the will to clear legal problems early and thus facilitate resettlement. Some divorce applicants realized that their presence at the Center with a ceiling wage of 16 dollars per month enabled them to gain counsel at low cost through Legal Aid bureaus outside, and sometimes resolved an unhappy marriage at the Center, removing what they considered their last barrier to relocation.

5. Property

Property, real or personal, left behind was the key to many families' refusal to show interest in relocation until the Pacific coast was opened to the return of Japanese. The counselor could not justify questioning to list the amount and status of all property, but he did try to determine whether or not it was being held to as a future home or source of income. The size of the former home or business of course was an index of the family's accustomed plane of living, and their expectations for the future.

6. Education

It could be pointed out that the evacuation, offsetting some of its losses educationally to the younger Nisei, started many Nisei on the road to vocational training or wartime skills. ^{This training} ~~XXXXX~~ were capitalized by many Nisei children in the industrial areas to the east, opportunities which might have been closed to them had they remained on the Pacific coast. A number of girls won their 1,000-hour certificate in cosmetology, going out to positions in new localities. Some boys seen by this worker had made enough progress in their automotive repair training at the Center to be inspired to go eastward for more advanced training, or to work in war plants. By urging attendance at adult English classes and vocational courses, the counselors brought some hesitant ev cuees into contact with the students of

these classes, who in the main were relocation-minded.

B Plans for the future

1 Relocation This category was broken down into plans in the order of their immediacy, with headings "Immediate Plans", "Definite Future Plans", (time element), and "Indefinite or Remote Plans".

Each division of the category was keyed with an outline number to facilitate tabulation and analysis in the statistics Section, as is also true of ^{the} subdivisions ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{xb a next} following.

2 Waiting for Return to California This category was divided into 2 degrees of interest--"With well-defined Plans" and "Without well-defined Plans".

3 No Present Plans

aa Awaiting Developments: This might mean unable to plan until an older child sent out as an emissary had returned, or desire to wait until a member of the family had recovered his health. Any number of reasons were heard, some trivial, and often rationalizations for simply waiting it out to see what the government would finally do.

b Difficult Problems: This subheading was reserved for the more hopeless aspects of old age, chronic illness, disability, and dependency for lack of a wage earner.

C Referrals

According to the Assistant Counselor's publicity release in the Manzanar Free Press of September 23, 1944, 300 referrals were made to the various intra-Center sections. Most of these were to the hospital clinic (usually answered for the doctor by the medical social worker), and others to Evacuee Property, Legal Aid, Community Welfare, Housing, and Personnel in the order named.

D Factual Conclusions on Completion of Interview

1 Counselor's impressions This subdivision comprised the sum of the worker's thinking on the case, together with an e/valuation of the obstacles posed by the evacuee as hindering resettlement.

2 Obstacles to Relocation This final item was a listing of relocation deterrents, numbered from 1 to 20 for tabulation and analysis in the Statistics section. These deterrent factors were: Leave Clearance Status,^a Discrimination, Housing, Desire for Specific Job or Business Opportunity, Higher Wage Offer, Lack of Wage^r Earner, Need for financial Aid, Old Age and Health Problem, Language Difficulty, Desire to See Daughter Married,^T The 11th factor, more frequent in Manzanar probably than in any other Center, was "Desire to wait until there is Opportunity to return to Evacuated Area".

The 1 remaining category, "Other", was a catch-all for other ~~unclassified~~ reactions not accurately classified by the factors just named.

Note: Only about 3 out of the entire 2,046 family units scheduled for interview refused to be seen. Of these, the one known to this writer distrusted SRA motives, telling the Block Manager that he feared anything he said would be used to force him out early. Many others felt as this man did, manifesting complete apathy at the interview, but came as a matter of duty. The extent of acceptance or rejection of the program will be discussed later in this chapter.

B Selective Factors in Relocation Interest

1 One or more Members on Leave Obviously, interest in relocation was greater among those families who had ~~xxxx~~ one or more members on leave when interviewed. The writer recalls that families with a member "outside" were easier to approach, and had something upon which to base questions. The son, daughter, or husband relocated was perhaps the family's only window to the outside world, and if the interviewer through his past travels or work could match up experiences with this member, he had ~~xxx~~ reason to feel fortunate for the lever he had with which to secure some real reactions to record.

Of a sampling of 655 2-or-more-person families reviewed by the statistician ¹ as of October 31, 1944, it was found that 45 per cent of

¹. All statistics cited in this chapter report in connection with the date October 31, 1944 are taken from the Statistics Section's October Cumulative Report. No attempt is here given to deal exhaustively with the statistical findings of the counseling program, which task was of course adequately done in the the final report of the Statistics Section.

of the "one member out" group expressed plans to complete their relocation while of the larger group who had no one on leave, only 26 per cent were interested. At this late date, ~~October~~, 1944, one may well say that there was still much apathy toward resettlement even in those families partially relocated. At that time, the families with no member ~~out~~ on leave outnumbered those who did have 1 or more members relocated by 5 to 2. (466 families with no member out, compared to 187 families having a member out, thus having close ties with the outside world.)

