

to convert the newcomer by showering him with attention. It is interesting to note that during the last week of May and the beginning of June some of the J.A.C.L. men who had been ostracized for standing up and demanding their rights as citizens instead of cooperating came over to the Young Democrats and their friends. They were indeed welcomed by the milder element and the groups worked together to get some reforms within the camp.

The interaction between these groups is interesting to note. Personally, the members of all factions know each other and treat each other cordially, but it is well known that personal as well as group animosities exist. Name

*Sanford
Fisher
Carter
Gandy
Cahill*

calling is prevalent in Tanforan. Cliques tend to stay more among themselves and complain bitterly about the activities of others. Suspicion is rife, and everyone seems to be trying to boot-lick the administration no matter how much they may hate it. The more conservative elements are accused of being too Japanese while the others are considered "radical." Whispering campaigns are common, and in spite of the amicable "front" it is no secret that people do not like each other. In their competition for control each group feels that the camp and their cause is doomed if the other takes over.

These Nisei groups have varying relationships with the Issei. The J.A.C.L. has a tendency to be more sympathetic to the welfare of the Issei. Their leaders speak Japanese more fluently and have more Issei friends of influence. Even in their customs, the J.A.C.L. men are more "Japanese." This the others find objectionable and "fascistic." The "radical" elements dislike anything Japanese and react violently even before their own parents. Needless to say the older people dislike "radicals."³⁹

It is interesting also that with the exception of the "radical" element, all the Japanese in the camp accept without question their subordination to Caucasians. They feel that the great hakujin (white person) is right, although some hate Caucasians bitterly and call them keto (derogatory term for a Caucasian). Behind their backs all sorts of comments are made but before their faces, all Caucasians are given a higher place in status.⁴⁰ The "radical" elements alone demands equality and looks upon Caucasians as one of their kind. This subordination to the Caucasian may lead to serious problems of adjustment in the post-war period.

39. The dislike of the "radicals" by the Issei goes much further than just trivial family matters. During the period preceding the time when the immigrants came to America Prussianism was popular in Japan and since that time the immigrants have disliked anything that opposed Germany. Since the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 many tales of the terrible Russians have been spread and recently anti-Communist propaganda has been common in Japan. Since most Issei read only Japanese newspapers, they naturally took this attitude.

40. Caucasians had usually been employers before evacuation, and this may account for the outwardly meek attitude of an inwardly proud people.

One other of the many social groups in Tanforan that we might discuss

*Tanforan
"House
Managers"
C. J. M.*

is the house-managers' group. As we have already seen, this group is perhaps the most representative in the camp. There are men from all parts of the camp and from all areas of the Bay Region. There are J.A.C.L. men and "radicals"; there are Issei and Nisei; there are two women and over forty men. As far as background is concerned, they are indeed a motely group. Practically all religions are represented and the age runs from 19 to over 50 years. All members have a good speaking knowledge of English and usually of Japanese as well. Bilingualism is almost essential to a house manager.

Most of the house managers were men who were willing to take a responsible position and perform their work well. They as a whole were kind hearted and cooperative and were willing to work all night--as some did--if the residents got into trouble. When the low wages scales were announced no house-manager resigned in complaint; in fact, the wages paid had virtually nothing to do with his work. Some house managers were not humanitarian but had ulterior interests--political aspirations among other things--but they do perform their duties.

Most of the house managers are married and very few have children. The job takes up too much time for men with children. Perhaps the most important role taken by the house manager is in connection with the community organization. All house managers are required to attend meetings every morning--even Sundays if necessary--at 8:30 to get all the new announcements and to discuss problems common to the group.

Another faction is composed by those who tend to be more "intellectual."
This faction does not mix too much with the "radical" group and is composed largely of University graduates. Of the entire group, they are the most conservative and have amicable contacts with even the J.A.C.L. This group is much more cooperative and is willing to look at all sides of the question. They do not follow Marxian ideas even though they may be acquainted with his theory. To them, Marx is another social philosopher. This group mixes

Tanforan
"intellectual"
group

with the "radical" element largely because they share some views in common, especially in regard to civil liberties. This group is on good terms with most people personally although as a group they have sometimes been labeled "radical" by the J.A.C.L. Their contacts on the outside are many, for before evacuation they made many Caucasian friends. The one thing that all these factions have in common is that they dislike the rule of the J.A.C.L. "big five."

This entire group is not free from name-calling; in fact, they resort to labelling almost as much as the J.A.C.L. To them, anything they do not agree with is a "fascist element." The J.A.C.L. is fascist, the administration in Tanforan is fascist, the Army is fascist, the pressure groups are fascist, anyone they dislike is fascist. In fact, anyone who speaks Japanese may be labelled fascist. "Fascist" is in a sense of stereotype-- a person who is scheming to get himself into power. Anyone who had once said something favorable about Japan--or Japanese culture--is a fascist.

The solidarity of the group is not too firm. The members are not definite and come in and out of the group at will. There is a small nucleus of members, but the others, especially the more mild element is on good terms with the others but not always members. There is no strong in-group feeling except among the nucleus and there is no exclusiveness in the group.

