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Community Activities
Arthur L. Griswold

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TERMINAL REPORT
COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
JANUARY 11, 1946

TO: Douglas M. Todd
Project Director

SUBJECT: Community Activities Report

This transmits the final narrative report of the
Community Activities Section.

Although this report assumes the responsibility of
reporting the entire period of operation, the absence
of records or reports covering the Section's early days
has hindered the presentation of an accurate picture of
this important period.

After a careful consideration of the uses of this re-
port and the sensible interests of brevity, the writing
of this narrative has avoided duplicating material
already available elsewhere.

Arthur L. Griswold
Arthur L. Griswold
Community Activities
Supervisor

1. PREFACE

This report recognizes three major objectives: (1) a summary of the work accomplished in the myriad facets of the Community Activities Section, (2) to reiterate, for the guidance of observers, the failures in the Section's work; and (3) to document the irregularities of this Section's relationship with other Sections and with outside groups. In doing this it is assumed that the reader is familiar with the recreation and group work movement and the tenets of leisure time work. It is assumed also that the reader has a working knowledge of the culture of the Japanese people. Persons having access to this paper will also be able to refer to other War Relocation Authority documents in the Archives. Keeping these assumptions in mind this report will not (1) document accepted group work and recreation practices and principles except as departures exist on this Project, (2) discuss Japanese activities and cultural references used in the report, and/or (3) duplicate statistics and papers now on file in War Relocation Authority archives. References will occasionally be made to documents to which the careful reader is respectfully referred.

This reporter entered duty at Rivers on May 27th, 1944, being the fourth supervisor to the Section's work in a year and a half. Coupled with the obvious problems of changing leadership, the fact that the Section had only "acting" interim heads for the months of April and May added to a relatively confused situation. This reporter has remained constantly on duty from the date given above to the end of the Project. This report attempts to review and evaluate the work of the Section previous to the above date but its accuracy and fullness of detail is dependent entirely on somewhat meager records available.

It should be acknowledged at the outset that by May, 1944 certain patterns existed in the work of the Section which could not be altered without causing major upheavals in the emotional life of the community. It became necessary to effect one or two such changes. The results are recorded elsewhere in this report.

In general, the reader will note that the plan of organization and operation, and the operating policies and authori-

ties are not this reporter's. This will merely be a record of the administration thereof. Where permissible an evaluation from this reporter's point of view may indicate possible guide posts to another

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE SECTION

Community Activities was well established by the time (12-26-42) Administrative Instruction 73 delineated the Section's activities. The Supervisor's report for the quarter ending December 31st, 1942 indicated that the Section's activities had developed materially along the lines they were to retain throughout the life of the Project. Typically, Administrative Notices 48, 116, 220, 247 and Manual Releases 48, 90 and 136 also appeared to merely document situations or practices already well established. For example, had Notice #220 been delivered in writing to the Project at the first of the year, 1945, it would have been of great value in "prodding" certain negative elements within the Relocation Program. The Notice was dated the 19th of February and delivered to the Supervisor in May. By that time most of the Post Exclusion program changes were complete.

Reference is made also to the Supervisor's Job Descriptions. The first "Community Services CAF-7" and the second "Community Activities Supervisor CAF-9" left many gaps which were not corrected until the issuance on February 10th, 1944 of "Community Activities Supervisor P-4". Typical of these gaps was the failure to document responsibility for the Appointed Staff Recreation program, which caused no end of harm on this Project due to a conflict of opinion on the delegation of this responsibility. Its effect on the morale, turnover, and efficiency of the appointed staff has been noted elsewhere. Another gap was the conflicting interpretation on relationships with outside group work agencies interested in chapters established in the Project. Again, this was not corrected until February, 1944 long after these relationships were well worked out on this Project. Experiences with these notices would suggest that, in the future, they be issued before work is effected on the local level. Their issuance afterward often confuses an otherwise settled situation.

ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS, OTHER SECTIONS

The War Relocation Authority procedures manual (Release 890 issued 6-15-44, was the last one) finally provided for established relationships for Community Activities. By this time, however, certain practices had grown up which were never indicated in the Manual. They are described here in detail as possible information to another Manual author.

Much of the memoranda going out of the Section should originate with evacuee groups to be properly initiated, yet the final approval of the division head was required. In theory three memos might some times be written to serve this one purpose. In practice one memo was written for the signature of the division head. Central file copies were prepared and one copy - a blue onion skin carbon was used on which were documented approvals below the level of the division head. In Practice this secured conformity to the rule of approval by division head and prevented "wild cat" memos and requests. Extra work and paper were eliminated as only one memo was ever written.

Arrangements were established with Education Section to clarify a number of points: The use of teachers as volunteer leaders of national group work agency chapters was subject to some irregularities and confusion. This was finally cleared by an exchange of memos of agreement. Education conducted formal classes in courses similar to activities in this Section. An exchange of conferences and agreements determined which activities would be conducted exclusively by Community Activities, such as competitive athletic leagues; and courses conducted exclusively by Education of which the craft skills classes (sewing, dress design, manual arts) are the best examples. Other coordinated activities were developed usually by giving the nominal sponsorship of the activity to one section, or the other, and actually governing the activity by a Board composed of staff Personnel of both sections. These plans were not without friction. Community Activities learned to respect the formal thinking of Education personnel and work up plans and material to fit their specialized thinking. It is hoped that the teachers involved developed a greater appreciation of the inter-personal values of leisure time work. One administrative head over the two Sections has been of great value in coordinating relationships.