It was also true that all of the families who refused to ~~xxxxxxx~~ be seen by the counselors were without a member on leave.

2 The Young and Resourceful First to Go This truth was so often expressed by the less adaptable, defeatist stay-behind ~~xxxxxx~~ families that it needs no statistical proof. In general, the more able and energetic--regardless of language, educational or economic limitations--were gone before the counseling program started.

It must be added, however, that the size of family per se did not deter one or more members from relocating. In fact, relocation of individual members took place from families that averaged larger than those from which no members had left. Many large families had two or more members out pioneering for them.

3 Manzanar's nearness to Coast This close proximity to the evacuated area meant that that Manzanar residents could feel more reluctant to try new areas to the east because of the greater distance. Often the counselors' suggestion of an eastern or a midwest resettlement exactly fitting the evacuee's wants was met with the protest "It's too far.", or "We just can't go so far away from our parents (or relatives), who refuse to leave California."

This writer does not for comparison have access to figures from other Centers as to frequency of the "Waiting for Return to California" factor as justifying refusal to relocate in 1944, but the "California complex" is apparent from the following figures: ¹

1. "Plans for the Future", Sect. 2, of Statistics Section October Cumulative report for October 31, 1944.

My As late as October 1944, some 163 families not owning property concluded their interviews by declaring that they would wait for return to their former California locality. Preference for the climate, schools,

habit, and association with friends sure to be there were elaborations of the "back to California" theme. Out of these 163 families it is significant that only about 1/4, or 43, had any well-defined plans to declare in support of their preference. Some praised their former rented homes in California as if it were commendable to desire return at all costs; many others spoke the preference as a routine matter. These ^{uniform} reactions made the counselor wonder whether it was possible, ~~tax~~ in the space of an unsolicited, short, single-contact interview to avoid evasion in those ~~xxxxxxx~~ many instances where the family's real security lay in relocation eastward.

4 General Insecurity Fear of failure outside because of age, discrimination, health, language and poverty formed the large bulk of reasons under the the interviewing outline's "No Present Plans" category. Out of one sampling given in the Statistics Officer's October 1944 cumulative report, 70 out of 86 1-member households gave this reason, while ~~xxxxx~~ only 40 out of 84 2-or-more-member households declined to plan relocation for these basic reasons of security. The larger proportion found in the 1-member households attests to the large number of aged issei, particularly bachelors, who felt morally isolated from the English-speaking world, and wanted the relative security of continued living together in the Center.

Other factors, ranking small beside "general insecurity" as defined above, were lack of capital to start business, ~~xxxxx~~ No license outside California, immigration or leave clearance status.

5 Pride, Loss of Status This factor, only indirectly reveal in statistical reports, was evident in many cases of a man formerly in a lucrative or skilled occupation but unable to start anew because of wartime conditions, or abolition of his ^{old} occupation known only within

the "Little Tokyo" whence he came. One man known to this writer had manufactured and distributed a unique oriental food product to a closed circle of Issei restaurants in Los Angeles, and now felt with conviction that he was unsuited by age and habit of mind to "work for the other fellow". What he really could not face was the loss of status he would suffer in the eyes of friends who knew him in his former days.

C Other Relocation Obstacles and Counsel Given

1 Leave Clearance Status A considerable number of individual evacuees were unable to relocate ~~xxx~~ for lack of leave clearance. To some this blocked a genuine wish for immediate clearance and departure; but for the majority in 1944 segregation was desired, and ~~thxxx~~ detention at the Center gave them a sense of immunity from need to think on their future. These persons were difficult to talk with, and the counselor did well to inform himself before going afield as to whether an individual (or family) had requested a rehearing, and whether he was detained by either of the other two stop lists then in effect. The Department of Justice had one list of detainees, and the Army another. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ For some individuals these lists overlapped, and of course often overlapped the Leave Clearance Denied list maintained by WRA until the military ban excluding persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific coast was lifted in December 1944. In some confidential cases known only to the Army or the Department of Justice, neither the counselor nor the evacuee came to know of the detention status until leave from the Center was applied for.

Later in 1946, the Army's attitude was more openly declared in individual notices of clearance, exclusion (from west coast) and detention.

Also late in 1945 the Department of Justice canceled the parole status of all Japanese aliens not suspected of overt disloyalty. However, in 1944, the end of the war even against Germany seemed remote, ~~and~~ The detention of evacuees under any kind of an order seemed serious to those who wanted to leave, and ~~it~~ was a perverse satisfaction to those who contemplated segregation at Tule Lake and thus felt morally exempt from the need to take counseling seriously.