This group may turn out to be a very important element in Tanforan. With the election coming soon the "radicals" are laying their plans and lining up their support. With so much dissatisfaction against the J.A.C.L. prevalent in Tanforan this group may well take advantage of the split and take more offices than most people expect. During the course of the war they may play a very significant role especially because of their numerous Caucasian contacts.

Another interesting group in Tanforan is the so-called "radical" element. The central core of this group is the Oakland Young Democrats, although there are many outsiders in the group--including some J.A.C.L. men. There are a few--one or two--actual Communist party line men, but they have thus far been inactive. The leadership has been taken by those who are "democratic" in the sense that they are violently anti-fascist. There are several factions in the group, each with its own ideas and each with its separate contacts on the outside.

Tanforan
"Radical"
League

The group is scattered throughout the camp, but they usually gather in a laundry room every night to cook something and to have their "bull sessions." Very few of these individuals are working in Tanforan, although some of them do hold important posts in the employment office and in the newspaper. Some of them are working in the educational department and some are working in recreation. Before coming to Tanforan they worked as W.P.A. workers, gardeners, and other occupations in the skilled class and some had "white collar" jobs. Most of the "radicals" are high school graduates who had educated themselves with their own reading. Most of the members are acquainted with the writings of Marx and Lenin although very few have the background to understand the literature they claim to read. By no means are they Marxian, and they usually use Marxian concepts to make fun of each other. There are a few brilliant college graduates in the group, but they are not the leaders. The New Republic is the fountain of knowledge for the milder elements while the New Masses or the People's World is the standby for those who are farther along in their thoughts.

Taken as a whole, the group is younger than the J.A.C.L. group, in

38. This is not to mean that the J.A.C.L. has any sympathy for Hitler; they probably hate him as much as any other American group.

fact the age runs between 20 to 25 years. On the whole, they seem to be more alert than the J.A.C.L. and are better acquainted with the basic issues involved in the war. Their interpretation of the evacuation is interesting. In the world today there is a struggle between the fascistic and the democratic forces. The conflict is not only international but it also exists within the United States. Democratic forces tried to hold off the evacuation, but the fascists in California pushed it through.

In language an interesting reaction has taken place. There is strong objection in the group to the use of Japanese phrases and idioms. Most of the members cannot speak Japanese anyway, and some, even if they can speak, refuse to address their parents in Japanese.

Upon arriving at Tanforan, they perhaps more than anyone else were maladjusted. They complained out the terrible conditions vociferously and demanded that things be done. However, they did not take the attitude that they should help the others who were doing their best to improve the conditions. They merely stood by, jeered the "suckers" who worked and seldom lent a hand. Their activities were usually restricted to complaining. When the wage scales were announced, many of them wrote to their friends in the unions outside. They refused to work for four cents an hour. Some went into work for contacts and to indoctrinate the "fools" who needed a "democratic" education.

Within the group the sexes mingle freely, and the mores concerning sex are not too strict. The group as a whole is "open-minded" on the matter of sex relations. Several of the members are married, but few have children. Weddings between members of the group had in the past been very simple and rituals were held at a minimum; in other words, the group did not think much of "bourgeois" conventions and rituals.

This group is not quite so exclusive as the J.A.C.L. inner clique. As a matter of fact, all new members are welcomed and everyone attempts

It might be well for us to discuss some of the social groups and cliques that have formed in the camp. The groups that we have chosen are by no means representative nor are they the most important ones in camp. They are the groups for which information was accessible.

The "inner clique" of the J.A.C.L. is an interesting group. It is well known that the J.A.C.L. has left or rather placed "key men" in each

Tan
"JACL clique"

of the many camps in order to maintain their power and control. In Tanforan there is a small group of "trusted" men who had been leaders in the Bay Region. These men meet secretly among themselves and what is planned at their meetings is not known to anyone but those attending.

The group is an exclusive one and even J.A.C.L. members are left out of the discussions. The general age level runs from about 25 to 35 years in age; younger men who have been active are in contact with these men but are left out of the deliberations. These men had in general been in the professional or trained field before evacuation, but in camp they held such posts as mess hall manager and camp dentist. Some did not work at all. Religiously, most of them are Christians, although Buddhists are not necessarily left out. English is used predominantly although most of these leaders have a fairly good speaking knowledge of Japanese; their conversations are sometimes interspersed with Japanese idioms and phrases. Actually, this group may be a very important factor in the political structure of the camp.

The group sticks to the J.A.C.L. party line, regardless of what their personal opinions may be. In regard to the evacuation, the J.A.C.L. had advocated the policy of "voluntary cooperation" at all costs, and in camp these men defend that view even though they are shown to be wrong in that respect. Many, no doubt, realize some of their errors, for when they were asked to defend their view before the Town Hall, they accused the Town Hall committee of attempting to crucify the J.A.C.L. If they had nothing to hide, they would probably have been glad to present their views.

In general, this group has a tendency to be super-patriotic, although their patriotism consists largely of supporting flag raising ceremonies and advocating the singing of national anthems. As far as their own practices go, there is no semblance of democratic rule in the group.