An interesting code was agreed upon between Welfare and Community Activities regarding the supervision of the American Red Cross Unit. In brief the plan made the Board, physical properties, soldier services and educational work responsible to Community Activities. The Head Counselor of Welfare was a member of the Board and retained the message services within the Section. Informally, the Welfare Section also arranged to certify loan clients to the Red Cross Secretary, thus eliminating a duplication of services.

Relations with Internal Security were standard in most respects. Their part of the use of the Public Assembly Permit is discussed under comments on the Fire Protection Officer.

No direct commercial relationships were ever maintained with Community Enterprises. Community Activities established a Recreation Association in each Camp to act as the entrepreneur in activities involving receipts of money. It is discussed at length elsewhere.

A debt of considerable standing is recognized in the relationships between the Analyst and Community Activities. If local experience is any gauge, the value of anthropologists in guiding administrative action in the social fields has been clearly demonstrated. His value in determining needs, reactions to promotion, evaluations of on-going programs and practices must not be underestimated. This section, in reciprocation, was able to furnish volunteers for surveys and records of groups for study. It is a matter of record that each Section used the others services extensively.

Relationships with the Hospital were vague and ill defined and remained so to the end of the Project. Repeatedly this section attempted to work out agreements in the use of facilities and services without success due to characteristics of the Health Section that appear in its report. Arrangements were made to show movies and drama to the patients at regular intervals. Health Education activities (such as first aid classes) were always conducted in the hospital.

Relationships with Mess Management were never outlined in manual form and had to be developed locally. Some practices are worth recording. Mess Hall supervisors certified the availability of their mess hall for Public assemblies, (see fire protection below). Mess Stewards also provided for issuance of rations, in lieu of meals eaten, to groups. This made possible such events as overnight hikes for Boy Scout groups. Arrangements were also similarly possible for special banquets and affairs, serving evacuees exclusively. It is to be regretted that no provision was ever possible, within regulations, to serve a mixed (evacuee and staff or outsiders) group at a banquet in a Mess Hall. The obvious inspirational value of such affairs is well known and understood. Their therapeutic value to readjust these people to the "outside" should have outweighed the considerations which forbade them. True, if funds and personnel were available, a privately financed affair could have been, and often was, conducted. These were too costly and wasteful to use for general meetings such as "good will" conferences. The resulting segregation of caucasian and evacuee often did more harm than good. Many visitors of significance were never able,

within regulations, to meet evacuees across the dining table.

Relations with the Fire Protection Officer were maintained in cordial fashion. The use made of one curious regulation will be worth the reader's time. Regulations provided that "records of organized groups will be made regularly available to the Project". The reactionary nature of some organizations, or their leaders, suggested that records of their memberships and activities would be important. There seemed no way to secure such records at first. Regulations did not provide the "how". The Fire Protection Officer, however, made demands from the beginning that all public assemblies (including open air picnics where fires were built) be approved and that a fire officer inspect the facility before and during each public assembly. This was a wise precaution considering the hazards involved. An agreement was reached between Fire Protection and Community Activities whereby Fire would not permit a public assembly or picnic except they be previously certified by the Community Activities Supervisor. Internal Security agreed that there would be no public assemblies

without fire permits. The Community Activities Supervisor then instructed his staff that only groups providing a minimum standard of organization and record keeping would be so certified. At the end of the one month's operation, membership records of 80% of involved groups were on file. Later both memberships and minutes of all "critical" groups were filed.

Relations with the Motor Pool were interesting. There does not seem to be any directive to provide Community Activities with transport services except on a "daily trip" basis. "Wildcat" use of motor equipment for recreation purposes, was almost impossible to control. Motor Pool was quite willing to agree to a generous code under which this Section secured two assigned vehicles (Cargo trucks) which then were to serve all recreation requests. The Motor Pool was able to instruct Internal Security to control the movements of all trucks when used to serve recreational activities. Community Activities drivers provided log records which agreed with their assignments.

Relations with the Relocation Division were well described

by the handbook. The writer feels that even considering the morale and entertainment values of so-called Japanese style activities, that they deterred relocation. These activities were occasionally used as a shield for the activities of the anti-administration demi gods and many conflicts arose as to the interpretation of remarks made in Japanese at such meetings. This suggests a cautious recommendation that the value of retaining national culture activities be thoroughly explored and evaluated in terms of the relocation objectives of the Project.

The Leave Officer was the focus of continuous pressure. Off Project passes were few and hard to get. (Only 26 a day for all purposes in order that Phoenix not be "disturbed"). After lengthy negotiations the Leave Office agreed to permit one person a day to go to Phoenix for purposes determined by Community Activities. This provided a powerful tool to use to bring certain groups in line for the pass was never used by individuals - only representatives of a group. Recognition was extended to groups on the same basis as for fire permits. As this off-Project privilege was of particular value to Nisei, it served to regulate

the American style groups and insure the standardization of their activities as they related to War Relocation Authority regulations.

A word concerning property and finance. Local experience would suggest that neophyte civil service employees receive an indoctrination concerning property and budget. Many confusing situations have developed because the Supervisor, new to civil service, did not follow procedures well known to old line civil servants.

The position of the Engineering Section was obscure and negative in its relationship with Community Activities. There seemed to be good reason back of this attitude. Leisure time groups had no outside access to lumber and supplies to make items essential to the conduct of their program. As a result engineering supplies were regularly "raided" to provide such material. This situation had been confused by a series of conflicting directives and policy changes and by changes in OPA rules as well, but experience would suggest that this be carefully explored to provide assistance and control.

