

K5.05

67/14.  
c



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
GILA RIVER PROJECT  
RIVERS, ARIZONA

*E. J. ...*  
*(21)*

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS REPORT

November 24, 1943

This report is on no one topic. The aim is to tell briefly what is known to date on a number of matters of interest. Practically all opinions given here must be considered as tentative and subject to further inquiry.

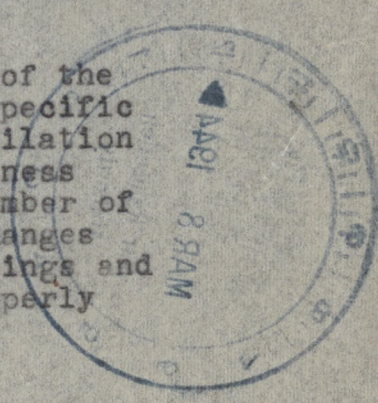
I. SEGREGATION

A full report on segregation is still not possible until certain statistics are available. For what it is worth, without a control group of the non-segregated, a statistical statement of the citizenship of segregants is appended. Further statistics are in preparation, but the value of some of them is doubtful. For example, it should soon be possible to give religious affiliations of the segregant as stated on the personal record sheets; but it is probable that a large number of evacuees made incorrect statements as to their religion. The Christian ministers state that only two Christian families were segregated, whereas preliminary statistics indicate that a much larger number of reported Christians were segregated. It is hoped that, when final statistics are given, some indication of the probability of error will be available.

A progress report on segregation was submitted on August 19. What happened between then and the departure of the final trainload on October 6 confirmed much that was stated in that report and accentuated certain factors.

At the beginning of September, the date of segregation from this center was changed; the original initial date, October 20, was moved forward to October 1, necessitating a speeding up of preparations.

One major problem was that final revision of the lists of segregants. While instructions were specific and the lists were, in the main, ready for compilation inevitably there were last minute changes. Illness involved not only removal of one name, but a number of family adjustments. More difficult were the changes necessitated by family loyalties, misunderstandings and changes of heart or mind which had not been properly







JOINTLY VOLUNTARILY RAN  
HONOLULU & KYJANA YINUNMO



recorded within the specified time. The number of these, relative to the total number leaving, was not large, yet they involved much work: hearings, revisions of lists, and family problems.

There were a number of applications for segregation based on the plea that applications for repatriation or expatriation had been made before the deadline, but had not been properly recorded. Inquiry showed that some of these pleas were valid. While others could not be proved false, the balance of evidence indicates that many were probably attempts at a change after the deadline. The interviews with some of these people showed neither loyalty to Japan nor to the United States, but the pettiest kind of opportunism. Changes were made because of friendship with someone going or staying, because of kinship ties, because it would be fun at Tule Lake, because of attachment to some women; all these in addition to other more pervasive factors such as fear of forced relocation and other fears indicated in other reports. It is not suggested that these straddlings and shifts were characteristic of the group as a whole, but there were enough such cases to give the impression that an appreciable minority were motivated by the pettiest of reasons in making their decisions.

The physical details, involving as it did the movement of nearly 2000 people, called for a great deal of organization. These were admirably handled by those in charge and by the various division and section heads in charge, but it should be noted that everything would not have worked as smoothly as it did if it had not been for the efficient and wholehearted cooperation of the evacuees. This applies to both groups, those remaining at the center and those being segregated.

The train crews were organized well in advance. Efficient train monitors, coach captains and other functionaries were selected and they themselves accepted the responsibility for the internal organization of each train; the general organizational scheme was given in the instructions, the segregants worked out the details. Thus the whole operation proceeded without any important hitch and without incident. Train commanders complimented the crews for efficiency and cleanliness.

This efficiency and cooperation was perhaps partly due to the desire of the segregants to make the move without trouble, but it was also the result of considerate



treatment by the administration. The departing group seem to have been convinced that every one had had a fair hearing, that care was given to problems of family and property, and that as much attention was paid to their satisfaction and comfort as regulations and circumstances permitted. They responded favorably, also, to real delegation of authority and the scope given to their own initiative.

## II. LEAVE CLEARANCE HEARINGS.

Leave clearance hearings provide some useful material for community analysis. The following opinions were arrived at as a result of sitting in on a number of hearings and an examination of a number of transcriptions of hearings.

(1) In a large number of stop-list cases, there is no loyalty to the U.S. in the positive sense of the term; as in the segregation interviews what is uncovered is family loyalties, family interests and self-interest. There is possibly loyalty in a negative sense. There is an absence of disloyalty, and it is highly improbable that the vast majority are potentially dangerous.

(2) A small minority are definitely loyal Americans who have been put on the stop-list for various reasons. Some responded negatively to the loyalty question as a protest and will not change from pride, obstinacy or continued resentment. These extreme cases are indications of the continued existence of deep-seated feelings of injury which evacuation, registration and other experiences have left, to a greater or less degree, in the majority of evacuees. It is truism that we are still dealing with a pathological community, but a fact of which it may be useful to remind ourselves.

(3) There still remain a number of individuals definitely loyal to Japan. These are mostly Kibei, but there are a few Nisei among them. The loyalty may have one or a number of basis. Some individuals are apparently products of indoctrination in the Japanese School system. Others are hopeless of a future in the United States. There are indications that a few have become pro-Japanese while in camp, under the influence of friends, but with these, other factors were probably contributing causes.

(4) A large number of those interviewed give an unfavorable impression, and the officials who deal with them are sometimes apt to extend this impression to the whole



community. It is, however, to be noted that a large number have been unwaveringly loyal from the beginning and that the waverers or the opportunists are not necessarily a sample of the evacuees as a whole.

### III. RELOCATION.

In the Community Analysis report on relocation, it was given as an opinion that after, at most, 2000 were relocated from this project, relocation would slow down almost to nothing. There is no direct evidence to cause a change of opinion, but there does seem to be a quickening of interest in the matter. It is introduced into many conversations. Some people still feel that it is almost impossibly difficult to start life anew, yet at the same time wonder if it can't be done in some way or other.

The Community Analysis staff has collected many letters and reports of those who have relocated. While the news is not invariably good, it is, on the whole, encouraging, and this may, in the long run, influence a number favorably. Those returning from seasonal leave have had varied experiences economically, but nearly all report good treatment by employers and communities. This may assist to remove some existent fears of discrimination. However, it is the opinion of our staff that there is as yet no sign that any fundamental change in attitude has taken place.

### IV. COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT.

The permanent community councils were elected as follows: Canal, September 14; Butte, September 28. The councils met for the first time in Canal on September 21 to take the oath of office and for the first regular meeting on September 28, and in Butte on October 4 to be sworn in, for the first regular meeting on October 11. Representation was nearly evenly divided between Issei and Nisei. The chairman for Canal is Mats Ando, former chairman of the temporary council. The chairman for Butte is Harry Miyake, an older Nisei, formerly central block manager.

The councils began with a mixture of assets and liabilities. The liabilities were relative inexperience in self-government, doubts as to the efficacy of the attempt, and widespread though not total indifference on the part of the community. The assets, which are now emerging, are willingness to learn and to work, and a good level of



ability among the elected representatives.