It is interesting to note the reaction of the group to persons whom

they do not know. If they find someone unusually active who might threaten their hold, they first suspect him of being a member of the Oakland Young Democrats group and usually suspect him of being a "red hot." Thus far, this group has been fairly inactive and have not resorted to red-baiting as they did when they were in San Francisco before evacuation.

In general it can be said that the men are fairly intelligent, and no doubt better informed than the average man in the camp. Perhaps the fact that they are in constant touch with the national headquarters may account for some of their knowledge. In keeping with their policy of voluntary cooperation, these men on the whole have been very cooperative with the camp administration and have made a fairly good adjustment to camp life.

The social morphology of Tanforan is somewhat different from that which existed in the San Francisco Bay Region. Cliques that had been well organized remained and many groups formed on the basis of former acquaintances, but there were many new groups and an entirely different status for the individuals in many instances.

Tanforan
Social
Organized

The relative status of the younger men rose, for those who were older were not of much use in the camp. Among the more conservative elements, especially those who were inclined to be more "Japanesey" in their ways, a respect for the opinion of the older remained, but among those who had become considerably Americanized a demand rose that younger and new people take over the responsible posts. The house-managers were as a rule very young, and many of the older individuals objected.

New social groups arose. Those who lived together in the same barrack often formed informal gatherings after they got to know each other; they sat together in the mess halls, and conversed with each other in preference to others. Those in the administrative and the maintenance crews who worked together tended to band together to form groups. They had common

responsibilities and they had to work together to get things done. They began to form very definite cliques as the month went on.

The various religious groups maintained their identity and within each group the cliques that had existed before continued to exist. Those from one church tended to stick with those from the same congregation, and were more distant to those of the same denomination that came from a different section of the Bay Region.

The family as usual remained one of the basic social groups in the camp. Without question it is the most stable of the groups in spite of the many conflicts that may arise. The greatest unity here seems to be in those families which have not been very Americanized. In these groups the children seem to accept the rule of their parents, who apparently cannot adjust themselves to the situation where their status is lower than that of their children.

In spite of the new groups that have begun to form, without question the most significant groups are the cliques that had formed before the group was evacuated and which are now perpetuated in Tanforan. The boys in the various athletic clubs throughout the Bay Region tend to band together and to work together in the same crews. The Bay Region J.A.C.L. leaders form a select clique of their own as do the so-called "radical" element. The only group that forms a very definite clique that threatens the others in their quest for prestige and power is the house-managers group, which is a composite of several former group members.³⁰

Among the younger Nisei element, there are cliques of girls who had always "gone around" together, cliques of boys who had played together on various athletic teams. Within each of the larger groups there are factions, and it would be difficult to see the complex organization of these groups in such a short period of time.

30. The treatment of stratification here is obviously inadequate; some of these groups will be treated in more detail below.

There are now some general ways that are observed in Tanforan that are of sufficient uniformity that they can almost be classified as folkways. Some of these ways have been necessitated by rules and regulations set down by the administration. Others are a reaction to problems that were unexpected.

In regard to visitors, having Caucasian friends bring things in to the residents became a vogue after a few weeks had passed. Those who had seldom had contacts with non-Japanese frantically wrote to those whom they knew to ask them to bring things to them. Partly this action was caused by the lack of facilities within the camps, but some had to do this to maintain their pride and prestige. During the ten days between May 14 to 24, 1135 visitors came to Tanforan.³¹ The visitors were asked to wait in the reception room until their friends were summoned by a messenger boy and in the room and in the adjoining balcony they discussed the terrible conditions of the camp. As the month went by the number of visitors increased to such a number that special regulations had to be put into effect.

The visitors usually brought food more than any other item. There were a predominance of Italians, Chinese, Filipinos, and Negroes among these individuals. Quite often educators and religious people came in to see their friends. Besides food they sometimes brought such items as ironing boards, brooms, wash tubs, toilet paper, coca cola, soap. These items are indicative of the conditions in the camp.

The conversations seemed to center around the gripes about the camp. There were curious questions asked by the visitors and the residents with an air of knowing everything about the camp very patiently answered them and spread rumors.

31. Tanforan Totalizer, May 30, 1942.

While having visitors cannot be called a folkway, it has in a sense almost become an institution in Tanforan. The pride with which individuals show off and compare the caliber of their visitors is very interesting to note.³²

Certain ways in the mess halls are observed. First of all, the people usually come on time to eat or else they come early and stand inline. This practice was begun early in the month when some individuals were not given anything to eat when they showed up in time. Lines formerly formed in front of the main mess halls almost one hour before the eating time, and now, even if there is plenty of food, many people come early.