Relations with the Reports Office endured one irregularity for a short time. Its failure is worthy of study. The local newspaper was WRA produced. The residents were in the habit of considering articles in the paper as having official sanction or origin regardless of the habit of the paper to secure news material through reporters and "public relations" persons on the Project in the manner of regular news reporting. The writer became concerned that subordinates (evacuees) were issuing statements to the paper committing the Section to policies or contracts it could not or was not permitted to endorse. After one such announcement (that GI trucks would transport persons to a picnic!) this Supervisor elected to channel news releases across his desk as a control. After cries of "censorship", etc., and some stormy sessions with a sports reporter the plan was abandoned. Let the reader beware! The press must remain free!

Relations with the Project Director's Office has been, in general, indirect and indecisive. The Director in office upon the arrival of the writer had no background or understanding of the tenets of leisure time work. This coupled

with a failure to realize the therapeutic readjustment values inherent in the inter-personal relations involved in leisure time work, produced an office impossible to negotiate with when certain activities, concerned with the resettlement of residents, were proposed. This is documented in detail elsewhere in this report.

Communication with supervisors at other Projects was vague and indirect. Regulations prevented direct communication of any sincerity. This suggests that in a future experiment liaison privileges be provided in order that a consistent program develop at all centers.

SECTION ORGANIZATION, JOB DESCRIPTIONS

It is claimed that Community Activities had too many workers. From a "made work" point of view this may not be true, but it is certain that many job descriptions should be reviewed in a similar situation before placements are made. Experience suggests that jobs once opened are twice as hard to close as jobs never opened at all.

A nucleus of transferees from the Tulare Assembly Center Recreation Staff provided an effective group to develop the Community Activities staff in Butte. In Canal the workers were recruited from persons evacuated from the same town (Vacaville). The community frictions that later developed from the abuses inherent in both schemes prompt a recommendation against accumulating personnel either way. True, the staff had unit solidarity and was able to readily recruit new workers or replacements, even in periods of manpower shortages. Criticisms and faults outweighed these advantages. At its largest, the staff provided one worker for each 90 residents. An optimum ratio seems to be 1 to 300. Volunteers from the resident group can be used only with difficulty in a community of this kind. This alters the staff situation considerably.

The Supervisor's job is well covered by the published Job Description. The reader should be warned that the Supervisor's relationship to Appointed Staff recreation will easily develop all out of proportion to its relative need on this Project, and that undeniable pressures will tend

to increase this disproportion. A neophyte should also be on guard against another problem. Training and orientation are vital needs of a staff composed of immature workers such as existed here. Administrative "paper work" may well develop to consume more time than it is worth and will eat into the time nominally allotted to training and supervision.

Labor problems occurred to interrupt the even temper of the Section's work. Their causes and solutions were no different than sample cases covered in detail in the Community Analysis Report #10 (Washington 10-24-44). A few impressions gained from local experiences may reinforce some thinking in the above mentioned Reports. (1) The Supervisor must be on personal speaking terms with all personnel on his staff. (2) His office and ear should be easily available to any staff member. Often "griping" is a good safety valve. (3) The dignity of sub-foreman must be preserved. (4) Relationships should be developed with individuals representative of the colony's leadership in order that they assist as channels of information and liason in trouble situations.

Techniques of personnel administration, especially as they pertain to this field, are uniformly applicable except for the following points: (1) Inter-personal relationships are heightened and assume importances all out of proportion to the same situation in normal communities. The leisure available to pressure groups, the isolation of the community, its tendency to become ingrown, all add to the complexity of a situation already sharpened by evacuation. (2) A greater attention to staff training is necessary, yet formal training usually fails. Evacuee leaders do not wish to expose themselves to the challenge that they are not already "experts" for the job. The most effective training has been done by such in-service experiences as the "Fun by Doing" series of sessions given for group program leaders. (3) Give careful attention to the eccentricities of the group due to their national culture traits. Errors in placing women foreman over men have caused friction in Community Activities. Failure to use a "go-between" in tension situations has often delayed settlement. (4) Provision for recognition experiences is important. Staff parties or picnics with speeches of praise for leaders is productive. Visits

to equivalent "outside" professionals has been helpful.

(5) Care should be taken to avoid extreme changes in the organization of the staff structure. Two such moves were necessitated by Washington instruction. One "broke" a large number of unneeded foreman whose presence on the staff was pure feather bedding. Reactions were immediate and heated. Another maneuver replaced staff personnel in the policy forming seats of the Recreation Association, places traditionally held by paid members of the Community Activities staff. Resistance to this finally developed into a labor tension situation of some strength even though the move was required by one of the "late" WRA bulletins referred to earlier.

ADVISORY GROUPS

The Community Council served to create the Recreation Association, draft its charter and appoint its critical officers. It served as the audit authority on all financial transactions for the Association. It became the "supreme court" in incidents beyond the ability of the Recreation Association to solve. The Manual merely says, "there shall be created....". Experience here suggests

that using the Council, an elected body, to create the Association was a move worthy of being inserted in other manuals. It provided a community check and balance on the Association, a necessity that proved its worth many times.

The use of the Block Managers by this Section has not been clearly documented in early records. What is reported here is practice after May, 1944. The Block Managers were used as a duplicate liaison to the community, the Council being the other. The questionable values of this are not clear. From this section's point of view the two groups accomplished the same purpose - policy forming and information channels. The Central Block Manager served on the Association Board but met only at intervals. From Community Activities point of view the Block Managers and Council seemed to duplicate and material to and from this Section for either organization was always sent to the other as well.