The place of leave clearance hearings is discussed in another chapter of the Welfare Section's report. For purposes of this chapter, suffice it to say that instructions for counselors ^{early} in/1944 were not to argue with and Issei segregant or with a Nisei who had renounced American citizenship to go to Tule Lake. Later in 1944, counselors were able to advise some segregants that there was no longer much hope for transfer to Tule Lake and that resettlement was the more real basis for planning. Individual judgment and good taste were to guide the counselor in talking with families whose older children were torn between the choice of segregation to satisfy parents and loyalty to the United States. Often the segregant, having undergone a change of conscience, derived relief of mind by talking out his position, and actually clarified his future steps toward gaining leave clearance. Later, in 1945, this writer ~~xxxxxxxx~~ prepared appeals to the Western Defense Command for 8 such men, all of whom subsequently relocated.

2 Discrimination This plea was voiced so often, and with such conviction that no pat answers were possible or desirable. Fear of having one's children ridiculed or abused as "Japs" was a very real thing. According to the individual's social maturity, the counselor could only advise that America, comprising many peoples with varied economic interests, was imperfect in this aspect, and the fight for equality must start with the evacuee himself--now. The example of ^{the} open community invitation plan

was stressed to show that the popular mind in California did not represent the public attitude eastward.

3 Housing Here the action of relocation committees in cities was pointed up, and the general better housing situation that prevailed in the less industrial areas to the east made clear. The Seabrook Farms offer and the Tooele Ordnance Depot employment, two of many developments which provided housing, were cited to persuade some families that lack of housing was not a valid excuse for apathy at the Center.

VIII BENEFITS ACCOMPLISHED

A Value to Welfare Section

1 Counseling summaries incorporated with Welfare Records

This combining of records expanded existing welfare records to show the total family picture, with its plans or resistances to relocation. Families having no folders were for the first time included in a complete welfare file. Counseling summaries provided the quick reference needed throughout 1945 to determine eligibility for public assistance (mainly clothing) grants under Administrative Notice 228, and for temporary assistance grants (furniture and rent) under Administrative Notice 263.

The summaries with their data on residence, resources, birth and employment were invaluable in the preparation of dependency summaries in 1945, and were indispensable for the processing of furniture applications in the accelerated relocation exodus of the last 6 months in 1945.

2 Summaries Useful in Dependency Survey To answer the Washington request in November 1944 for an estimate of potential dependency at the Center would have been impossible without recourse to family counseling summaries, which gave complete coverage, except for 68 families, of the 5,600 persons at the Center in June 1944. It was true that summaries were often weak on financial

and economic data, having been primarily a collective estimate of evacuee attitudes and plans. Information on property, finances or dependency could not always be definitive or exhaustive because of the voluntary character of the interviews.

Here it must be recorded that directions from Washington at different times varied as to where emphasis of the interviews should be placed. The basic directive of November 9, 1943 and subsequent authority for program in Manual Section 130.4.a (2) were interpreted by the Project administration as calling for intensive, single-contact interviewing mainly in the area of thinking and plans, to stimulate relocation. Follow-up, when acceptable to the evacuee, would be maintained. Data on resources was not a primary desideratum, if to secure it meant resistance to the program. It was recognized that in an unsolicited interview, with no ~~eligible-program~~ concrete financial aid offered, that cooperation in declaring resources was not inherent in the discussions. Later, in November 1944, the welfare consultant from Washington ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ evaluated the program in the light of its value as a dependency survey. She felt that less effort should be made to analyze attitudes, which changed with events anyway, and that property and finances (or dependency) should be thoroughly described. Perhaps these emphases were both correct in their time; at any rate more exact data on property and finances were secured in subsequent interviews.

B Value to Relocation Program Counseling summaries fulfilled their purpose of being an important transmittal document for relocations involving health, behavior or employment problems. The summaries, either digested or transmitted whole to the WRA district relocation-office, also aided the relocation interviewers at the Center in their task of screening applicants for public assistance. If the evacuee was confused or inarticulate, the summary at hand simplified the interview.

IX CONCLUSIONS

1 The counseling program was a necessary leavening agent during the "slow" year of 1944, when only 1133 persons relocated. The results, though hard to count, lay in the changed thinking of many families who several months later came to the counselor for a closer estimate of the Social Security benefits that had been talked about earlier. A few others, usually the cases marked for ^{follow-} ~~follow-~~ up by the counselor previously, came in to ask about a particular job offer, or living conditions in a particular locality. Their story was that they felt too much sales pressure would be used on them in Relocation. So current was this idea afield that the counselor repeatedly had to dissociate himself from the Relocation Office, and was then accepted as a neutral recorder of data. But the approach of a small corps of interviewers announced from block to block dramatized the inevitability of relocation for many who where not touched by relocation promotion techniques.