In the outlying mess halls, most individuals bring their own plates, cups and utensils. Almost everyone eats with forks or tablespoons and very seldom can anyone be seen eating with chopsticks. No doubt the fact that Tanforan has an urban population has much to do with this lack of chopsticks. Once the groups are seated at the table there is not much conversation unless the people know each other intimately. Otherwise, the group that came together mumbles a few words and eats as fast as possible to get out or to get a second helping if there is anything left. Since many people do not know how to eat correctly with knives and forks the sight is pitiful, but most of the people manage in some way or another. Quite often the older people use the tablespoon to eat with and the fork to shove food on the tablespoon. They, however, are not the only ones who do not know how to eat correctly. The language used at the table is usually Japanese although the Nisei sometimes prefer to use English. Among the more radical elements, which usually sits together, American ways and the

32. Perhaps the tacitly accepted subordination to the Caucasian can explain this attitude and reaction. Many of the "Japanesey" individuals think of having Caucasians speak to them as an unusual occurrence. To them, all Caucasians are supercilious. Therefore, if any Caucasian should be friendly enough to take the trouble to come to Tanforan, then they feel very honored.

Young girls in their 'teens and a bit older usually wear their flats and everyday dresses. Sheersucker dresses are rather common in Tanforan. Sometimes Issei can be seen walking about in kimonos, but this is not too common.

It is in this setting that the evacuees in Tanforan live their everyday lives. To some it is filled with excitement and new happenings; to others it is nothing more than a boresome routine. Those who work have so much to do that they seldom have time for other things.

English language is stressed.

Families usually sit together but the conflict between the children that would ordinarily occur at home do not come out so often in the mess halls. No doubt the fact that so many different people are present makes the difference. No one dresses up to eat, in fact, most people do not even wash their faces or hands.

In the latrines and showers certain uniform behavior patterns are cropping up. The women with very few exceptions revolted to the idea of mass toilets. Near the hospital there was one latrine for women in which there was only one bowl, and the women preferred to wait in line for twenty minutes to go to that one than to go into the regular latrines with eight or sixteen bowls in a row. Toward the end of the month, the women put up dish towels and tore off the doors in the horse stalls to make their own partitions.

In the shower rooms the men undressed in the washing room and left their clothes there while they went into the showers in the next room, but the women apparently could not think of such a crude procedure. The showers facing the door were always vacant; while those on the other side were always full. The women preferred to go there and undress even at the risk of getting their clothes soaked wet. Some of the older people preferred to take baths in the laundry rooms in the presence of others in the laundry bowls.

All sorts of clothes are worn in Tanforan, but usually the young boys wear jeans, while many of the girls go around in slacks. Very few women wear high heel shoes although some of them do on Sundays or when they have visitors. Some men also wear their suits on such occasions, but such formal dress is very uncommon in Tanforan. There are some very proud Issei who always wear a coat and hat when they go out, but they are very scarce.

Tanforan
Ranch

Spending leisure time ^{was} is a major problem in Tanforan. All those who ^{was} ~~are~~ not working had very little to do all day; while those who ~~do~~ worked have no where to go or nothing to do when they ^{was} ~~are~~ off duty. Some spend their time gossiping; others visit ^{ed} their friends; some walk ^{ed} around the yard; while still others ^{lay} lie on the grass. Reading books that individuals had brought along is one pastime; some spend much time reading the Bible or some book that a friend had brought along. Many of the older people who had worked hard all their lives are bored with their uneventful life and complain that they have nothing to do.

One 59-year old woman, a Seventh Day Adventist spends her average day in the following routine. She rises early in the morning and does her daily wash before going to breakfast. After breakfast she reads her Bible for an hour and then visits her neighbors. After the sun comes up she goes across the street and sits on the grass across from her barrack until lunch and chats with her friends. At lunch she sits with her next door neighbors one of whom brings some Japanese delicacies to eat with the regular food. After lunch, while her husband cleans up the yard, she once again either sits on the grass or stays at home and reads some Japanese scriptures. After supper she retires early. Thus we find that except for Saturday, her sabbath, her days are rather uneventful. She has very few friends on the outside and has visitors very seldom. This perhaps is an unusual case when considering the camp as a whole, but among the older people it is not too uncommon.

In such a place a well organized recreation program is indispensable. As we have already seen the recreational program was well planned and perhaps is one of the best departments in the camp. Quite often one sees groups of boys or girls of approximately the same age playing softball in the track under the supervision of one older person--usually a college graduate.

There are many spontaneous groups that form, however, when one person brings out some equipment. It is interesting to note the change of rules in softball games that have been caused by the nature of the restricted facilities. In the large grounds in the infield all of the regular rules hold, but in the track special rules have been made. If a ball is hit outside the fence it is a foul ball regardless of what direction it had been hit; in other words one could hit a home run and get nowhere. Similar changes have been made in regard to other rules.

The age-groups one finds in the track vary all the way from young children from 4 or 5 years of age to those over 25. All young people with interest, even young mothers, sometimes play. The general recreational set-up is good, but it is as yet far from adequate to meet the needs of the camp--especially the needs of the older people.

One other very important feature of the camp cannot be ignored--the mess halls and the diets. For the first week and a half all evacuees had to eat in the main mess hall, a huge room over 150 yards long with rows upon rows of tables. Here they were served, in cafeteria style (with no choice of food naturally), lima beans, canned food, cold tea, stale bread, and sometimes jello. The food was not fit for human consumption, and many refused to eat. However, gradually one by one the outlying mess halls opened up and there the food became a bit more decent.