The Manual finally provided for the establishment of a co-op to handle the needs of community activities where

money matters were concerned. Upon the writer's arrival in Camp the Recreation Associations (one in each Camp) had developed patterns difficult to change. Previous supervisors of this Section had both office and residence in Canal. Canal's organization was more orthodox. The Association was a respectable advisory body reflecting the best thinking of the community. Its leaders and delegates were, with one exception, persons not on Community Activities payroll. The exception was the Issei leader on the staff, a very respected Councilman and church (Buddhist) leader as well. He served as Association treasurer throughout the life of the Camp. The chairman of the Community Council was ex-officio chairman of the Association. This formed a tight policy forming circle to be sure, but its effectiveness showed its worth a number of times. Meetings were held regularly following the Council meetings. This permitted important persons to attend both meetings without undue loss of time. This last is important to remember. Small communities have a tendency to saddle their leaders with all manner of honorary responsibilities. This tends to pyramid beyond a point of diminishing returns. The doubling of meetings

at Canal often secured better representation than would have been otherwise possible. The Canal Association remained, to the end of the Camp, an excellent policy forming body and an effective treasury for money making affairs. It acted to control tensions and was effective in holding reactionary elements in check.

Unfortunately, only indifferent attention was paid by the supervisors to the early development of the Association in Butte. As a result, the small group of youngsters, who came from the Tulare Assembly Center's Recreation Department and established Community Activities in Butte, became also the central control of the evacuee Recreation Association. The efforts of these adept youngsters did not go amiss. They retained control of the Association to the end. They and their friends succeeded in becoming delegates to the Association's Board and formed and controlled its policies and practices. This is not good practice. The Issei paid scant heed to the Association following its directives only when absolutely necessary. The authority and position of the Council was never fully secured in Butte until the last

few months of the Project. It is recommended that the "creating authority" for such co-ops be clearly indicated in early directives to prevent such miscarriages as developed in Butte.

Each national group work agency operating with chapters on the Project had organized Boards. These Boards were represented by delegates in the Recreation Association's meetings. Churches had boards, as well as the Red Cross Units. These groups served identically as such bodies do outside.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The student is referred to the Engineers records for detailed charts on the physical facilities provided by Community Activities. It should suffice here that while, exclusive of two eighteen hole golf courses, 19.5 acres had been set aside or used for park and playground services by May, 1945. However, as the park areas grew to include baseball diamonds, soft ball fields, football fields, basketball courts, playgrounds, and tennis courts; the number of recreation halls actually used gradually shrunk.

Five were allotted to the Co-op, three to other sections, one to the Post Office and nine were issued to churches for their exclusive use. These were mostly centrally located halls. This meant that the remainder were all on the edge of Camp. Thus the Boy Scouts, Y.W.C.A., etc., always faced the handicap of meeting places poorly located. It is suggested that future allocations of such buildings be based on the objectives of the Camp. Americanizing activities should get first, not last, choice of locations. Buildings used once a week (some churches) should be at the edge of Camp. From this experience it is also suggested that the authority for occupancy of a building be vested in this responsibility for supervising the activity within the building. Experience suggests also that this authority be beyond reference to the resident group. This sounds contradictory to principles of fair play and self determination, but it should be borne in mind that reactionary elements (see Sinen Kar) in early Camp life were able to coerce leading residents to secure their own ends. Headquarters in a centrally located Hall has proven an advantage that should be very soberly evaluated in future situations. Facilities should be available to quickly partition recreation halls

so that more groups can use the space. A highly desirable practice would be to centralize all buildings used for recreational purposes into a "bright lite" area in the center of the Camp.

A word about the community stages. Such an out-of-doors stage and area is extremely valuable (in this climate) for a number of purposes. In this Project they "just grew" from scrap lumber to serve the needs of the motion picture program and the Japanese dramatic groups. Their later value as staging areas for army inductees, segregation movements, relocation farewells, patriotic and other holiday programs as well as mass meetings of special needs has been repeatedly demonstrated. In communities of this type the entire population regularly attends functions of any importance. This should be kept in mind in planning facilities. Had these stages been Project built their availability might have been increased many fold.

Some special areas had to be provided for picnics. These were simple fireplaces with a circle of seats arranged on a secluded spot against the nearby Buttes. There were

eight such places regularly scheduled for use. Two were laid out so that overnight camping was possible. All were well outside the residence area of the two Camps.

The value of mess halls as large group meeting places must not be underrated. Future planning should carefully consider this use and improve them by small changes in layout.

The joint use of some facilities by Education and Community Activities should be studied exhaustively. On paper much is possible, but problems exist which are not easily solved. Some are indicated here; (1) responsibility for property, (2) placing responsibility for damage to building or irregularities in cleaning up, (3) arrangement of furniture, (4) and personality conflicts of staff involved. This Project did succeed in satisfactorily using some facilities jointly (dance hall, auditorium, use of class room as Sunday School, athletic fields). Local experiences raise a serious question as to the advisability of assuming the school auditoria able to care for the masses that attend functions of interest to the entire resident group.

SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT

The greatest single factor relative to supplies and equipment was the inexperience of this staff in handling property. Classes were regularly held on property practices and, although the Project has been satisfied, the writer feels that there was much room for improvement. With property in fifty-six locations, used day and night by an evacuee staff of almost one hundred people, and by untold numbers of the resident public; it is little wonder that the property was controlled at all. This writer suggests that, with other nationality and racial groups, this problem might well have gotten out of hand. Changes in property procedures were numerous, ponderous, and produced confusing situations. The student is warned that property records and accountability is often taken entirely too lightly by neophyte civil service employees.

PURPOSES OF THE PROGRAM

Note that a recreation program existed from the very beginning of the history of assembly and relocation centers. Obviously these were the normal motivations behind this development. The Authority as well should have developed

a philosophy of need from the very inception of the work. It appears this was not done. The failure to present early in the life of the Authority, a clear, concise, definition of objectives (to satisfy this philosophy of need) for the leisure time program within the centers may remain in time to come, as a mistake filled with serious implications for the eventual rehabilitation of evacuees. This failure to realize the therapeutic value of a leisure time program and its contributions for re-adjustment seems equally shared by the Washington Administration, the Bureau of the Budget, and this Project's authority.