The relative indifference on the part of the public is caused by doubt as to whether the councils can accomplish anything. It is believed that the temporary councils were of relatively little importance and that the present council may similarly be able to do little. It is still believed that the council will fail to take any effective action on matters of importance or that, if it does, the administration will fail to implement its decisions. In brief, the council must convince the public by its actions and by its successes that it is not an empty form.

The council will probably waste a certain amount of time and make some mistakes because of inexperience in self-government. The relationship between committee work and legislative action is just beginning to be understood. A certain amount of time is consumed in argument over petty details. And there still remains some doubt on the part of the members as to the extent and reality of their powers.

On the other hand, the assets are far greater than was originally supposed. The amount of waste talk is not nearly so great as it might have been. Similarly, though members of the committees are still only learning, they seem to be learning effectively. Fact-finding, and reports and recommendations are undertaken ably and thoroughly. Considering the handicaps, the accomplishments are already surprisingly good. While the public still remains unconvinced the first step is already taken; a sufficient number of the members are convinced of the reality and importance of their responsibilities.

The councils are still a little shaky as to procedure. The chairman of the Butte council is somewhat aggressive, and apt to override forms and committees in his anxiety to get things done. He is also apt to intervene in matters beyond his jurisdiction in order to assert the powers of the council. But, from observation of several council meetings and one committee meeting, I venture the opinion that these irregularities will gradually become less and that the council will function effectively unless some conflict, not now foreseen, occurs to upset it. Unfortunately, no member of the community analysis staff was present at the first meeting of either council, but competent observers noted a very significant difference as between the first and second meetings. The first was characterized by doubt and diffidence. By the second meeting, members seem to have gained confidence, and work was undertaken with energy and decision.



Accounts of two council meetings are appended.

## V. COMMUNICATION.

Studies in communication between administration and people are not yet well advanced, but some tentative conclusions can be given.

The two standard means of communication are the "News-Courier" and the block managers. The former carries all important administrative announcements, seldom makes a serious mistake and is widely read. It is stated by some informants that all the Japanese-speaking Issei read the Japanese section. The block managers are not so useful as a medium of communication. While important administrative announcements are made to them as a group, they do not, and can not be expected to pass on all administrative announcements. There is no uniformity in the means they adopt to transmit the information. Some put up notices which may or may not be read. Others make announcements at block meetings. Others spread it haphazardly by word of mouth. And still others do not pass the word on at all. The "News-Courier" thus remains the most reliable organ of communication.

But in spite of the care exercised in its collection of news and announcements, the "News-Courier" fails to transmit administrative statements in such a way that there is no misunderstanding. This is not the fault of the editorial staff, or of those supervising it, but is a result of the kind of community this is. News becomes perverted or distorted because of rumor, uncertainty and suspicion. In other words, news becomes distorted or unheeded because people do not believe that they are being told all they should know, and because there are still fears of unpleasant happenings to come. These fears are thus the products of the community's experiences and will only recede to the extent that new experiences are reassuring. There are signs that fears are already decreasing. Rumors are fewer and of a less alarmist nature; but they still persist.

Studies now initiated may later show more precisely the degree of spread of a statement published in the "Courier."



## VI. HOSPITAL

One of the most difficult of hospital problem is the care of tuberculosis patients. The staff of the hospital know the basis all the difficulties and what is noted here merely confirms what they have found out.

Japanese, and a large proportion of Americans of Japanese ancestry fear tuberculosis because they believe it to be highly infectious, heritable and incurable. In Japan the susceptibility seems to be high. In this country, many families conceal it when possible. It is a disgrace to admit that a member of the family suffers from it. On occasion tuberculous individuals have been disowned by their families.

The hospital problem is to care adequately for the 57 tubercular patients. Not enough evacuees can be found willing to undertake the task and a number of nurses' aides have resigned rather than be assigned to the tuberculosis wards. The result is that the patients are not too well cared for and must do much for themselves what should be done by others.

Officials of the hospital and of the administration have brought the matter to the attention of groups in the community and a number of suggestions have been made. The most popular, according to our interviews, is that members of families of the patients assist in caring for them. As a permanent solution, the introduction of unskilled, part-time nurses is unlikely to appeal to the hospital staff. Others suggest that those assigned to the tuberculosis wards receive higher compensation. The only sources of money for such compensation are the camouflage fund and the profits of the Cooperative Enterprises. The camouflage fund has already been promised to the workers (though many Issei like to talk as though it were still available for community purposes) and the profits of Community Enterprises are distributed according to well-known principles. Moreover, if both funds were available, they could easily have been spent already, if all suggestions for their use had been accepted. All suggestions for care of tuberculosis patients seem to be avoidances of the main issue: not enough evacuees have been sufficiently educated in knowledge of an attitudes towards tuberculosis to find an adequate solution within the community.

There remains in the community a persistent fear of losing medical men. Various suggestions have been made to offer them inducements to stay. The hypothetically available funds (camouflage and cooperative) have been proposed for this, as for the tuberculosis situation. It has also been suggested that they relocate for a short period at Phoenix and the be



hired on a regular basis by the W.R.A. Those ingenious proposals neglect the difficulties, administrative and other, which would be involved; they are merely signs of the fears which always center around vital services in this community.

## VII. FOOD

Complaints about food were frequent in July, August, September and October. They are much less frequent now, but still occur. Since institutional feeding almost invariably causes complaint, it is necessary to go more specifically into the nature of the complaints. Whether the complaints are well-founded or ill-founded is, of course, outside the scope of community analysis.

Until the last month, the complaints were to the effect that the meals were insufficient in quantity and badly balanced. Starchy foods predominated, vegetables were not sufficient and, for long periods, meat was in only the most minute of quantities. During August a rumor got about that only thirty-two cents a day was being spent for evacuee meals. While this rumor did not get a large circulation, it angered those who heard it; they apparently had no difficulty in believing it. It was also said by some that the children were suffering from dietary insufficiency; this rumor came from the hospital.

By early in November complaints were fewer. Food was said to be greater in quantity and better balanced. Complaints still continue, but they have changed. While formerly they were general in nature, and extended to the whole community, now they are concerned with details and are confined to a few blocks.

Examples: (1) Many wonder whether the menus sent to Washington have much or any relationship to the meals served. Some say that they have seen the menus and that they do not, in fact coincide with the food served. (2) Members of one block claim that when they have a salad, they get no desert. They conclude that their supervisor is incompetent and the mess hall staff lazy. (3) Members of another block say that vegetables are frequently not cooked; they are given out raw to anyone who wants them and who has the facilities for cooking them. (4) There are complaints that second helpings are refused to young people, even when the extra food is available.

The current complaints thus suggest, at worst, that some mess hall staffs are inefficient, and do not make the best use of the foodstuffs issued them. It also appears that ways of making effective complaints are lacking. If they go to the supervisor, he refers them to the block committee, or



vice versa. It is also said that some evacuee employees in the office of mess operations do their best to stifle complaints.

Other evidence gives reason to believe that the mess-hall system may, in some blocks, be utilized in Issei-Nisei conflict situations. It has been given as an opinion (not yet verified) that the majority of the mess-hall staffs are dominated by the Issei, that the food is mostly prepared for Issei tastes, and that the wishes of the Nisei are disregarded. The case of Block 28, given in another section of this report, illustrates this point.

When people are mass-fed, with food not of their own choosing, grumbling may be normally expected. It is useful to keep track of the grumbling. If it increases, there is the possibility that it is really well grounded. If it is normal grumbling it is not an unhealthy sign, and may indicate social situations of some significance.