Some of the outlying mess halls opened relatively soon because of the initiative of the people living there. Some interested worker with the cooperation of the various house-managers in the vicinity could organize a crew and started a kitchen. Since everyone was disgusted with the food in the main kitchen most people gladly chipped in and helped. The mess manager did all the organizing and directing of the kitchen--except in regard to the actual cooking. The chief cook was directly responsible to the Caucasian director of the cooking.

The first man in charge of the mess apparently was more incompetent than many people thought. He came to Tanforan highly recommended and before anyone could stop him, he sent in all the requisitions for the food for

Mess Halls

the months of May and June to the Army Quartermasters Corps. The main apparently knew absolutely nothing about the Japanese diet and soon there were complaints concerning the nature of the food served as well as on the filth and the poor cooking. The man apparently did not know that rice and fish were enjoyed by many of the older Japanese and order such items as chili con carne and sauerkraut instead. Needless to say he was replaced before long by Mr. Faugherty a much more competent man. Mr. Faugherty did his best to change the orders and to get more bulk for his predecessor had not ordered enough food to serve almost 8,000 people. The residents of Tanforan were told, however, that they would have to wait until July if they want better food for the orders were already in.

When the new kitchens opened, however, meat and fresh vegetables once or twice a week became possible and in comparison to what had formerly been served it was so good that the complaints died down.

Various problems arose in connection with the kitchens. First of all, the Japanese had never been too strict about time. However, they learned in Tanforan before long that if they didn't arrive at the mess hall in time they just simply did not eat. It is surprising how promptly they arrived; in fact, at the main mess hall the lines formed at 4:15 for a 5 o'clock meal. Just as in anything else in Tanforan, people had to stand in lines to get their food. Only two of the kitchens served food family style and these were in the disfavor of the administration for disobeying orders. However, those eating in the kitchens agree that family style is the best for people do not have to stand in line in the cold wind three times a day.

As the various kitchens opened, none of them had an adequate supply of food except one--whose manager was a friend of the director of the commissary. Since this was the case, many young men roamed from one kitchen to another eating two or three times to get their full. In order to stop this, since others were not getting enough either, house managers had to

stand at the doors to make sure that no one who did not belong at a particular kitchen ate there. Finally, after much red-tape, tickets of different colors were issued and each kitchen admitted only those with tickets of a certain color.

When it was found that each kitchen had to feed more people than it had room for, the serving had to be made in shifts. The first shift ate at 7 a.m., 12 m., and 5 p.m.; while the second shift ate 45 minutes later. Complaints came from those who were not too strict on time that the Nisei were too fresh in imposing such stringent rules. Furthermore, it was objected that the second shift got more food than the first because they were given anything that was left. Actually this complaint was not justified but to calm the populace some kitchens shifted the hours weekly. Those who were in the first shift during one week were put in the second shift on the following week.

Another problem that arose in connection with the kitchens was in connection with the cooking of rice. The steel bowls with the Army had provided the cooks were not suitable for boiling rice. The only type of bowl in which rice could be cooked in large quantity were the bowls used by the Chinese. Many Japanese organizations represented in the camp owned such bowls and offered to donate them to the administration, but the red tape once again held up the matter. Three weeks have passed and the matter is still unsettled, and the people are still eating untasty rice.

Without question of the factors conditioning morale, food is one of the most important. The meal served during the day often determines the way a person feels throughout the day. The food for the first week was without doubt not fit for ordinary human consumption. Furthermore the kitchen was filthy and one could see leftover food still on the supposedly washed dishes and utensils. If an individual brought his own things there was nowhere to wash them when he finished eating. However, as the new kitchen

opened, food improved and cleanliness also began to prevail. The following is an analysis of the food served in kitchen number 8, one of the best in the Center.

The following menus have been taken at random from those of kitchen 8 from May 5 to 25. On May 5, for lunch the residents were served miso soup (a Japanese soup), chili con carne, stewed corn, and jello. There was bread and cocoa for all and milk for children under seven years of age only. Breakfast for May 10 consisted of dried prunes, oatmeal, creamed salmon, bread, jam, and coffee, with milk for small children. Dinner on May 15 consisted of spiced beef salad, sukuyaki (Japanese stew), stewed prunes, rice, bread and tea. On May 20, potato salad, cold ham, vanilla cornstarch pudding, bread, and tea were served. Breakfast on May 25 consisted of one half an orange, hot cereal, toast, jam, and coffee. Throughout the month, milk was given only to children under seven. However, since there were many instances of theft (one woman took a thermos bottle full of it for herself) sometimes the children had to do without. Older children could not get milk without a doctor's order certifying that the individual's health would be ruined without it. Other than the children under seven only the diabetic, the pregnant, those with ulcers or tuberculosis (if certified by the staff doctor) can get milk.

Looking over all the menus for the twenty days in question we notice many deficiencies and shortcomings. To begin with the menus are planned only one day ahead of time and there is poor selection and not enough variety. Among the foodstuffs that are deficient are milk, butter (there is absolutely no butter or any substitute on the table), and eggs.