A leisure time program in such a center as this must first fill the need of a new community to move toward the integration of its members. Where all the members are new, the process is amazingly complex. When the situation is complicated by the emotional upheaval of evacuation the process is further complicated by the feelings of frustration and insecurity that affected virtually the entire population. Members did not even trust each other and the first step toward integration

was effected when individuals began to sublimate their fears in the social structure of the community.

This structure had to be carefully developed to provide these satisfactions and to be able to satisfy a new community's organizational needs. Several factors aided this: Blocks were usually filled by groups of families related to each other either by blood or previous association. By using these cliques of three or four families as a lever, Block social solidarity was a relatively simple achievement. Blocks used projects of different types to achieve this, usually under the aegis of an elected boy within the block. An athletic team competing in a camp wide league, a block wide landscaping plan, a block playground, a block school or skills project, or a block social club. Block solidarity, once developed, remained for the life of the Project.

Having established block solidarity (in general) the next step was a transition move to establish community wide social structures. Organizations still did not survive much beyond the block. Community wide groups

did exist at this early stage but they had no general acceptance and no integrated community reactions came as a result of their deliberations. Only fears, and the reactions to fears were expressed. A reading of the minutes of an early community wide organization (Council, Block Managers, Church Board, Seinan Kai) will show this. An interim device was indicated. The "district" organization was developed. Each district included six blocks and had an "office" and a co-ordinator. The principle (unannounced) objective of the district was to bring the resources of camp wide organizations to the Blocks and to secure the co-operation of the Blocks with community wide organization. The device worked effectively and in a few months was no longer needed. Some problems existed. One worker, whose thinking has always been somewhat reactionary, tried to perpetuate his district. Some misunderstandings arose and some confused interpretations were aired. The supervisory possibilities of the district organization were the only elements that were ever accepted by this worker. The reader is warned - such interim devices should neither operate a program nor supervise program

workers if the liaison principle is to be effectively used.

At this point community organization in the two Camps assumed the format of normal residence areas. The Block and its organizations remained the dominant unit of expression. Camp wide boards and committees were accepted per se and not because powerful persons appeared on their rosters. The reader is referred to the Analyst's report on Block Organization and Councils. This material is exhaustive and complete in dealing with the possibilities of these units.

With the community's need for an organizational structure satisfied; with these devices serving to integrate the members into a unified whole, one fundamental need of evacuees was served for only thus could their search for group security be satisfied, and with it the re-establishment of the individual's acceptance of the dignity of interpersonal relationships.

There remained the essentials of maintenance of morale,

combatting a social activity, and the further Americanization of the colony as a whole. In these last points War Relocation Authority became an interested party. It appears there were other justifications for War Relocation Authority participation in this program. It is worth comment that at no point in the history of the Project does it appear that the hierarchy of government authority was cognizant of all of these factors.

It was necessary for War Relocation Authority to participate in the leadership of the leisure program that spontaneously developed in order, first, to insure reaching the proper aims of the program, for the colony faced the problem of the demigod reactionary who may become a staff leader, faced the inability of persons untrained in leisure work to function as a staff, and faced also the peculiar problem of the inability of evacuees to govern each other. War Relocation Authority needed to participate in order to effect property controls. Evacuees were never interested in property responsibility and performed these chores only as absolutely required. They were meticulously careful of private property but anything government issue was expend-

able in their minds. This tendency to divert equipment to private or irregular use was a problem requiring constant supervision. The student is warned that this tendency may recur in similar situations. War Relocation Authority participation was also necessary to effect certain security measures concerning activities. These measures had to be instituted against all activities because at different times any activity might develop traits or practices that would be considered inimical to security. Checks or membership lists; review of Japanese language programs; review of minutes, speeches, publications of groups; control of meeting places; and use of government equipment all became factors necessitating civil service employee supervision. At few points was it demonstrated that evacuees could assume this mantle of supervision successfully. Considering the administrative attitudes of security personnel on this Project, War Relocation Authority participation was all the more necessary.

When the relocation program was announced and opened, War Relocation Authority faced a new need. Evacuee residents, being satisfied with their situation in Camp did not lend

their immediate support to programs with any resettlement "order" attached. In order to accomplish many of the aims of the relocation program, American style activities had to be protected and aided by the Supervisor all out of proportion to similar needs in normal communities. Unfortunately some of the possibilities of the program were not understood by this Project's Authority and, as a result, additional difficulties were faced in arranging conferences and meetings of Camp and outside groups

CHANGES IN NEEDS DURING LIFE OF CAMP

The first change was obvious - separate County Activities from other services. This move paved the way for more accurate administration of the section due to the differing professional techniques involved. Out of this change came also the move to consolidate the Community Activity programs in both Camps under one administrative head.

Throughout the "middle period" of the life of the Camp there existed a serious need for discussion groups - properly organized and conducted to enrich the evacuee

mind concerning Americans. Things that must be understood if final assimilation into outside communities is to take place. Such discussion groups were needed to reinforce the registration and segregation programs.

The Jerome movement necessitated several changes. A new group had to be assimilated. This was done by a series of welcomes and get-acquainted functions. Positions on the staff was filled by Jerome persons of talent and ability. The whole process was without serious incident.

During the post exclusion period activities which were to aid resettlement needed intensification. This was done but the reticence on the part of adults to participate minimized the value of many activities planned especially for adults.