2 As for the program's being a guide for WRA's overall planning, this writer believes that an alert community analyst could have provided, and in fact did provide, reports that were a periodic index of within-Center thinking and plans. Any trained observer working close to evacuees on the Center was bound to sense trends of opinion, and could have submitted reliable samplings.

Opinions changed, sometimes overnight. Among the Relocation staff the story was commonly told of the evacuee who was recorded as "No Present Plans", but was found to have relocated 3 days afterward. One may not conclude that apathy was always shown in bad faith, but only that events moved evacuees toward new decisions regardless of the efforts of a counselor in a brief interview. These events might have been personal, such as a letter

~~or~~

from a ~~son~~ ^{broad or broad} and impersonal, ~~xxxxxxx~~ as in the outcome of the
Endo decision. Moreover, counseling information was gathered over a wide
span of time--9 months--and its facts could not claim the reliability of
census data, gathered in a shorter time. In fact, the reopening of California
to returning evacuees occurred before completion of the program, confusing
some of the factors on the "Relocation Outlook" Form (No. 340), used to
tabulate results.

The point is, that detailed interviewing and the refined opinion data
rendered in statistical reports afterward too often constituted a picture
out of focus a month later. As a guide to future planning, it is believed
that WRA might have saved money by relying on the Community Analyst's reports,
and, say, monthly opinion reports by heads of the Welfare and Relocation
Sections, who after all had access to wide interviewing data. These reports
could have been supplemented by notes from other competent observers on
the project, such as the Director or his assistants. The writer would
justify the counseling program on other grounds than its value as a planning
guide, seeing its value mainly as presented in paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 of
these conclusions.

3 As a relocation force, which the program frankly became in
November 1944, when it was used also to find and prepare dependency cases for
resettlement, it is felt that counselors should have been provided earlier
with ^{more} definite information on outside community resources. Particularly
meant was the use of resettlement funds. ~~if~~ The administration of a
part of the Resettlement fund for household goods and rent should have been
placed in the Centers soon after the start of the counseling program, not
late in 1945 as it was. If because of Social Security Board requirements, the

actual commitment of grants at the Center was not possible earlier, then Manzanar's share of available funds might at least have been computed and the figure made known, so that counselors could have carried the added function of estimating need from case to case. The nature of this survey would have given^a concreteness to many interviews, lacking when the counselor had no budget at hand with which to offer estimates. If the Relocation Planning Division had heeded the findings of early counseling program statistics, it would seem that the frequency of the factor "Financial Aid Necessary" might have prompted a move toward an earlier issuance of resettlement grants from the Center. Such grants would have become the personal cash of the eligible relocatee, beyond the scrutiny of county officials, as in California, who might have drawn invidious comparisons between the amount of such grants and the amount of grants locally given under local eligibility standards.

This writer believes that the counseling program would have been less of a detached survey in the eyes of doubtful evacuees had the use of resettlement funds been an element of the interview. For several months, June-December 1944, the counselors could only vaguely assure the needy evacuee that Social Security funds were available to meet emergency needs. Invariably he asked, "How much?" The interviewer then had to answer categorically, "Enough", or "That will be worked out for you at the district office". In December 1944, a mimeographed release ~~actually~~ did come out from the Relocation Division in Washington giving actual examples of resettlement aid as it worked in Philadelphia and New York, but this information, indefinite as it still was, came months late.

4 The Counseling program surely paid for itself by having set up a convenient summary of salient data on nearly every family remaining in the Center after June 1944. Welfare records, covering only about 1/5 of the population, would have provided little data with which to meet the heavy volume of clothing and furniture applications processed by the Junior Counselors in 1945. This fact alone justified the program, in that the under-staffed welfare office during the accelerated exodus of families September-November ¹⁹⁴⁵ could not have handled the load without the advantage of instant data at hand on finances, property, household goods and family composition, as many families were not articulate and there was no time then for basic data gathering. The need for interpreters further slowed the process. From the evacuee's point of view, the existence of his counseling summary spared him the tedium of telling his story again in the ~~pxk~~ pressure of the peak relocation period.

Looking back over 1944, it would appear that the counseling program at Manzanar was weak in its value as a meter of overall planning needs because of the time factor, but did stimulate relocation indirectly and did provide useful data for dependency surveys and for the later administration of resettlement grants at the Center. If foresight were as easy as hindsight, the program might have actually been implemented to authorize, or at least estimate in dollars and cents, grants from the resettlement fund.

X ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

Illustrating the text preceding, below are listed the basic forms used in the program, together with a sample family counseling summary:

Form WRA 329- Basic Family Face Sheet

" WRA 340--Relocation Outlook

Summary of Interview with the Ito Family

Form 1003--Inter-Departmental Referral

Form 1019 Interviewers Daily Work Sheet

Form 1022--Family Counseling Unit Weekly Summary
(A recapitulative report prepared
and submitted by the Assistant
Counselor in charge of the counseling
program)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
BASIC FAMILY FACE SHEET

CONFIDENTIAL

(1) Center

(2) (Surname—CAPS) (City) (State) (Assembly Center) (Family No.)

Pre-Evac.

(3) Address:

(5)

(6) FAMILY STATUS (Check one)	Married couple <input type="checkbox"/> (a)	Husband deceased <input type="checkbox"/> (b)	Husband absent (Intern.) <input type="checkbox"/> (c)	Husband absent (Leave) <input type="checkbox"/> (d)	Husband absent (Other) <input type="checkbox"/> (e)	Wife deceased <input type="checkbox"/> (f)	Wife absent (Other) <input type="checkbox"/> (g)	Single <input type="checkbox"/> (h)	(7) Children 16 and under (Number)	(8) Prev. WRA center(s)	(9) Date to this center	(10) Date face sheet prep.	(11) By
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(12) BASIC FAMILY UNIT (Man) (Woman)	SEX (a)	MARITAL STATUS (b)	DATE OF BIRTH (c)	BIRTHPLACE (d)	RELIGION (e)	YES, EDUCATION		DATES RESIDENCE JAPAN (h)		SPEAKS		L.V. C.L. (k)	CENTER ADDRESS (l)	REMARKS (Give dates) (m)
						J (f)	U.S. (g)			English (i)	Japanese (j)			

(13) OTHER RELATIVES AT CENTER	SEX (a)	MARITAL STATUS (b)	AGE OR BIRTH DATE (c)	RELATIONSHIP (d)	CENTER ADDRESS (e)	REMARKS (Give dates) (f)	(14) PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HANDICAPS OF BASIC FAMILY GROUP (Give name, dates, and type of handicap)
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(15) OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS, FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN UNITED STATES AND HAWAII	SEX (a)	MARITAL STATUS (b)	AGE OR BIRTH DATE (c)	RELATIONSHIP (d)	ADDRESS		(16) REFERRALS			
					City (e)	State (f)	REMARKS (Give dates) (g)	To (a)	Date (b)	By (c)

Surname (CAPS) _____ First Name _____ Middle Name _____ Family Number _____
 Head of Basic Family (as defined in Manual 30.4.53) _____ Center Address _____

THE FOLLOWING ITEMS PERTAIN TO THE HEAD OF THE BASIC FAMILY. WHEN PLANS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF BASIC FAMILY DIFFER FROM THAT OF FAMILY HEAD, EXPLAIN UNDER "REMARKS".

- I. INTEREST IN RELOCATION (Check one)
- a-Plans made; leaving right away
 - b-Very interested; incomplete plans
 - c-Mildly interested
 - d-Not interested at this time
 - e-Refused to discuss

- II. DETERRANTS TO RELOCATION (Check one or more)
- a-Need financial aid
 - b-No wage earner in family
 - c-Waiting for job offering more salary
 - d-Believe cannot support family
 - e-Old age of family head

- g-Family health/depend. prob.--temp.
- h-Family health/depend. prob.--perm.
- i-Waiting for end of school year
- j-Language Difficulty
- l-Fear discrimination
- m-Believe adjustment too difficult
- n-Believe adequate housing unavailable

- p-Waiting for particular kind of job
- q-Waiting to go with other families
- r-Waiting for leave clearance
- s-Will return to evacuated area only
- t-Waiting until end of war
- u-Other (Specify)

V-
 VIII. Remarks: (Continue on reverse side if necessary)

- III. AREA INTERESTED IN (Check one or more)
- a-Any place, job, & sentiment O.K.
 - b-Rocky Mountain States
 - c-Middle West
 - d-South
 - e-East
 - f-Evacuated area only

- IV. TYPE OF COMMUNITY (Check one or more)
- a-Does not matter
 - b-Large city
 - c-Town
 - d-Rural (farming)

- V. FINANCIAL AID NECESSARY (Check one or more)
- a-None
 - b-Leave Assistance Grant
 - c-Support for one month
 - d-Support for more than one month
 - e-Other (Specify)

- VI. PLAN TO LEAVE CENTER (Check one)
- a-Probably 7-1-44
 - b-Probably between 7-1-44 & 12-31-44
 - c-After January 1945
 - d-Only at end of war
 - e-Undecided

(INTERVIEWER'S INITIALS)

VII. Business or occupation prior to evacuation _____

ITO

8-13-2

October 10, 1944

Masao

M - 45

Yuki

F - 34

Summary

Interview held in couple's barracks apartment. No interpreter

Present: Mr. and Mrs. Ito

I Present Situation

1. Employment

Mr. Ito is now working as a mess-hall helper. He had just returned from 4 months seasonal work leave in the beet crops at Vale, Oregon. He commented that he was unaccustomed to stoop-and-squat labor, and had paid out all of his savings in doctor bills at the nearby town.