More specifically, there are deficiencies in specific nutrients. The content of calories is very low because there are very few fats and sweets; most people make this up by eating purchased candies or other things brought

in by their friends. The amount of proteins is probably sufficient because of the supply of meat, beans, and fish. The protein is not of good quality for easy digestion, and there are no cheeses and very little eggs. Probably there is not enough for growing children.

The supply of calcium is very deficient for those who do not get milk, for there is no substitute for milk offered. In iron there is a slight deficiency for young children and adults and a great deficiency for growing children and pregnant women. Rolled oats, beans, prunes, meats and some vegetables are good sources but they are not sufficiently rich. Not enough liver or eggs are served.

In vitamins there is a deficiency of Vitamin A because there is no butter. Carrots have vitamin A but it is cooked in water and since the vitamin is soluble, much of it is wasted. Only in stew is it preserved.

There is a deficiency in Vitamin B₁ (thiamin) because white bread is served instead of brown bread. Furthermore there are no whole grain cereals except rolled oats, nor is pork served. Vitamin B (riboflavin) is also deficient because there is no milk, not much eggs, and not enough spinach.

There is a heavy deficiency of Vitamin C because only small portions of citrus fruits are served occasionally. This may account for the fact that so many people seem to have perpetual colds in Tanforan. Furthermore, the vegetables are cooked too much or left to oxidize.

Certain changes have been made that may make the nutritive value of the diet even worse. Now that more white rice is being served after Issai complained and the supply of potatoes has been cut down, there will probably be more deficiency in all the nutrients. The use of miso for soup instead of vegetables will probably cause a deficiency in minerals and soluble vitamins since miso has very little food value.

Perhaps one of the best organized sections in the Service Division was the recreation department. Under the direction of Mr. LeRoy Thompson, formerly recreational director of the W.P.A. in Solano County, a very ambitious group of Nisei organized a very comprehensive program mapped to cater to the needs of people of all age groups. Indeed the recreation division's activities touched almost everyone in camp in one way or another.

Early in May several Nisei who had been interested in recreational work, which without doubt was needed since many people had nothing to do, got together and planned some program. However, when Mr. Thompson came in, some changes had to be made because there were others in the camp who had had actual experience in such work who were much better qualified. Some of the men in the former nucleus and the new men formed the basis for the entire program. The general policy was to run the system on a community center basis with geographical units and not the number of people as the units. In Tanforan, seven districts were mapped out and the key men selected some person in each to act as the community center recreational director.

Among the activities fostered by this department were: the pre-school nursery under the direction of two Mills College graduates who had specialized in child training; a music program including training and presen-

11. Tanforan Totalizer, May 23, 1942.

Tanforan
Recreation
Shelley

tation; an artists group under the direction of a University of California instructor in art; weekly dances; talent shows weekly; a library in the middle of the field; and various community activities in sports including ping-pong, softball, bridge, social dancing classes, badmington, volley ball. In some centers boys' clubs, a girl's group, and teams to play have been organized.

The equipment for the program have come from several sources. The W.S.C.A. provided six buildings and some equipment. Many items were contributed by the Y.M.C.A., and some came from the American Friends Service Committee. Others sources included the Buddhist Church and some Christian groups and several individual donations were made. Another source was the Oakland J.A.C.L. which is supposed to have contributed \$100.

In sports softball seems to be taking the spotlight. In order to counteract the tendency for children to break into small cliques, it was decided that in each of the seven centers teams will be selected for the various age-groups to play in an intra-community tournament. Then all-star teams could be selected in each section to compete in a campwide playoff. Furthermore, a Twilight League has been organized to meet the needs of those who work all day. Works crews could organized their own teams and play against each other for the camp championship. It is believed that this general pattern would be followed in all competitive sports.

The music and the art program are organized somewhat along similar patterns; they include both presentation to the public and training. In music there is a Music Hour weekly in the social hall open to the public; while at the same time there are classes conducted by those who have had more experience. Artists, with their headquarters at Mess Hall 6, opened their "studio" daily from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. offering courses in

figure drawing and composition, still life, pencil drawing, landscape, sculptoring, cartoon, commercial art, fashion design, interior decorating and oriental freehand brush work. Lectures are given Tuesday evenings at 7.¹²

The talent shows have been a great success. Every Thursday evening for a hour and a half the residents enjoy the efforts of their fellow evacuees. Songs, violin solos, a preponderance of harmonica players, and other talent is heard. It was originally held in the social hall, but the audience grew to such proportions that the setting was transferred to the grandstand. This is an indication of the popularity of this attraction.

The dances have been held in the social hall weekly and have been the source of many complaints. After the first dance was held on May 9 several mothers complained that their 13 and 14 year old daughters had been out long after the dance was over and expressed their bitter opinions. Dancing to the music coming from a phonograph, the people rarely observed rules of etiquette. Dressed in everything from jeans and T-shirts to suits and slacks to high-heels, the participants jived and waltzed. All dances were tag, and men were cutting in even during the last dance. The age-groups attending ranged from about 12 or 13 to about 45. Several Issei mother stood at the side waiting for their daughters to make sure that they went straight home. Indeed the Saturday night dances were a source of headaches to many.