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM UNITS

The Analyst and others have discussed program units and groups in detail and at length. Below is given only the irregularities of interest to the student. Absence of comment on an activity is sufficient to assume that its

operation was of standard quality and make-up.

The most important characteristic of Block Clubs is the tendency of the adult clubs to be Japanese Style and those of the youth groups to be American style. All these clubs varied greatly as to quality and size.

National Agency groups had several peculiarities in common. They had few contacts with similar chapters outside of Camp. Most of them conducted programs that were modified qualitatively compared to standard outside groups. Most, but not all, had volunteer leaders or advisors of an entirely different racial cultural, and religious background. All of them were comfortably financed. All of them had standard charters. All of them were governed by local Boards composed of both evacuee and appointed staff personnel. All of them had established quarters in recreation halls and some such facilities were used continuously. The Butte Y.W.C.A. probably had the best decorated and furnished room, the Canal Boy Scouts the poorest. Few were centrally located and their effectiveness was hurt immeasurably thereby.

In future experiences national agency groups should be given privileged space in order that their aims be realized.

The Y.M.C.A. experienced some difficulty convincing the Buddhists that it was not a religious organization. Its membership lagged for some time because of this. Later Buddhists entered membership lists freely. Evacuee secretarial leadership in the Y.M.C.A. has been of professional quality throughout the history of the Project. Three secretaries went into group work employment upon relocation. The early Boards were not significant. The efficacy of the secretary eliminated the need for an active Board. Upon the relocation of the strong secretaries the "Y" group realized the need for an active Board. They were effective for the duration of the Project. Membership in "Y" groups centered around the Hi-Y. There were three older clubs, one entirely of adult men.

The Y.W.C.A. had one very strong evacuee secretary in the beginning. She organized Girl Reserve Clubs of some number and quality. An effective Board was also instituted. Work-

ing Girls Chapters were also organized. The secretary relocated amongst the first. The Board was strong and helped the program survive a succession of weak secretaries. The last secretaries were better than average. The Y.W.'s work was thereby improved somewhat toward the end of the Project.

The Boy Scouts were organized as a District of the Catalina (Tucson) Council. A District Commissioner had officiated since the inception of the Project. Senior and Cub Scouting groups were chartered as well as Boy Scout Troops. In May, 1944, a District Committee was organized which administered the work to the end of the Project. One full troop was composed of Hawaiians. This group remained active to the last day of the Project (Hawaiians were moved on the last day) providing volunteer services and activities typical of Scout groups. This was valuable, even if accidental, for all other American style activities had been closed by August of 1945.

The Girl Scouts were organized as lone troops serving under a local committee, a somewhat irregular organizational procedure. Some Girl Scout troops were an immediate part of

the Butte High School, the girls getting school credit (summer school) for their scout work. In Canal the troops were sponsored by citizen groups. There was a tendency for senior Buddhist girls to gravitate to the Senior Girl Scout program which began to compete with the Girl Reserve program. The significance of this should not be overlooked in future experiments.

In general the Boy and Girl Scout groups provided the best Americanization work possible. The uniform and insignia and the recognitions provided enabled the youngsters to achieve status with outsiders in a manner not possible in any other groups. The groups conducted patriotic activities (scrap drives, etc.) designed to impress Camp residents were indignant at the troops at first and some pressure was reported to prevent such activities. As time went on, outside communities and scouts accepted our Scouts at par value. The last year of the Project Scouting increased proportionately on index of reaction and feeling.

The Camp Fire Girls never grew beyond one small group

attached to the Canal Elementary School. It is regretted that outside indifference (on the local level only) coupled with pressure from Girl Scout leaders on the Project (who wanted a monopoly) prevented this organization from doing effective work.

A number of organizations were unable to secure nationally recognized charters. Of these the "USO" group was most active. They put on quite a campaign to secure a charter but, although "USO" issued Certificates of Recognition to Committees in other relocation centers, Rivers was not recognized. A recreation hall was set aside in each Camp, furnished with GI furniture and staffed with a receptionist paid from the generous allowance issued by the local community chest. The group sponsored dancing parties for soldiers home on leave, and farewell parties for inductees about to leave. Drop in facilities were available but were seldom used.

The American Legion and similar veterans organizations refused to recognize the local group of about forty evacuee veterans of World War I. It remains an interesting commen-

tary on the evacuation that these men, citizens of this Republic, who had defended the nation and were, in some cases, decorated for valor, found themselves rounded up and evacuated "for military security reasons" and had their American Legion membership recognition withdrawn as well. The group maintained active monthly meetings and an excellent program. The Superintendent of Education headed the group. His report may detail the groups experience somewhat.

Recognition of the 4-H Clubs and the Future Farmers of America Chapters were similarly refused, even though some members of standing and prestige were evacuated. These programs did not survive.

The Red Cross also was not given chapter recognition but did achieve Unit status after the first membership (finance) campaign developed an astonishing backlog of funds which belonged in part to the regional office when recognition was extended.

In general, failure to secure national charters spelled the

death knell of most groups. The Founding Authority of another experiment should remember this and work out recognition relationships in advance. Experience on this Project suggests that this be worked out on the local level as well.

One type of group club needs identification here. The Kenginkai were social groups founded of persons coming from the same town (Ken) in Japan. Toward the end of the Project's life clubs of this type were forming of persons who came from the same town in California. Their activities were entirely social in nature.

The Gila Young People's Association (Seinan Kar) was a social phenomenon created by evacuation. Its activities and nature were of interest to the anthropologist and have been treated in some detail in the Analyst's reports.