#### IX. NOTES ON THE FAMILY.

Interviews by members of this staff, segregation interviews and leave clearance hearings all provide materials for some preliminary notes on the Japanese and Japanese-American family.

The general picture, as was to be expected, is a composite of the Japanese and American family. Almost any variation may be found but, in the vast majority of cases, elements of both cultures are evident, the process of Americanization seldom being complete. At one end of the scale is a group almost purely Japanese; at the other end some almost purely American. These statements can best be illustrated more specifically by discussion of husband-wife relationships, parent-child relationships, family solidarity and kinship responsibility.

(1) The difference between the Japanese and American marriage relationship can be crudely indicated by noting the degree of equality between husband and wife. Since a large number of Japanese in this country are either farmers or come from peasant stock, the subordination of the wife was probably not carried to the extreme said to be characteristic of other classes in Japan; nevertheless the inferior position of the wife is startling in many Japanese families. At least in their relationships external to the family, the important decisions are made and carried out by the husband. This phenomenon is most clearly seen among the Kisei who have lived most of their lives in Japan, but it is evident



in the Issei as well. It may be seen superficially in the fact that the woman withdraws to the background when there are guests, manifesting her presence only when some service is to be performed. More profoundly, it can be seen in the making of decisions which will affect the whole course of life; choice of national loyalty, decisions on relocation and similar major matters.

This traditional pattern is modified with length of residence in this country, but, in the majority of cases, only slightly so for the Issei. The Nisei show more clearly the clash of cultural patterns.

Superficially, the Nisei woman enjoys a better position. In many families she does not withdraw from guests, and she speaks, and is spoken to as a social equal. This is not universal; the traditional pattern is sometimes imposed upon young married women, particularly those who have resided in rural districts; but it is sufficiently common to say that it is generally characteristic of Nisei marriages.

In more important concerns, the woman is still subordinate. This was shown in the cases arising from registration, and in the current leave clearance hearings. Only a small minority of young married women or engaged women made their own decisions; they either followed those of their husbands, or answered "yes" to question 28 because it was safe, and because they believed they would, in any case, accompany their husbands. There are signs that this attitude is in the process of being modified. A small, but still appreciable number of women made their own decisions, and a few still show signs of doing so. But equality, even the degree of equality attained by the majority of American married women is still not characteristic of the group as a whole.

(2) The parent-child relationship similarly shows elements of both cultures. In many families the children must conform to the same, or nearly the same ideas of obedience as would be the case in Japan. Those, of course, are the extreme. But even in the families partly Americanized unquestioning obedience is much more in evidence than is the case in American families. The evidence for this is of two kinds; observation and examination of case records already cited.

In a large number of families, children must ask permission for many of their comings and goings. Disobedience, particularly of an adolescent, is sharply rebuked. Many children, particularly girls, spend the evenings at home,



or go out only if accompanied by someone approved by the parents.

In making major decisions, the father has the final say. In cases of segregation, children almost invariably accompanied their parents. This applies not only to minor children, but to unmarried children of any age. But there are two possibilities to note in assessing this statement. In some cases parents accompanied a segregated child and it thus appeared that the child made the decision and his decision was accepted by the parents. On the other hand, a few cases, on inquiry, showed that while outwardly the parents acquiesced in the child's decision, the father still remained the authority, manipulating the child's decision to suit his own desires. The other possibility is that many decisions are made to maintain family solidarity, and it may be that some of these decisions are joint decisions, rather than authoritarian decisions. There are no statistical data for giving a more precise opinion. It can only be stated as an impression that in the majority of cases the authority of the father is final; that in a minority of cases family solidarity wins over parental authority; and that in an even smaller minority of cases parents and adult children make joint decisions on terms of equality.

(3) Family solidarity is shown in the strenuous efforts which are made to keep family groups together. This holds not only of the elementary family, but often (though not invariably) of larger kinship groupings. As noted above, adult children have difficulty in breaking loose from the family circle. Even after marriage, and even if parents are dead, brothers and sisters make attempts to keep together. The most complex segregation case on record involved the movement of seventeen additional people to Tule Lake to the end that brothers and sisters be not separated. Of course this should be looked at in terms of the situation. Segregation potentially meant separation of country and of allegiance and was quite different from relocation. It is simply relevant to note that family solidarity was conceived by so many as more important than national allegiance, choice of cultures and future residence.

Even in partings of lesser significance, as when a son is forced to choose whether to relocate or to stay on the project with his parents, family solidarity is a problem. While many Nisei now relocate, leaving their parents behind, many do not relocate because of parental objection to breaking up the family. This should be docketed as one of the



problems of speeding up relocation.

(4) The effective range of kinship obligations extends beyond the elementary family. It has been noted that siblings, even after marriage, and each with his own children, form a solid group. Further, a man will feel responsible, not only for his own parents but for those of his wife, if they are in need of assistance. There are also cases (there is not yet enough data to say how typical they are) where men look after aunts, uncles and other helpless kindred, and consider them as part of the family groups for which they are responsible.

In general, it may be said of the Japanese in America, that their family pattern of behavior is fundamentally Japanese. This is modified slightly in some cases, greatly in others. A minority are modified sufficiently to be called culturally American rather than Japanese.

It is possible that this modification would have continued unchecked, with the Nisei asserting a greater degree of individuality had it not been for evacuation. Evacuation threw them back into the Japanese culture. It is suggested as a more comprehensive hypothesis, that Japanese family behavior was less modified than that of other immigrant groups because of the relative segregation of the whole group before evacuation; and that living in relocation centers simply accentuated the segregation, and therefore accentuated the Japanese family pattern. In particular, family solidarity is maintained because so many other forms of social groupings have disappeared.

#### X. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

It has been found difficult to discover any significant system of social stratification among the evacuees. These notes are opinions based upon statements and observations made to date.

The Japanese immigrants were mostly of the lower classes; the bulk were peasantry. A small number of city people came over, but their position, in general, was little, if any, better than that of the peasants. It would be easy to find individual exceptions to these generalizations, but inquiry within this center only, seems to bear them out. Consequently, the system of social stratification current in Japan at the time of the bulk of the immigration did not have significant effects upon the Japanese in America.



One exceptional group is the Eta, of whom more will be said below.

As a result of this relative freedom from stratification, the esteem in which a Japanese was held depended upon his character and his achievements. Some failed to rise beyond the status of laborer. Others accumulated property, or achieved preferred occupations, and were respected accordingly. Whether this would have led (or will lead) to more systematic stratification can not be said; the present situation developed within a generation, and class lines have not had time to become fixed.

The Eta have always labored under a disadvantage, but not to the degree they would have labored in Japan. In many Japanese communities they mingled on terms of social equality with the other immigrants and their status only became serious when the question of marriage came up. According to some informants no one not of the Eta class would permit marriage between a member of his family and an Eta. According to other informants, this was true only of some families and some communities; as the Japanese-Americans became Americanized, the prejudice against the Eta disappeared, so that there are many cases of Eta intermarriages with non-Eta.

The question of marriage in general was a possible approach to this topic; Japanese families scrutinize prospective mates for their children before permitting marriage. But enquiries so far indicate only that they scrutinize the character of the individual and his family. The question of class limits itself to discovering whether the family is Eta or not, and that with the qualifications indicated above.