Besides the regular dances, official and unannounced parties are often held in the various laundry rooms. Some individual would get together a group of friends and with or without the permission of the Center staff would have a shin-dig. These have also been the source of complaints on the part of the older people.

12. Tanforan Totalizer, May 30, 1942.

Courtship and friendships between the opposite sexes was another basis for contention. Usually courtships that had existed before evacuation were continued in the camp. Some longed for their boy friends in the Army; while others struck up new friends at the dances and recreation halls. Actually there was not much to do. Almost every night there was some entertainment but not of such high caliber. Boys could not go visiting because the parents

of the girl would be in the same room and he would have to restrain himself unduly. When the couple stayed out late in spite of the bitter cold, the parents would complain because there had been rumors over the camp concerning the activity of young couples in the empty barracks. As we have already seen, the dances were also a cause for concern on the part of the parents.

Thus far there have been no marriages in Tanforan even though they have been contemplated for some time. The following announcement was made to the public:

"For those residents contemplating marriage, licenses will be issued by W.H. Augustus, San Mateo county clerk, who will call at the Center, Geo. A. Greene, director of the service department, announced today. Matrimony-minded couples are asked to advise Mr. Greene of their intentions and arrangements will be made for their licenses."³³

Several couples who had long been engaged are now laying their plans for marriage.

Recreation

The need for a well-organized recreational program was much greater in the Assembly Center than in a more permanent or "normal" community. As Shibutani said, after a month at Tanforan:

"Spending leisure time is a major problem in Tanforan. All those who are not working have very little to do all day; while those who do work have no where to go or nothing to do when they are off duty["

Restlessness developed very quickly among the children. Their parents were busily occupied, during the first few days, getting their new barracks in order, making furniture, and unpacking. But, for the children, the novelty of exploring the stables, and of watching new crowds of evacuees coming in in the hope of finding friends soon wore off, and, literally they had nothing to do. The result was that there was a good deal of milling around and of aimless rather mischievous behavior (throwing pebbles and rocks at trees, at posts, over roofs, etc.) Parents were soon worried about the possible effect of idleness on the morale and behavior of the children, Hoshiyama describes the listlessness and boredom of the adults after the first efforts at home-making, and points out that they had nothing to do but go to bed in the evenings. "Perhaps the strangeness of the place, the lack of community spirit and the feeling of desolation influenced the people to go to sleep early."

A group of five young men--including Hoshiyama-~~X~~ who had had previous experience in recreational programs in the Bay Area, met after work one ~~day~~ evening during the first week at the Assembly Center, and several days later presented the problem and a proposed program to Lawson, the Center Manager. Lawson pointed out that a director of recreation would ~~be~~ soon be appointed and asked the young men, in the meantime, " to sit tight and hold everything, since the administration had its hands full with feeding the people and finding places to sleep and providing them with adequate plumbing facilities."

At the end of the third week, LeRoy Thompson was appointed as Director of Resereation and immediately organized a comprehensive program for the Center. During his first week at Tanforan, he established six centers for recreation within the project, put up a volleyball net at one center, a ping pong table at another, organized an amateur talent show , and arranged a "mixer" dance for the week end. At the same time, he organized a nursery school, and set up the library. The community was soon humming with activity, in contrast to the apathy of the early days.

Thompson chose a staff of eight evacuees to assist him in his program. They were chosen to represent both the younger and the older interests, the two sexes, and the two major religious groupings. A brief account of their characteristics and background follows:

FK, age about 40, male, recently married, from San Francisco; formerly a chiropractor, who had spent some time in the penitentiary for practicing medicine without a license. Six years' experience as YMCA secretary in San Francisco. Issei. Graduate of Stanford University.

TK, age about 30, female. Secreatry of the Japanese YWCA in San Francisco, prior to evaucation. Unmarried.

ExN

FH, age 27, male, unmarried. Boys' Work Secretary of the Japanese YMCA in San Francisco prior to evacuation. Graduate of the University of California.

CN, age about 55, married. YMCA secretary in San Francisco for 23 years. Issei.

KO, age about 30, artist and owner of art studios in Berkeley prior to evacuation. Formerly president of the JACL chapter in Berkeley. Married.

BI, age about 30, married. Formerly engaged in publicity work for the Oakland Recreation Department.

TH, age about 23, unmarried. Formerly from Oakland, where he had had considerable experience in handling community meetings. Selected to represent the Buddhist elements.

BS, age about ?, unmarried. YMCA volunteer from Palo Alto.

The selection of this particular group for the paid staff caused some difficulties, because there were various others among the evacuees who considered themselves equally well qualified. And conflict among the group selected was frequent. This is described by FH as follows:

"[Shortly after the appointments were made] BS got four others together at his home to form a block so that FK and BI wouldn't run the whole show. BS and KO didn't like BI at all, since BI was a big shot in Oakland with a civil service job, and very few had good civil service jobs in Oakland. They didn't like FK on general principles, but it was decided to give FK a chance since he was a very talented and capable person, and as long as he did his job right, [it was decided] he should be given all the encouragement and help possible so that he can vindicate himself and win his place back into society"

When, however, FK appointed HY [who is HY?] as baseball commissioner,

objections were raised by others on the staff. "No one liked HY since he didn't pay his bills and his word was not very reliable. Individuals on the staff who had business dealings with him won't have anything to do with him at the camp. However, it was finally decided to start from scratch and give him a chance to do his job and carry out his responsibility of being the adult softball league commissioner. The members who objected were TH, KO, and BI."