RECREATION AND AMUSEMENTS

Athletics became almost the first community activity to be organized on the Project. Leagues were formed around block

clubs and included all major American sports. Baseball was especially well organized and deserved special notice. It is one of the nationally recognized games of Japan, and enjoyed a tremendous following from its inception because it was well understood by the Issei as well as the youngsters. From the nature of its organization and activity it is well to consider whether it should be classified as an American or a Japanese style activity. Play areas and sports fields continued to increase throughout the life of the Project. At the close of the last sports league there were as many basketball courts as there were teams. The same was true of softball. Women did not participate in sports to any extent. One basketball league and some badminton and table tennis activities were developed for girls. A few played tennis, none appeared on the golf courses and the country club was a male paradise. Efforts to encourage girls participation in other sports did not succeed. Cultural traits seemed deeply rooted - girls should stay at home. Minor sports were well organized. A tennis club and a country (golf) club existed in each Camp with well established boards and structures. The same is true of the

Japanese style sports judo and sumo. No American style wrestling and boxing ever developed. Lack of experienced players seemed more of a deterrent than lack of leadership.

Two major types of public entertainments served the community. One was movies, the other the Japanese drama groups. No other public entertainment developed. Nite clubs, bowling and pool activities, roller skating, and similar public entertainments did not develop.

The motion picture program presented was standard. A summary of the films presented appears in the Gila News records. The film titles were selected from recommendations of a jury of residents. Programs were presented once a week, one night in Canal, one in Butte showing the same program, but on different nights. At intervals programs were shown twice a week but this plan was not generally successful. Programs were presented to the entire population at the outdoor stages. This practice persisted throughout the winter months, the weather was not so inclement as to prevent attendance at any per-

formances. Showing movies indoors required several showings, the idea was abandoned after several tries. Spectators brought their own chairs. War Relocation Authority furnished the machine and the amplifier. The Recreation Association furnished the screen, the help, and paid for the film rentals. No admissions were ever charged. A type of pass-the-hat collection or an appeal for contributions usually provided enough to pay expenses of the rentals. The program operated without a break in service and could be followed elsewhere without change. It provided an excellent opportunity to dub in propaganda shorts on relocation, the war effort, and other 'educational' material. The audience accepted this without comment and with some interest. It is true that the tremendous crowds that always attended the movies each week provided an opportunity and a channel for direct communication and presentation of propaganda that should not be overlooked.

The Japanese theater (engeki) programs were usually presented once a month. A club (kai) in each Camp would prepare a program one month and present it the next month, once in each Camp. Actually this meant two performances a month. Programs consisted of shibui (drama) and musical

numbers using traditional instruments, usually as solos. Some singing of folk and classical songs was also presented, also usually in solo. There was little evidence of group singing. Some amateur hour (engei) type of acts were often included in the show. Thus the presentation was a two hour show starting with the unscheduled amateur acts, followed by solos of differing types, but material planned rehearsed and scheduled. The Entree was usually the play of the evening and presented at the end of the program. Some dancing was presented but this was usually incorporated into the drama in much the manner the chorus appeared in Greek drama. This is noted here inasmuch as this is not standard practice in dramatic presentations in the Orient but seemed to be a device developed on this Project. The student should be warned that the Japanese school of the drama (shibui) is divided into two groups, classical (kyugeki) and modern (shingeki). There seems to be considerable cultural cleavage between the two groups. The writer observed some friction between the two drama societies on this Project and was given to understand that this friction is universal. The reader should be cautious that such frictions do not disrupt the otherwise even tenor

of an artistic program. Note that American style drama promotion failed completely. The Nisei did not lend themselves to dramatic expression and after once or two abortive attempts to produce dramatic presentations the program was abandoned. Education was able to present one play a year of some pretense but the spirit of the play never entered the marrow of the youngsters as it did their parents. Amateur hour material would show up in dancing party floor shows but no public entertainments ever succeeded. Marionettes did enjoy some small successes, usually in conjunction with a program plan of some organized group. Because these did not involve face to face responsibilities with a live audience they usually were mildly successful.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Cultural activities in general were highly intensified due to the extended leisure of the resident group. This means that any activity will be conducted on a scale never conceivably possible outside. There were utai and samisen groups that held eight hour practice sessions. Sewing and needle skills groups held daily eight hour

sessions and were continually attended by large groups. Skills groups of any new kind commanded such attendances that special rules had to be instituted to prevent the sessions from being overrun. Other groups met less frequently. One such was the ballad and poetry clubs who met weekly in highly specialized artistic discussions. One such club did nothing but discuss and develop ballad poems of thirty-one syllable lines. This intensification did not extend to the youth groups. Their activities seemed to follow patterns more or less generally accepted on the outside. The Aero Club was one which attracted a highly interested following. Some of their contests and exhibits received credible notice.

Library services were standardized and followed library Bureau practice. Books were secured from discards and donors. The Co-op placed a number of books dealing with their work, purchased from their educational fund. The Maricopa County Free Library sent three thousand five hundred titles on deposit loan. A Japanese library was maintained by volunteers. Each owner of a book in Japanese who added his book to the shelf thereby became

a member and was entitled to draw books. When the Library closed the owners simply took their own books home. A library of Toys and Games was maintained for pre-school children. The original toys were donations. After the need of the library had been demonstrated community support carried it through.