Mrs. Ito, although not abed, stated that she too had been lamed by the work she had done in the crops in Oregon, and was staying home because of illness.

1936-41 Mr and Mrs. Ito had a small cafe in San Pedro, selling oriental and American fare. The husband managed the business and served, while his wife cooked. The waitresses were hired at busy times, but one gathered that the business was small and marginal.

1927-36 Mr. Ito worked on various jobs in wholesale produce houses. Most of his connections were Issei growers and sellers. He mentioned that all of his savings for these 9 years were invested in the chop suay cafe above described

2. Finances

The couple said they were "flat broke". Mr. Ito's only insurance policy, New York Life, lapsed in 1942, and in 1943 the surrender refund was spent on back doctor bills. As to sale of his business, Mr. Ito said what little equity he had in restaurant equipment was settled with the landlord on the spot, and the the proceeds now spent.

This couple apparently have patronized doctors for years, as they complain that this has held them down and still does. Financial insecurity bulks large in Mr. Ito's mind, as he feared th t he couldn't hold a job very long because of rheumatism and headaches.

3. Health

Mr. Ito complains of lameness and back pains which go back about 14 years. He hires a masseur here on the Center, stepping up the treatments in cold weather. Last clinic call at the Project Hospital: June, 1944.

Mrs. Ito complained of similar ailments. It was related that she needed medical care at the FSA (federal) labor camp at Vale, but that the Army doctor there was too busy to see her. They had, therefore, gone to a private doctor at Ontario, Oregon at their own expense, but received little good from the call because of long waiting in the cold.

4. 4. Legal: None

5. Property

No real estate, no commercial equipment. As the household goods, the couple brought with them to Manzanar a bedroom set and a few utensils.

6. Education

Mr. Ito received 10 years of schooling in Japan, followed by 3 years of irregular night classes in English after his arrival in U.S. in 1919. He speaks English with effort, but can discuss ordinary matters with no interpreter. He is precise in manner and expression, viewing himself as essentially a business man.

Mrs. Ito was born in U.S. in 1910, but returned to Japan as a child, where she attended school for 8 years. She speaks limited English, and chimed in occasionally, especially when her husband mentioned health. She has no skill or vocational interest, other than her ability to do restaurant cooking.

Referral

A request was forwarded this date to the project hospital for a clinic report. In an earlier report filed in the Welfare record (12/19/45) the physician's comment was that there is little organic basis for the complaints of this couple, although treatments have been given at the Center Clinic.

II Plans for the Future

3. No present plans

(a) This couple complain that the future outside is too insecure for them because of their marginal health. Therefore, they would remain until the Center closes, and looked to the counselor to reassure them about this. The latter advised that WRA would not force them to leave earlier than they truly wished to go, but that it would be to their gain to plan departure surely next year to avoid haste and confusion. Moreover, it was pointed out that the couple would do well to relocate as soon as the warmer weather of spring comes, while WRA services and a choice of jobs are still assured. Mr. Ito looked dubious, and wondered whether the Center would close at all or not. Counselor advised that there is no official word to justify such hope; that this very interview was part of the program to make the Center's closing easier.

(b) Problems are:

This couple are ailment-conscious, and will have to be assured by repeated word from friends and WRA personnel that life in a new locality is possible and agreeable. Mr. Ito mentioned that he had gone to Oregon this year as a trial relocation and was disappointed. He advised him that seasonal farm work in eastern Oregon ~~was~~ not typical of the life to be expected on the basis of permanent relocation.

Mr. Ito also rejects the idea of employment ~~under~~ others. He wants to reopen a small restaurant, no matter where, but lacks capital. He stated that he is unsuited by age and habit to mind to "work for the other fellow", and efforts to discuss the merits of certain jobs offered at the Relocation office could not modify this view.

III. Factual Conclusions

This couple are defeatist in attitude, and will probably not relocate until there is more evidence before them of the Center's closing. The counselor told them that Social Security funds would be available outside to meet any emergency, or to pay for initial rent, food, or household goods, but Mr. Ito's reaction was that this would take care of his health problem.