In ^{summarizing} ~~fixing up~~ these two episodes, FH concluded that petty jealousy was the basis of the difficulties, that the less experienced members feared that FK and BI, who had superior professional training would become "too bossy and get a right hand position with the

Director." FK's appointment of HY as baseball commissioner was interpreted as due to the fact that FK" knew HY personally and could tell him what to do whereas the other members on the staff knew about FK's past and wouldn't listen to him." FK had evidently superseded his authority in this matter, and Thompson made it clear to him that all appointments must have his(Thompson's) approval in order to be valid.

In a report prepared for the WCCA (manuscript) on May 28,

Thompson outlined the organization, reported on the progress for
~~thxfixixmnh~~

February 1, 1942

"ENEMY ALIENS" IN THE UNITED STATES

(Tentative Outline)

I. Method

A. The problem

Judging from what little we have read concerning the treatment of the German minority in the United States during 1917 and 1918 and the reaction of this group to this treatment, we are reasonably sure that there are some interesting parallels and differences between that episode and the treatment and the reactions of the Japanese in the current war. However, to check upon our suspicions we are making a comparative study of the two situations. We are trying to compare not only the treatment but also the attitudes of official agencies, pressure groups, the general public, and the minority group itself. We shall concern ourselves primarily with the differences, if there are any. If the two situations were different, what were the differences and how can these discrepancies be explained?

B. Observation

1. For data on the Germans during the last war we are tapping every source we can find in the library at the University of California and the private sources in the vicinity.
2. For data on the Japanese today, we are studying the various groups in the San Francisco Bay Region as participant observers. Mass data on the attitudes of the Japanese are very difficult to gather; and the application of psychometric methods seems to be out of the question.
3. Newspaper and magazine files, both for 1917-18 and 1940-41-42 are being checked.

C. Hypotheses

Since we have not as yet determined to our satisfaction what the differences were, we cannot draw any hypotheses. However, if we should confirm our suspicions, then we may attempt to check hypotheses such as the following: (Method of multiple-working hypotheses)

1. Differences can be explained in terms of differences in the history of the relationship between the minority and majority group.
2. Differences can be explained in terms of differences in the locality and the culture of the peoples involved.
3. Differences can be explained in terms of differences in race attitudes.
4. Differences can be explained in terms of the lessons the American public learned in the first war.

II. Techniques

A. Studying previous investigations

As far as information concerning the Germans in the first war and the background material for the Japanese today is concerned, we are relying heavily upon studies which have already been made. Many of these works are available in the library of the University of California.

B. Participant observers

As for the attitudes of the Japanese today, we cannot get accurate mass data. Questionnaires are not likely to be answered honestly,

especially in reference to "touchy" questions. It seems that all we can do is to mingle with the various groups and note anything that seems significant in terms of our problem.

1. While we are running the risk of having a narrow perspective, there is a definite advantage in that we can get much more intimate contact with groups to which we belong than can any outsider who would not be trusted.
2. Rather than going about the study haphazardly, we have taken cognizance to the social stratification that exists in the society of the Japanese in California and have divided the population as follows:
 - a. Aliens, American-born, and American-born and educated in Japan.
 - b. Social stratification in terms of economic status, religious affiliation, recreational interest, intellectual interest (a group of peculiar significance in this war), degree of conformity with group ways, and degree of assimilation to American ways. While these criteria for division are sometimes arbitrary, they are extremely useful in analyzing the Japanese society in America.
3. Within each group we intend to make case histories of those whom in our opinion are the most typical and who at the same time we know sufficiently well to be able to check upon the accuracy of their statements. However, our observations will not be confined to those whom we select for case studies.
4. If we cannot find comparable data, we intend to go ahead in our analysis of the Japanese so that some records can be kept for future investigations.

III. Sources

- A. Information on the Germans in 1917-18
 1. Books, periodicals, and clippings available in the University library
 2. Private files of various faculty members
- B. Information on the Japanese in 1941-42
 1. Files of Dr. R.C. Tryon (Dept. of Psychology) whose classes for the past three or four years have been making case studies of various social groups--many of them Japanese.
 2. The Student Relations Committee of the Associated Students of the University of California have made available the scrapbook they have kept on the treatment of racial minorities in war.
 3. The Race Relations group of the University Y.M.W.C.A. has made available their bibliography on Oriental Minority Problems.
 4. We have access to the files of one San Francisco newspaper for American-born Japanese and all the copies of similar publications both in San Francisco and Los Angeles.
- C. We have been assured the cooperation of numerous groups and students, Caucasian and Oriental, graduate and undergraduate, and various faculty members with whom we have come in contact during the past four years at the University.

This is only a tentative outline and may be drastically revised, especially if we are unable to gather satisfactory data on the Germans in the last war.