Studies of leadership in this community are not sufficiently advanced to report on leadership as such, but in relationship to social stratification a few remarks about them may be made. Most of the Japanese leaders are now in internment camps; consequently it is difficult to discover natural leadership by studies made in a relocation center. So far, leadership does not seem to be a function of class, nor class of leadership. Leaders within the center are persons sufficiently respected, by virtue of character, to have a following. The only other kinds of leader are, first, those who are sufficiently assertive, and secondly, those who achieve public office.

This does not exhaust the possibilities of studying social stratification and leadership. It merely suggests



that both, to the extent they exist, are more subtle and evasive than might be the case in other groups.

There is the possibility of a new stratification arising based upon education. University clubs were formed in some cities of California. Considering the age spread of the Nisei, this has had little time to develop or to crystallize; it seems to have little significance in a relocation center.

#### XI. A CONFLICT SITUATION

This month a conflict situation was revealed. It illustrates so well certain factors creating conflict in the project that it is reported in some little detail.

A letter was received by Internal Security, to the effect that jam was being misappropriated by individuals; in particular, that large quantities of it were being stored in a certain house in Block 28 (Butte). Enquiry confirmed the statement, but threw a different light upon it. The mess supervisor had heard that jam was to be rationed. He had used it sparingly and had accumulated quite a stock. When rationing began, he feared that the inspectors saw it; so he stored it in private quarters but, to show that no misappropriation was intended, he kept it on the inventory. When these facts were learned, it was ordered that proceedings stop (though the mess staff was warned that a private residence was not an appropriate place to store federal property) and the matter might have ended there but for enmities already in existence.

The mess crew were angry; their anger was not directed against the administration but against the informers. They specifically accused two individuals of informing; one was the leader of the baseball group, the other the husband of the former mess supervisor. This accusation was openly made at a block meeting.

Previous to October, the mess supervisor had been a woman. In the operation of the mess-hall she is said to have favored the baseball group. They got sandwiches and other material favors when games were being played, and "operated as though it were the mess-hall of the baseball group."

During the month of September she was unable to keep her mess-hall staff up to strength. At length it became so low in numbers that she was given a dead-line; if by a certain date, she was unable to recruit her staff up to



strength, she was to give way to another supervisor. She failed to get the required numbers, and resigned. The next day a new and complete staff, under a new supervisor took over.

One informant stated that he thought this accidental. Another thought the Issei were in revolt against the favors bestowed upon the ball-players. Another stated, as from positive knowledge, that it had been planned by a group who wanted employment; they had lost their jobs through reduction in internal employment, and created this opportunity. On balance, it is probable that both the latter two reasons had some weight. In any event there were now two well-marked groups, the outs and the ins. Consequently, when someone took a chance to discredit the ins, the ins blamed the leaders of the outs.

The accused neither acknowledged nor denied their guilt. This was taken by their accusers as an admission of guilt. Threats of violence were made or implied. The chairman of the community council, to whom the accused referred the matter, intervened personally. He was not able to take any official action, but was advised to call a meeting of his executive committee, and for that committee to announce that this was an American community, and that violence would be met with legal action.

So far, after over a week, nothing further has happened, outwardly at least. The accused are said to fear mass violence, even yet; but a number of informants think the danger of that has passed.

The incident (which is recounted only in part here) shows a typical tension between two groups in a block. The mess-hall staffs frequently form a compact group, serving the rest of the block, but at the same time exciting the hostility of the block, or of a faction within the block. It also shows a typical struggle between two groups, in which control of the mess-hall is the immediate goal of the struggle, but is also a means to another end, power.

It is also possible to read into it a particular case of Issei-Nisei conflict. This would not be permissible if it were not known from other evidence that this conflict exists. It is frequently disguised by the more immediate issues, but the struggle emerges. In the main, the mess-halls are controlled by the Issei. In this particular block, the control had lain for a period with a group



favorable to the Nisei; but the Issei managed, only recently, to assume control. The Issei-Nisei conflict situation, or tension, can not be further analysed without presentation of more data, not possible in this report. It is not an easy matter to disentangle, crossed as it is by family loyalties and by special interest groups.

## XII. MORALE

Evidences for the condition of morale in this community are contradictory. This is not surprising in view of the complexity of a community of this size and composition. There are variations as between age groups, and culture groups, and differences because of special experiences. Moreover, morale is not measurable, and might be said to be only an expression of opinion, or of a combination of opinions.

In the opinion of many parents interviewed, life in the center is bad for the morale of the children. They lose respect for their parents, for their elders and for their school teachers. They fail to learn manners. Living in one room, eating in a mess are all bad for their upbringing.

In the opinion of some observers, not parents, adolescent boys are losing their initiative. They are not interested in new activities and are lackadaisical in participation in all activities.

The opinion of the high school teachers is quite the reverse. All interviewed report greater interest in and attention to school work than was the case last year. This extends not only to the more formal activities but to all activities. They attribute this, in part, to the improvement in equipment and facilities at the schools.

The statements of the parents should also be checked by the observation that juvenile delinquency is still extremely low, and is not on the increase.

Morale is implicit in all significant activities. Relocation studies, for example, show that a large number of Issei fear to relocate: "I am too old to go out"; "I have too many children to go out"; "we fear prejudice (or discrimination) outside": these, and similar remarks, repeated many times, suggest in themselves a low morale. The possibility is suggested that parents project their own low morale upon their growing children.



The fear of relocation is most marked among the Issei, but is evident in a minority of the Nisei, the extreme cases being like that of the eighteen year old boy who specifically stated he wanted to go to Tule Lake so that he could stay "inside for the duration of the war. This attitude toward "inside and "outside" has a strong emotional tinge for many, and is a significant sign for low morale.

*C. a. letter*  
The suspicious attitude of many toward the W.R.A. might also be interpreted as an evidence of low morale. Even if it is granted that the WRA has made mistakes, it has not done everything wrongly. Yet some groups of evacuees suspect every act of the administration. This might almost be labeled group paranoia; their experiences have created a persecution complex. This is a particular aspect of low morale.

These remarks are not especially illuminating; I merely wished to make the point that morale is a label attached both to what is done, and to how it is done. The concept is useful, if somewhat abstract, but, to repeat what I have said, morale is only a matter of opinion, or of combined opinions. As a set of opinions compounded from various criteria, the following statements are ventured.

The morale of the younger generation is, on the whole, good. It is better than it was six months ago. A minority have low morale, as evidenced by their fears of going "outside" and they feel safe in the ease and simplicity of "inside."

The morale of the older generation is not as good as that of the younger generation. The fear of "outside" is greater. But their morale also is better than it was six months ago, as shown both by their quickening interest in relocation and by their slightly increasing interest in community activities. The morale of a minority of the older generation has probably deteriorated with the passage of time on the relocation center.

### XIII. COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

With relative freedom from other tasks, the community analysis section has been able to accumulate a useful collection of data and, more important, to develop new sources of information. But this applies mostly to Butte Community. Contacts with Canal are few and not yet very effective, and just enough information has been obtained to indicate that the two communities show definite differences, well worth further inquiry. It is hoped that, in the near future, an



assistant can be obtained to keep close touch with Canal; preferably, a resident of that community.