Mr. Ito need not be chalked off as entirely negative, however. He did ask questions on housing and job offers, as if wanting assurance. It is also true that he had asked for this interview through the block manager, having been out on work leave when the counselor covered Block 8 in the summer. He rejected our invitation to visit the Relocation office to clarify his questions. He spoke of relatives in Utah, and thought he might like to discuss his plans with them. This much seems sure: Mr. Ito will go east when he relocates, not back to San Pedro.

Relocation not considered at this time because of:

7. Lack of savings
8. Impaired health claimed by both Mr. and Mrs. Ito
(Clinic report pending).

Cecil F. Prichett
Jr. Counselor

October 11, 1944

Medical Social Worker
Hospital Clinic

COMMUNITY WELFARE (Prichett)

ITO, Masao, 45 ID-1902 Formerly restaurant keeper
Yuki, 34
8-13-2

Mr. Ito complains of lameness in the back.
Returned from farm work this month, saying that he could not
finish the season. Patronizes a masseur occasionally. States
that ailments go back about 14 years. Is now doing light work at
Mrs. Ito has similar ailments, also arthritis. Center.
This couple are known to the Clinic.
Please report on nature and extent of disability,
and medical follow-up needs.

This report is requested because the Itos give
health as their main reason for not relocating.

C.P.

/S/ D. Harth
Asst. Counselor

NAKAUCHI
Elsie Fuji

32 - 5 - 3

August 18, 1944

F - 38

Child

Katsumi Frank

M - 9

SUMMARY:

The interview was held in the recreation room of block 32.
No interpreter was present.

Present: Mrs. Nakauchi and her son

I. Present Situation

1. Employment:

Mrs. N. until recently was engaged as an instructress in the block 32 cooperative enterprise sewing room. She had recently resigned because the block sewing school lack assistants to carry on its work. Check with Evacuee Personnel Records verified that Mrs. N. resigned July 8, 1944 and is now voluntarily unemployed. Mrs. N., states she will presently seek re-assignment as instructress in another block sewing room. Formerly, Mrs. N. instructed in private sewing projects in Los Angeles.

Mrs. N.'s former husband had previously worked in the dry good business. He has now relocated to Chicago, pending divorce.

2. Finances:

Mrs. N. has no outside income and no savings.

3. Health:

Satisfactory

4. Legal:

No problems to discuss

5. Property:

No real estate. Since Mrs. N. sold most of her household goods prior to arrival, she had few belongings here.

6. Education:

Mrs. N. in addition to high school has had two years of training at the Los Angeles Conservatory of Musical Arts, specializing in piano. She converses intelligently with just a trace of accent. Mrs. N. states she has drawn much pleasure from music, but considers her work in dressmaking her only sure way to make a living.

II. Plans for the Future

3. No present plans
 - (a) Awaiting developments

Mrs. N. has requested expatriation, and on May 10, 1944 was denied leave clearance. The Welfare record reports that she was seen concerning a letter from her estranged husband in Chicago in which the latter asked reconciliation. Our reply dated February 24, 1944 to the Chicago office advised that Mrs. N. was strongly opposed to reconciliation, that she now planned expatriation.

The counselor advised Mrs. N. that a new hearing would be available should she desire to change her previous declaration. Mrs. N. admitted she does not like the prospect of eventually going to Tule Lake or Japan, and considering the Welfare of her child, may decide to request a hearing. In this event, she would call at Mrs. Adams' office.

Since Mrs. N. appears not at all sure about wanting expatriation, and yet does not wish to relocate now, it seems proper to list her outlook as "No present plans."

III. Factual Conclusions on Completion of Interview

Mrs. N. is alert and self-reliant, but sensitive. If granted leave clearance, there is no doubt that she would succeed well as a relocatee. Mrs. N. Welfare record cites a long history of emotional antagonism over her marriage failure, and Mrs. N. still feels strongly about the matter. It is therefore the counselor's impression that Mrs. N.'s move for expatriation may be an emotional reaction, "a way out", rather than a rational choice. She now wonders what is to be gained by returning to Japan. It is possible that notification of final decree of her divorce now pending may prove to be the turning point needed to bring Mrs. N. to a new decision in her affairs. Petition for interlocutory decree was filed in Los Angeles in January, 1944, a Mrs. Barker being retained as attorney in the action. Mrs. N. has advised her husband not to oppose the divorce. It is likely that the divorce will become final in January, 1945. Mrs. N. is aware that the welfare of her son, now nine, is involved in her move and realizes that a new hearing might reopen a more cheering future to her through eventual relocation.

The counselor did secure Mrs. N.'s interest in the discussion of her chances of relocating to New York, using the assumption that leave clearance will be granted. Mrs. N. states that she is fascinated by the dress designing in New York and might go into designing. The counselor pointed out that large cities abound in chances for evening courses in designing, courses, given under public or semi-public auspices at little cost. It was mentioned that well known designers give their time to public evening courses at Textile High, in lower Manhattan. Mrs. N. apparently enjoyed these prospects. However, she stated that even if relocated she would eventually desire to return to the California coast.