A special type of social affair should be mentioned as it appears in no other documents. Persons leaving for the outside were always entitled to a social gesture known as a Farewell Party. Depending on the social standing of the departee the party ranged from an informal get-together at his home to a formal banquet with extensive entertainments. Friends would express their good will by leaving envelopes with money. At this Project most relocatees rode East on the 4:00 A.M. train. Because of this late (or early) hour most of the parties were planned to start late in the evening and last until the celebrants carried their friend to the waiting bus. Curiously, when the Greyhound Bus Service was instituted to serve relocatees going West to California, the parties changed texture considerably as

the buses left immediately after the evening meal. The value of these parties in directing the thinking of the participants toward their own relocation was perhaps overlooked by the Project. It remains that the Appointed Staff rarely attended such a party (they were always invited) and almost never went to the bus at 3:00 A.M. to see evacuees off. It is a point worthy of mention that any work done to glamourize the leave taking paid dividends in relocation.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The Analyst has dealt exhaustively of the religious groups on the Project. It is not necessary to amplify the remarks here. It is worth noting the organizational structure of the churches and their relationships.

The Buddhist Church had no co-ordinating Board. The fact that three principal sects (denominations) of the church were active, complicated dealing with them. Experience recommends that all church groups be required to present a federated operation agreement in similar situations.

The Christian Church (Protestant) was conducted by an

outside joint board of missions representing ten denominations. Inside a single church Board operated the four church buildings and their programs. This operation was highly successful. Some trouble was experienced with evangelists and proselyting in the interests of their denomination. This resulted in some friction and strict rules were established.

The Maryknoll Fathers (Catholic) had two small chapels and used visiting priests who came once a month to read mass and receive confessions. There were few Catholics and the plan was satisfactory.

The Seventh Day Adventists had a small active group led by an evacuee elder. They received occasional assistance from visiting speakers from Phoenix. The Church succeeded in an unusual relocation plan. The last six families remaining on the Project who were members of the Seventh Day Adventists were moved in a body to a medical farm operated by the church.

The only other religious group maintaining activities was

Siecho-no-ye (translation is difficult, probably "House of the Mind" or "Temple of the Soul") an oriental philosophical sect. The group appears to have Buddhist origins but the Buddhists disown their "Services" conducted once a week, which consist of philosophical studies and discussions. The group is quite harmless and was co-operative with the exception of two leaders who came from Jerome. Their long record of reactionary and unco-operative thinking caused some concern for a while.

FINANCE

It is well to repeat here that the Bureau of the Budget and others had little understanding of, and received less "education" on the values of the community activities program to the ultimate aims of the Authority. Examples are legion:- failure to provide for effective professional leadership of the program (the supervisor is the only civil service employee in the section), to provide for adequate supplies of major equipment (a third, critically needed movie projector was not secure until the end of the second year), adequate support of the on-going program with supplies at the beginning of the Project. True, some of these evils

were corrected later, but only after much damage had been done. It is patent that a more adequate support of this section's program at the beginning would have speeded up certain practices which aided the rehabilitation of the residents, and would, at the same time, have prevented the necessity of certain devices which attempted to provide substitute funding. The assumption that the resident group could finance all its leisure did not take into account the fact that there was no money in the community pocketbooks, more, that the only business house (the Co-op was a monopoly) was forbidden by bylaw to provide gratuitous subsidies to leisure programs.

A Community Chest did develop but it did little more than support a few youth serving groups. Some income producing events (baseball, engel, movies) existed but their income was usually returned to their own use.

Some of the national agency Chapters received subsidies (Y.M., Y.W., Protestant Church) but as many more (Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Gils, Y.B.A.) expected the

Project constituents to contribute to their support. This resulted in some groups having "money to burn" (the Y.M.C.A. never could spend all its allotment) and others surviving as best they could.

In general, financial practices in Community Activities were makeshift. If resident groups are to have treasuries on the Project, some War Relocation Authority official should have audit review authority and some veto powers to control the irregular financial practices that existed with some groups. In most cases outside agencies have no patience with the governments *laissez faire* policy on such things. Some changes should be made at this point.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SUPERVISOR

Relationships to volunteers were interesting. In a preponderant majority of the cases the volunteer was a member of the Appointed Staff. This meant that they were not of the same race, and often not the same religious background. Coupled with the usual unprofessional background of the volunteer, there arose continual problems that were unique to the Project's work. The observer should note that this

did provide an unusually large group of skilled volunteers but that the complications upset any normal predictions to be assumed concerning the use and supervision of volunteer leaders.

Excellent working relationships were developed with the Phoenix (nearest metropolitan area) representatives of national group work agencies and members of the public recreation profession as well. They provided liaison with chapters outside Camp for conferences and other joint projects. Similar cordial relationship were maintained with the Protestant churches (Catholic churches were forbidden by jurisdictional edict to serve the Camp). A word of caution to the observer may not be amiss here. Rivers is not in the same county as Phoenix. Tucson, twenty-five miles further away (and half the size) carried jurisdictional authority for all churches, group work agencies, public recreation advice (FSA-GWS) etc. Tucson, however, was in the "restricted area" into which evacuees could enter only with difficulty. Thus, although Phoenix was the obvious area to relate similar work on the Project, special care and arrangements had to be made to effect this.

Liaison was maintained on a more personal basis than might have been necessary had official channels existed.

SUMMARY

Any summarization is usually an over simplification. A summary here would be of value only to point out guide posts to future travelers. On this basis the writer pretends to omnipotence and suggest that on the following points fellow travelers should be especially wary:

1. Structural planning and the authority for it should be effected in advance of this operation.
2. The relationship of the supervisor to certain quasi-autonomous activities should be carefully defined.
3. The physical facilities should be planned by a professional engineer in this field of work.
4. The activities of the section should not be subject to much review and veto by local authorities who have no background for the work.

5. Financial patterns and practices should be outlined and required for independent community groups, - not just recommended.
6. The Creating Authority should be better informed on the values of leisure time work in order to better provide for the human values involved.