At present, the evacuee staff of the section consists of Seichi Oguchi, an Issei, Research Assistant; Takeshi Sakurai, a Nisei, graduate of U.C.L.A., classified as senior clerk, but also acting as Research Assistant; and two secretaries. There is thus room for one more employee, when a suitable one can be found.



GILA RIVER RELOCATION PROJECT  
CITIZENSHIP OF SEGREGATION

October 18, 1943

|                            | : MALES : | FEMALE : | TOTAL  |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------|--------|
| US Citizens, Mainland      | :         | :        | :      |
| 17 and under               | : 279     | : 254    | : 542  |
| 18 and over                | : 497     | : 268    | : 765  |
| Total US Citizens, Main-   | : 776     | : 531    | : 1307 |
| land :                     |           |          |        |
| US Citizens, Hawaii        | :         | :        | :      |
| 17 and under               | : 1       | : 1      | : 2    |
| 18 and over                | : 50      | : 20     | : 70   |
| Total US Citizens, Hawaii: | : 51      | : 21     | : 72   |
| Total US Citizens          | : 827     | : 552    | : 1379 |
| Japanese Citizens          | :         | :        | :      |
| 17 and under               | : 3       | : 1      | : 4    |
| 18 and over                | : 316     | : 216    | : 532  |
| TOTAL JAPANESE CITIZENS    | : 319     | : 217    | : 536  |
| TOTAL SEGREGATED           | : 1146    | : 769    | : 1915 |



# GILA RIVER RELOCATION PROJECT

## CITIZENSHIP OF SEGREGANTS

### SCHEDULE A- REPATRIATES

October 18, 1943

|                       | REPATRIATES |        |          | ACCOMPANYING |        |          | TOTAL |  |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------|----------|--------------|--------|----------|-------|--|
|                       | Male        | Female | SubTotal | Male         | Female | SubTotal |       |  |
| US Citizens, Mainland |             |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| 17 and under          | 122         | 97     | 219      | 14           | 14     | 28       | 247   |  |
| 18 and over           | 191         | 98     | 289      | 5            | 15     | 20       | 309   |  |
| Total                 |             |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| US Citizens, Mainland | 313         | 195    | 508      | 19           | 29     | 48       | 556   |  |
| US Citizens, Hawaii   |             |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| 17 and under          | none        |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| 18 and over           | 24          | 12     | 36       |              |        |          | 36    |  |
| Total                 |             |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| US Citizens           | 337         | 207    | 544      | 19           | 29     | 48       | 592   |  |
| Japanese Citizens     |             |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| 17 and under          | 1           | 1      | 2        |              |        |          | 2     |  |
| 18 and over           | 152         | 76     | 228      | 26           | 21     | 37       | 265   |  |
| Total                 |             |        |          |              |        |          |       |  |
| Japanese Citizens     | 153         | 77     | 230      | 16           | 21     | 37       | 267   |  |
| TOTAL REPATRIATES     | 490         | 284    | 774      | 35           | 50     | 85       | 859   |  |



CITIZENSHIP OF SEGREGANTS  
SCHEDULE B- NEGATIVE ANSWERS

|                       | NEGATIVE ANSWERS |        |          | ACCOMPANYING |        |          | TOTAL: |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------|----------|--------------|--------|----------|--------|
|                       | Male             | Female | SubTotal | Male         | Female | SubTotal |        |
| US Citizens, Mainland | :                | :      | :        | :            | :      | :        | :      |
| 17 and under          | 91               | 95     | 186      | 52           | 57     | 109      | 295    |
| 18 and over           | 267              | 90     | 357      | 34           | 65     | 99       | 456    |
| Total                 | -----            |        |          |              |        |          |        |
| US Citizens           | 358              | 185    | 543      | 86           | 122    | 208      | 751    |
| Mainland              | -----            |        |          |              |        |          |        |
| US Citizens, Hawaii   | :                | :      | :        | :            | :      | :        | :      |
| 17 and under          | 1                | 1      | 2        | :            | :      | :        | 2      |
| 18 and over           | 24               | 4      | 28       | 2            | 4      | 6        | 34     |
| Total                 | -----            |        |          |              |        |          |        |
| US Citizens           | 25               | 5      | 30       | 2            | 4      | 6        | 36     |
| Hawaii                | -----            |        |          |              |        |          |        |
| TOTAL US CITIZENS     | 383              | 190    | 573      | 88           | 126    | 214      | 787    |
| Japanese Citizens     | :                | :      | :        | :            | :      | :        | :      |
| 17 and under          | 2                | :      | 2        | :            | :      | :        | 2      |
| 18 and over           | 49               | 31     | 80       | 99           | 88     | 187      | 267    |
| Total Japanese        | -----            |        |          |              |        |          |        |
| Citizens              | 51               | 31     | 82       | 99           | 88     | 187      | 269    |
| TOTAL NEGATIVES AND   | 434              | 221    | 655      | 187          | 214    | 401      | 1056   |
| ACCOMPANYING          | -----            |        |          |              |        |          |        |



BUTTE COMMUNITY COUNCIL

Monday, November 22, 1943

The regular meeting of the Butte Community Council was called to order by Mr. Miyake at 1:45 o'clock. Roll call showed Messrs. Takeda, Murashige, Shimasake, Yamamoto and Takemoto absent. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved as read.

Mr. Lyston Black, new Personnel Head, Mr. Thomas I. Reynolds, Placement Officers, and Mr. Kat Ando, Canal Council Chairman were present as guests.

The Chairman asked for a report from the Health Commission and Mr. Kato stated that the plans for the Clean-Up Day were well under way and would be held on November 27, 1943

The special committee on the possibility of the "Sale of Beer" within the center was not yet ready to render their report.

Mr. Morimoto, Chairman of the Enterprise Commission reported on the regulation of private enterprise. He made the following recommendations. First, and intensive educational program. Second, the Co-op should conduct a study to find the needs of the people in the center in order to determine why certain private enterprises are now in existence. Third, advertise the service offered by the Co-op in order to eliminate duplicate private enterprise. The committee expressed its appreciation of the tolerant attitude that the Co-op has taken in the past toward certain instances of private enterprise, because of its inability to furnish adequate service. It was moved, seconded and carried unanimously to accept the Commission's report. The question rose as to whether the licensing Commission is empowered to issue license to each of these private enterprises there by making them legal was brought up at this time. It was moved, seconded and carried unanimously to postpone the matter until definite instruction is received from Washington.



Mr. Miyake turned the chair over to Mr. Fukushima in order to render the report of the Executive Board regarding the selection of the Judicial Commission and the Community Clerk. It was the recommendation of the Board that the Judicial Commission and the Clerk would be selected from outside the Council Body. The following were nominated by the Board for consideration. Doctors Iki, Yusa, and Yamamoto, and Messers. Shimizu, Hikida, Sakamoto and Ikenouye. Messers. Ernest Iwasaki and Frank Sakamoto were recommended as candidates for Community Clerk. A brief history of each candidate was given by Mr. Miyake. It was decided by general consent to cast ballot for the candidates and arrange them in order of the number of ballots received. The three receiving the greatest number of votes would be chosen. In the event that any of these would be unable to accept, the next in order would be asked to serve. Ballots showed the following order: Messers. Hikida and Shimizu, Doctors Yusa and Yamamoto, Mr. Ikenouye, Doctor Iki, and Mr. Sakamoto. Mr. Iwasaki was elected as

The soap committee suggested that the Council recommend to the Co-op to begin the manufacture of soap for the use of the community residents. It was moved, seconded and carried unanimously to accept the Committee's recommendation to have the Co-op manufacture soap and to sell at the lowest cost possible with the condition that when an Industry Commission is established in the Council set-up, the Industry will purchase from the Co-op whatever equipment is put in the soap manufacture.