WRA-Man-153

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Manzanar, California

INTER - DEPT. REFERRAL

REFERRED TO:

Date:

REFERRED BY:

SUBJECT NAME:

ADDRESS:

REASON FOR REFERRA:

Signed _____

FROM:

TO: Community Welfare - Margaret D'Ille

RE: Disposition of above Referral

Signed _____

PART

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

by
Cecil F. Fritchett
Junior Counselor

Old Age and Survivors Insurance (hereinafter referred to as OA&SI) was the only title of the Social Security Act applicable to evacuees at the Center. In a federally operated community such as WRA, none of the Act's public assistance categories, ^{and} maternal and child health programs had any reason to exist, as was also true of unemployment insurance. OA&SI benefits, based on right, not need, were regularly received by a few Center residents.

A

I BACKGROUND

Advice on OA&SI claims until the beginning of 1945 was given at whatever office it was sought--usually from the Project Attorney or from the Assistant Counselor in the Welfare Section. Interviewers in the family counseling program in 1944 picked up the names of claimants likely to be eligible and referred them to the Project Attorney for clearance with the Social Security Board field office.

In January, 1945, it was seen that the function of assistance in clearing OA&SI claims should reside wholly in the Welfare Section because of its close bearing on the dependency survey then in progress, and its connection with eligibility for resettlement grants and within-Center public assistance. One of the Junior Counselors, the writer, was

assigned the task of clearing OA&SI claims with the Social Security Board field office and of providing general information. A short informative article was placed in the Manzanar Free Press early in 1945, telling of the intent and coverage of the OA&SI program and advising claimants in need of information or help to come to the Welfare office.

Form OA-C784, a claims inquiry, was used in most instances. This form submitted data to the OA&SI field office at San Bernardino on pre-evacuation employment for determination as to whether the claimant, 65 or over, could expect benefits. A field agent from the Social Security Board called at the Center from time to time, having at hand a list of such claims together with any other applicants' names which had come to his attention in the meantime. Applicants were summoned to appear at the Welfare office on the date of the field agent's call, bringing along proof of birthdate when necessary, and all available data on past employment. An interpreter and the Junior Counselor were usually present to help clear some questions in the minds of aged Issei. Discrepancies in birthdate sometimes were ironed out by explaining that it is Japanese custom to date birth from conception rather than from actual birth, meaning that some Issei supposedly 65 had to wait a year longer for benefits to begin.

II EXTENT OF COVERAGE AT CENTER AND CONCLUSIONS

Only 20 recipients of OA&SI were known to the Welfare Section. Of these, 18 were old age annuitants (all but 2 being men) whose monthly benefits ranged from the minimum of 10 dollars to \$24.60. The other two were widows, eligible under the Act's 1939 amendment which widened the coverage to include benefits to surviving widows and minor children in school.

A number of other claims, perhaps 20 more, were in process when the Center closed.

One must conclude that in relation to a 1945 population of some 5,000 the number of OA&SI recipients was so small because:

1. Would-be claimants came largely from occupations not covered by the Social Security Act: domestic, agricultural, seasonal labor, work in business establishments ^{or informal} small/enough to escape the tax, and self-employment of various kinds.

2. The time factor: a number of Issei claimants either turned 65 or would have earned the minimum number of employment credits after the evacuation occurred in 1942. For the 3 years 1942-45, no employment at the Center counted toward Social Security benefits because of its ~~public~~ ~~status~~ ~~connection~~. The only exception was employment with the Manzanar Cooperative Enterprises, from which deductions were forwarded to the Bureau of OA&SI. One 67-year-old Issei did acquire the required 6 quarters of minimum covered employment in this way, receiving a monthly annuity of 10 dollars just before the Center closed.

It may be added that a considerable number of the aged

workers of families who came from Terminal Island, San Pedro, failed to qualify for benefits because coverage did not begin until January 1, 1940. On that date a court decision became effective, ruling that cannery employment and wage crew fishing were no longer excludable as "seasonable employment". Only about 4 quarters of covered employment was then possible up until the time that evacuation occurred, at least 2 quarters short of the 6 required to minimum benefits. After the Welfare Section's interpretation of this point, it is likely that many of the aged workers so affected will after relocation strive to work at least long enough to qualify for minimum Social Security benefits.

While with the passing of time, annuities for aged Japanese as well as for other groups will ^{be} higher because of the longer period of ~~wage~~ deduction, the low average ~~annuity~~ monthly payment to annuitants at the Center would indicate that recipients here came from low-paid jobs. They could not have been a threat to the security of American labor, as was alleged in anti-orient publicity current on the Pacific coast when the war began.