Mr. Ikemura, Codification and Legislation Commissioner, presented each member with a copy of the new Code of Offenses. Each member was requested to study the New Code.

It was reported that since screening material was distributed to the center residents, considerable theft of lumber and hinges had been noted. The matter was referred to the Housing and Public Works Commissions for further investigation and report.

Mr. Miyake read a memorandum from Mr. Wolter recommending that members of the various commission should not be employed by or closely associated with the divisions or sections which the Commission represents. In this manner, prejudice would be eliminated and the Commission would be able to serve with the greatest impartiality and fairness. The chairman asked that the division Heads make the necessary changes in the Commission set-up.



Since there was no further business, it was moved, seconded, and carried unanimously to adjourn at 3:45 o'clock, to reconvene at 1:30 o'clock on November 29, 1943.

Respectfully submitted,

Verlin Y. Yamamoto  
Executive Secretary

VYY:jmm



NOTES ON BUTTE COMMUNITY COUNCIL MEETING

Monday, November 22, 1943

1. Discussion on clean-up day.

Mr. Ishizu: Who is to take the active part, the community Council, or the Block Managers?

Mr. Kato: It is everybody's program, but the Block Managers will supervise. The Council members will supervise the Block Managers. (Laughter)

Mr. Yamaguchi: How about workers?

Mr. Kato: Help your wife as much as you can.

Mr. Yamaguchi: I have no wife.

Mr. Kato: This is all voluntary. (More laughter)

2. Discussion on report of commission on licensing of private enterprise.

Mr. Kato: Speaking for Cooperative Enterprises, education is the best solution. The Council of Cooperative Enterprises doesn't like to put anyone on the spot. But, some people are making enormous profits. Can such a man be educated to sacrifice such large profits? Can the Council overlook such disregard of the WRA regulation? The Cooperative will aid in any educational plan.

Dr. Takahashi: Has the Council gone on record as approving private enterprise?

Mr. Miyake: It has neither approved nor disapproved.

Dr. Takahashi: Is private enterprise against the rule.

Mr. Kato: It must have the O.K. from Washington.

Dr. Takahashi: Then if Washinton gives approval, is it O.K.?

Mr. Miyake: It must have the O.K. of the council.

Dr. Takahashi: Can the Council give the O.K.?

Mr. Wolter: The Washinton WRA asked the Administra



tion to lay the matter before the Council. It has not stated the final policy.

Dr. Takahashi: We should first hear from Washington.

Mr. Wolter: The Council has asked for this responsibility. It can use it or not.

Dr. Takahashi: We should first hear from Washington.

Mr. Kato stated that private enterprise is prohibited. Mr. Wolter said it may be licensed.

Mr. Aratani: I agree with Dr. Takahashi. It is futile to do anything without a definitive statement from Washington.

After a report (in Japanese) by Mr. Kondo on a joint meeting of the Councils of Canal and of Butte of the committees on private enterprise, it moved by Mr. Kato that the matter be tabled indefinitely, pending further investigation.

Mr. Aratani: That means tabling pending instructions.

Mr. Kato: No, pending further investigation by the Committee.

Miyake: But maybe it will be work for nothing.

Mr. Kato: I will amend the motion as Mr Aratani suggests.

Motion Carried.

### 3. Discussion on candidates for Judicial Commission.

After Mr. Miyake had given very brief sketches of the background of the candidates, Mr. Kato arose.

Mr. Kato: I suggest that not more than one doctor or one CAS man be elected. (Mr. Hikida and Mr. Shimizu are both CAS; Doctors Iki and Yusa both hospital) Asked why, Mr. Kato said: If anything pertaining to the hospital or CAS turns up, it will be said they controlled the situation.

There was much discussion on this point, and how it could be dealt with. It was finally decided to leave it as a suggestion for the consideration of Council members.



4. Discussion on traffic legislation

Q: Does traffic legislation apply to appointed personnel?

A: Yes

It was explained that traffic in the past had been regulated by administrative instructions. Traffic legislation will be drawn up in the near future.

5. General Comments.

Parliamentary procedure is being gradually learned. On one occasion the chairman made a motion while he was acting as chairman. Discussions were conducted in a friendly spirit. It was sometimes difficult to tell whether Mr. Kato was speaking for Community Enterprises (of which he is secretary) or as a councillor. A number of minor issues were brought up for debate and not recorded, because it was decided they were not within the jurisdiction of the Council. The committee reports showed signs of conscientious work. The Council in general seemed to take its duties seriously and efficiently.



MINUTES  
COUNCIL MEETING\*\*CANAL

Date : Tuesday, November 23, 1943  
Time : 1:45 to 3:10 p.m.  
Place: Council Chambers, Canal Ad. Bldg.

The regular meeting of the Canal Community Council was called to order by Chairman Mats Ando. Roll call was made:

PRESENT: Mr. H. W. Wolter, Mr. T. Reynolds, Mr. Black, Mr. T. Sakurai, and all Councilmen.

Mr. Wolter introduced Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Black. He explained that the Relocation Division is a special division and that inside employment has been placed under administrative management. Mr. Black will be in charge of all employment of evacuee labor.

Mr. Reynolds expressed his appreciation of being allowed to attend the council meetings and asked for a copy of the minutes. The Chairman assured him that a copy of the minutes would be sent to him, together with a notice of when council meetings would be held here in Canal. Mr. Reynolds stated that he wished to maintain cordial relations with the Council and wanted the Council to give their ideas and complaints to him. Mr. Reynolds assured us of his cooperation.

Mr. Black spoke a few words to the council expressing his appreciation for the privilege of attending the council meetings. Mr. Huso is now acting Relocation Program Director, Mr. Black is in charge of inside employment, and Mr. Reynolds works together with him.

Judicial Commission

Together with the eight original candidates selected for the Judicial Commission at the last meeting, at this meeting three more candidates were suggested. With the relocation of one candidate the following ten are the candidates for the Judicial Commission:

Takato Hamai  
George Shigeru Nagamatsu  
Allen Aoyagi  
Harry H. Kono  
Hiroshi Sasaki

Shubei Terasaki  
Dick Masatoshi Seiki  
Teizo Yahanda  
Goro Maeda  
Robert Lorishige

Each candidate was found to possess sufficient knowledge of Japanese and English to carry out the duties of the Judicial Commission. It was moved, seconded, and passed that nominations for the Judicial Commission be closed. The position



of the Judicial Commission being a very important one, it was decided to spend another week on more closer study upon the quality and character of the candidates. A five-man committee headed by Mr. K. Kirihara and composed of Henry Yoshimi, Ben Fukuzawa, Masuzo Sano, and Ben Iida were selected by the Chairman to make a complete study and submit their recommendation at the next meeting.

#### Community Clerk

The Chairman appointed Henry Yoshimi as the Community Clerk. The Council approved his appointment.

#### Election Commission

Shigehisa Nakagaki reported on the Election Commission. Election will be held on December 14, which is the second Tuesday of the month. Names of candidates should be posted on the bulletin board at least two weeks prior to election. The chairman of the Election Commission would like each block to hold a meeting as soon as possible to have their candidates selected. Each councilman will please submit all names to S. Nakagaki. Also not more than 10 days before election all persons over 18 years of age should be registered. The Chairman of the Election Commission will ask the aid of the Block Managers.

#### Clean-up Day

Mr. Nakata reported that he had nothing to report yet. He will contact the Block Managers to enlist their help, but he felt that plans should be made after a day was set. However, the Chairman asked the Fire Department would like to have all loose boards and combustible materials cleaned out at the same time in order to eliminate the fire hazards.

#### Transportation

Henry Yoshimi reported that he had contacted Mr. Hanna about the two ambulances which are in the garage. There are not parts for these cars, and Mr. Hanna would like to have the cooperation of the community and have the ambulances used only for emergencies. Right now these ambulances have been used to deliver messages and for bus service. Mr. Hanna suggested that the ambulances be kept in front of the Wardens' Office where strict supervision can be kept over it and not at the hospital where it is used for everything. Internal Security feels that the ambulance situation is running quite smoothly now and does not feel that it is necessary to have the ambulances in front of the Wardens' Office. The matter was left alone for the present time.

#### Telephone-Operator

George Horuchi reported on the matter of telephone operators not being on duty all the time, especially during



meal time. The operators stated they were not told to stay all the time but are doing so now after having been informed. Mr. Horiuchi found that the operators on the swing shift (4 p.m. to 12 midnight) and on the graveyard shift (12 midnight to 8 a.m.) were high school girls. It was the general opinion of the Councilmen that it was not advisable to have young high school girls working during the night. The Chairman suggested that each councilman appear at the next block meeting in his block and inform the residents that young girls are working at nights as telephone operators. He felt that if the block people know this there would be older people who would do this important work.

#### Leave Clearance and Stop List

Mr. Wolter stated that there seems to be a misunderstanding as to what the stop list is and what leave clearance hearings are. There are 29 or 30 different reasons which may place a name on the stop list. Some are serious and some are not serious at all. After weighing all things concerned, a person is either recommended for leave clearance or recommended for segregation.

Committees that hear leave clearance have two very definite jobs. (1) If a person's record shows that there is a great deal of evidence that he is either politically or in any other way pro-Japanese then the committee must bring up the evidence which will hold in court to make this decision of denial of leave clearance valid. There is no way of taking citizenship away except by the person's own words or by act. If leave clearance is denied that is not the last step, he has a right to appeal to any court. On the other hand, if leave clearance is approved then the committee must have a docket which will clear the individual so that he can go out and say that he was investigated and he is cleared.

Mr. Wolter invited and encouraged the councilmen to attend any hearing they wished when they had the time. Mr. Wolter holds hearings in his office each Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, Friday, and Saturday afternoons between 1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

The meeting was adjourned by general consent at 3:10 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

George Horiuchi, Secretary  
Canal Community Council



November 23, 1943  
By Tek Sakurai

### Canal Community Council

The meeting was originally scheduled for 1:30 p.m. However, the meeting did not get under way until about twenty minutes later. At the starting time only a few Councilmen had appeared. The Chairman had misplaced some memorandum and had gone out in search of it.

As soon as the meeting was called to order, Messrs. Wolter, Reynolds, and Black interrupted the meeting and Mr. Black was introduced as the man in charge of all Internal Employment.

Following his introduction the body began work upon the selection of a Judicial Commission. A list of persons were presented to the Council with a very brief sketch regarding their personal history. Each of the persons had been presented to the Council by a member as in his estimation he was qualified to be on the judicial commission. When the chairman asked whether there were any questions no response.

The names of two persons were added to the list. Two of the Councilmen who work in the Canal Administration Building were late.

The chairman asked if the Council was ready to vote upon the 3 members of the Judiciary. An Issei stated that more time would be necessary to further investigate the qualifications of the candidates. A Nisei remarked that altho the candidates personal histories were given we should know more about their moral background. Another Issei who had not participated in any of the discussion was asked for his opinion. Surprisingly, he stated that he knew none of the ten suggested candidates. It was decided that a committee of 5 investigate and make recommendations to the Council as to which person would be preferable.

Mr. Wolter made an explanation of the Leave Clearance hearings in brief. He believed that the hearings were as fair as possible. He invited anyone of the Councilmen to listen in on the hearings if the so desired. Any criticisms or suggestions would be welcome. The meeting adjourned when no more new business was brought up.

The smaller body which governs Canal's Community makes for greater understanding between members and for informality. When some thing was voted upon, there seemed to be a greater feeling of agreement than the Butte Temporary Council. Much of the meeting was held in Japanese. On the whole the group was quiet. Only 4 or 5 members voiced their opinions. One man stated that he was merely there as a substitute for his block and felt that he had no voice what ever in the proceedings.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

*File  
General*

December 8, 1943

Mr. L. H. Bennett, Project Director  
Gila River Project  
Gila Rivers, Arizona

Dear Mr. Bennett:

I forward a Community Analysis report on various topics. The date on the body of the report is November 24th. The time since then has been used in composing and preparing the report for presentation. I make this note because it can be considered up-to-date only until the date on the body of the report.

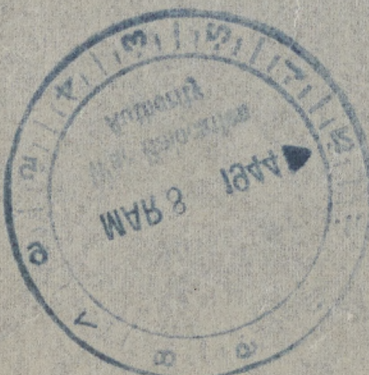
Yours sincerely,

G. Gordon Brown

Approved:

*Hugo W. Wolter*

H. W. Wolter







*[Handwritten signature]*  
100-104401

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU  
FROM THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU  
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

RE: [Illegible]

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION  
WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
GILA RIVER PROJECT  
RIVERS, ARIZONA

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS GENERAL REPORT

October 16, 1944

I. The State of the Center

The most notable fact to report is that the center is quiet. No issues of major concern to the bulk of residents have emerged, and there are no significant conflict situations. This condition could be changed by any announcement of policies unacceptable to the residents, or by other untoward incidents, but at present everything is peaceful.

There are many evidences that a large number of people are settling down here, for the winter at least. Some blocks have set up organizations to deal with long range policies, such as control of the juveniles. Other, more personal plans indicate intention of remaining. Appreciable numbers of people consider this an indefinitely continuing community of which they propose to remain a part.

One evidence of this is the slowing down of relocation. The average weekly rate for indefinite leaves from July 1 to September 18 was 78, whereas the weekly average of the remainder of September and the early part of October was only 44. There are indications that the rate will become still lower. It is true that settling down may not be the only cause; some are undoubtedly awaiting the announcement of the reopening of California. But, as indicated in a confidential community analysis report to the Project Director, this probably affects only 15% of the population.

Those settling down include those not permitted to leave, that is, those who are expecting segregation; those who feel themselves unable to resettle because of physical disability or large families; and those who prefer the safety of the centers to the hazards of relocation. There are other groups indicated in the confidential report.

Not all the population is included in the numbers of those settling down. Some are still restless; and some are still planning relocation if and when certain family



problems are solved, and as opportunity offers. But these constitute a minority, although not a negligible one.

Of the bulk of those settling down, their attitudes range from resignation to contentment. Many realize the limitations of center life but accept them as an inevitable consequence of the situation forced upon them by war. Others appreciate the peace and security of center life, and endeavor to enjoy it to the greatest possible extent.

Interviews suggest that the bulk of those expecting segregations are relatively content with the present state of affairs. They believe they have accomplished one of their principal objects, security. But, within that group there is an intensely dissatisfied minority who wish to join their fellows or their families at Tule Lake. They are continuing obstacles to the program of Americanization within the Center.

Though the Center is quiet, the attitudes created by evacuation are still in evidence. Resentment towards the WRA personnel was at the basis of the objections to a separate showing of movies for the appointed staff. The resentment here is apparently directed at the position of privilege enjoyed by the staff. It was suggested that this is a form of oppressing a minority within the Center; but remarks and interviews indicate only resentment at privilege. As noted in a previous report, these attitudes are focussed on WRA personnel because the WRA staff is at hand, and represents the America which caused evacuation.

While these attitudes exist, they are less strong and less widespread than they were a year ago. The relative harmony between Administration and evacuee continues and is at once a consequence of the lessening of resentment and at the same time contributes to decrease it still further.

## II. The Assimilation of the Jerome People.

The 2000 people from Jerome have become satisfactorily assimilated. That this was accomplished with so little friction has several causes.

First, the people had developed a resentment towards the Jerome administration. They blamed the administration for the very fact of closing. They resented being the center chosen, and thought that their own administration



had let them down. However unfair this was to the appointive staff of Jerome it served a good purpose at Gila, in that it predisposed them to accept the Gila administration.

A number of physical causes helped. The appearance of this community was relatively attractive. Some missed the greenness of Arkansas, but larger numbers appreciated the appearance of the barracks and the gardens. Fortunately, also, June was cooler than usual. The intense heat which the newcomers feared was not evident.

These, however, were only contributing causes. The main factor favoring assimilation was the very effective organization for preparations and welcome. In May, the Community Analyst went to Jerome accompanied by the chairman of the Butte Community Council and the Canal Central Block Manager. The arrival of the two evacuee representatives from Gila was frequently and favorably commented upon by the Jeromians, and their discussions did much to diminish the fears of intense heat, reptiles and dust storms. The housing was assigned at Jerome by a member of the Gila Welfare Section and, while some mistakes were made, the vast bulk of people knew their new addresses before they left Jerome. This compared favorably with the way the same problem was handled at another center.

Most important of all were the arrangements made for reception and welcome. Administration, community councils and block managers all cooperated in a well-integrated plan. The community councillors met the people at the train and rode in with them, each block having its own bus. There was a reception committee in each block; the people were immediately given refreshments and then moved into their apartments. The heartiness of the welcome was a pleasing surprise to the migrants.

Finally, the people from Jerome have their own representatives on the community councils pending the next elections, and feel they have channels for airing their specific grievances.

A few possible sources of friction developed. Although most of the housing was satisfactorily assigned there were a few errors. A few promised partitions were later than hoped. And supplies issued by the block managers were not immediately available in some blocks. In one block in particular this latter fact threatened a cleavage between new residents and old. These troubles



or annoyances affected only a minority and were gradually dealt with. The Jeromians have now settled down and become an integral part of the community.

This particular report is put in, even though late, because it is a useful demonstration of what can be done when administration and residents cooperate completely and without reservations.

### III. Hospital

Compared to the somewhat tense conditions which existed in relation to the hospital in the past, matters are now quiet. But there are a few tensions and grievances.

There are complaints on the part of many residents that attention is slow and unsatisfactory. This probably is inevitable. There are only four evacuee physicians and of these only two take full time responsibility. This slows up the progress of the morning clinic and necessitates a somewhat cursory attention to minor ailments. The community analyst section has heard no complaints of inattention to serious illnesses.

This critical attitude to the hospital is causing some minor friction in the community. A method of collecting money for gifts to doctors was finally arranged in July. While it is voluntary, there is much public pressure put upon the individual to make him pay, so that it has a definite social compulsion. Because of alleged decrease in the medical services many people are now either objecting to pay at all, or objecting to the amount asked. At the same time the majority believe that the contributions must be maintained to keep the few remaining medical men. The contributions also serve the purpose of reassuring the people that medical services will continue. These disagreements lead to a certain amount of bickering and the rise of small dissatisfied minorities in some of the blocks.

The situation with regard to the T.B. patients has been solved by putting the responsibility for their care upon their families. This was a solution strongly urged for many months by responsible evacuees. The medical and nursing staff objected on the grounds that it would be



contrary to their policies of educating the people concerning T.B., and would be particularly harmful to the training of the nurses' aides. Evacuee attitudes, however, remained unchanged. The social consequences of contact with T.B. penalized those who tried to cooperate. The hospital accepted the situation and the present solution is a demonstration of the strength of the Japanese attitude toward that disease.

#### IV. Mess.

For many months no serious friction has arisen with regard to mess operations. As a potential source of trouble, the fact that no trouble exists is worthy of record. There are, of course, inevitable complaints. These arise when one mess is compared to another; the variations are considerable, and reflect the relative efficiency of mess supervisors and cooks. It is said that complaints are particularly numerous among younger people. This is probably inevitable; mass feeding always produces complaints. It does not seem that either the quality or quantity of the food gives rise to serious complaints on the part of responsible people.

The mess is still objected to by many parents as the cause of bad manners and a cause of decreased authority of parents over children. But their objections are not strong enough to induce them to do anything about it. Some months ago the institution of family tables was proposed and widely discussed. Only a few blocks adopted the plan.

The manpower commission has ruled that males under 50 may not work in the mess unless they occupy certain key positions or have reasonable cause for consideration. Some leading evacuees have expressed the fear that disturbing the mess crews will lead to trouble, as it always has in the past. No such trouble has yet manifested itself but it is worth watching for.

#### V. Induction into the Armed Forces.

This center has fortunately had no serious trouble about army induction. This does not mean that it is viewed with unconcern. In families with men of draft age it is probably the matter of greatest concern. This opinion has been given the Community Analyst many times. Upon induction



frequently hinge plans for relocation, both of those to be inducted and of their families. It does not seem probable that there will be any trouble in the future, but it is of such significance to many that it deserves careful and continuous attention.

#### VI. Community Analysis Staff.

The community analyst was absent from July 29 to September 16. A few weeks previous to his departure, the Nisei research assistant was inducted into the army. The Issei research assistant relocated on July 29. Consequently, for seven weeks the full time staff of the section was reduced to one secretary. A community analysis board met once a week under the chairmanship of Mrs. Brown, but this is hardly a satisfactory substitute for a fully functioning section.

The present staff is as follows. The secretary still remains. One Issei, Mr. Hasegawa, works part time, by special arrangement with the Welfare Section where he is employed. One Issei lady, Mrs. Satow, was employed on October 10. She is the wife of a Christian minister, is well-educated and conscientious.

With such a small staff the analyst must depend more and more upon volunteer assistance. /This means more widespread sources of information but it means that results come in slowly. With the assistance of a number of the CAS staff, a teacher and other volunteer helpers, an enquiry is being made into juvenile and youth organization, both formal and informal. If promises are kept, sufficient information should be available to write a report in two more days. This is a hope, not a promise.