

Robert F. Spencer
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SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE GILA COMMUNITY

The analysis of the social groups at Gila has presented some of the more difficult aspects of the study there. The term social group is used here in a general sense and implies the existence of partisanship, either conscious or unconscious on the parts of individuals, in groups which exercise a degree of control in the community. Such a study entailed the observation of the functions of such groups. It is not sufficient to merely note them, but it follows that an analysis of their effects on the community at large is in order. Every individual in the community is bound to become a member of one or more of what I term here social groups. Membership in a social group is determined by numerous factors: generation, background, education, political leanings, religion, and any other ideas or ideals which might distinguish one individual from another. It is most difficult to set up lines of demarcation between such ~~xxx~~ informalized social groupings and it is obvious that a perennial interrelation between them exists which expresses itself in group conflicts. Any analysis of informal social groups must center itself in the observation of these conflicts.

It follows also that some such groups are more significant than others. For example, the first such development that comes to the attention of the observer is that of the line drawn between the first and second generations. It is true that the Issei-Nisei division is something that has been carried over from pre-evacuation days. Basically, a conflict of cultural ideology has brought about this conscious division of generations. Even though there is no conscious rivalry between the two generations, the fact that a certain amount of conflict occurs between them, manifested on the

one hand individually, as in the case of conflict between members of a single family who are divided between the two generations, and on the other, by totality of the groups themselves in striving with each other for control or eminence. It is necessary to analyze the Issei-Nisei situation to understand the factors which lie behind the development of the community and the direction which such development takes. Such a conflict is more important than the difficulties which arise out of the matter of religion, individual background, or education because it is one which concerns every member of the community.

The independence of Issei as against Nisei indicates a split community and a continuing strife between the members of both generations. But this is scarcely true inasmuch as questions which arise in matters of welfare or community politics may call for divided partisanship from among the members of both generations. The stand of Issei versus Nisei in the matter of political organization is a question all its own and is treated in another section of this report.

The Issei Nisei conflict appears throughout the community at all times and ~~manifests itself in many~~ manifests itself in many different ways. Primarily, the differences between the two generations are based on ideals. It is generally true that the Issei have a tendency to turn to the patterns which they brought with them from Japan. The Nisei, on the other hand, are instilled with ideas which they have learned as the result of contact with American culture. (I use the term "American culture" as a convenient way of expressing the Western European development in the United States.) The Nisei have learned the American way and have imposed it on the patterns which they were taught in their homes

under the guidance of their Issei relatives. The initial conflict, one which has appeared almost ever since the Nisei rose as an established group in the United States, is that of the American way against the Japanese way. It is a cultural conflict.

It is generally true that the Issei, although they have lived in the United States for many years, admire and respect the advantages that America has to offer. Because of their linguistic difficulty and also because of the fact that they consider the Japanese way of life generally superior to that of America, they have ~~XXXX~~ for the most part chosen to preserve the patterns which imported with them from Japan. It is also true that the Japanese have greatly admired the American system of education and have placed implicit faith in the Caucasian teachers of their children. Not all the Issei, but most of them in America today want their children to behave like Japanese even though they have an American education or are Christians, Christianity being considered a virtual renunciation of Japanese culture. All of this has been true in pre-evacuation days and now, in the relocation centers, where there is the crowding together of people who before had wider contacts, the old problems of conflict between the generations break out anew. The Nisei are criticized by the Issei in any number of different ways.

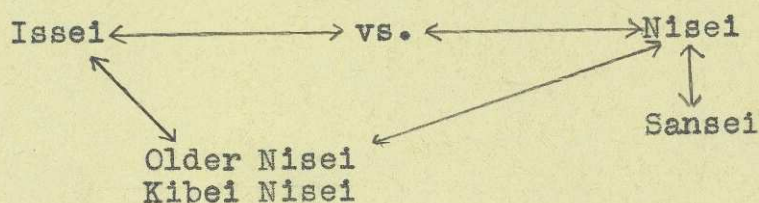
It so happens at Gila that the people who identify ^{themselves} with the Issei, that is, the group which clings most tenaciously to the Japanese pattern and way of life, ^{are} ~~are~~ in the majority. Politically,

this has had definite consequences. Also socially, it is of vital importance in determining the social evolution of the Gila center. It means that the Japanese ideologies have predominated and that western ideas have been forced into the background. In fact, the Nisei of the community have had some difficulty in

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maintaining their identity. Certainly, as the sections on political organization and recreation will show, a marked disapproval of the western political development and of western entertainments has shown itself. Many of the Nisei, having been under the domination of their Issei elders even in pre-evacuation days, have unconsciously resigned themselves to the situation, without realizing perhaps, that the situation has intensified itself since evacuation.

It is remarked above that Issei, or those groups which align themselves with the Issei are in the majority. In an outline form, the social groups which resolve themselves out of the differences in generation are as follows:



The older Nisei and the Kibei, having been subjected to a stronger Japanese influence, generally agree that the Nisei are overstepping the bounds of Japanese propriety. I had the opportunity to discuss the situation with several Nisei of the older ~~generation~~ class. Such older Nisei are relatively few. Oddly enough, those Nisei who were born before 1910 are usually natives of the Hawaiian Islands. Even though they have never been to Japan, they come from strongly organized Japanese communities and identify themselves with those who have been born in Japan. They are proud of the Japanese they speak and discuss slightly the inability of the ^{other} Nisei to speak Japanese correctly, their bad manners, and their disrespect for authority. Because of the difference in age between them and the other Nisei, they prefer to identify themselves with the Issei. Very few Nisei

were born on the American continent prior to 1910 and the majority of active Nisei seem to have been born on the American continent after 1915 when families had had opportunity to organize. These Nisei feel the discrepancy in age between themselves and those born later. The great majority of Nisei are regarded by them as upstarts. It is not unreasonable therefore that they should take the part of the Issei.

The Japanese have had their own definitions as to what constitutes a member of one of these groups. There is in addition the question of Kibei Nisei who are defined as such by the Japanese-Americans. A Nisei may be called Kibei by older people even if he has never been in Japan but if he adheres to the Japanese patterns. In this sense, the meaning of the word, "returned to America" is lost and is merely meant as a compliment. Actually, many of those who have been in Japan are not called Kibei because they lack the Japanese attitude. The word has come to have the connotation designating one who has lived in Japan, gone to school there, speaks Japanese correctly and well, and who has taken on ideas of Japanese culture which are noticeable on his return to this country. According to the Japanese themselves, there are few who come under the actual classification Kibei. It is in this, the Japanese sense, that I shall use the term. There are those who have been in Japan and who are in sympathy with the Issei in their attempts to keep the Nisei group in line, ~~These do not call Kibei Nisei.~~ *BUT unless they conform to the above in every way they are not considered true Kibei.* It will be apparent that their sympathies are directed in favor of the Issei. "Kibei" seems to be the expression of an attitude.

James Sakoda has presented a well defined description of the position of the average Nisei. Taken on the whole as a group

which conforms to the American way and yet hesitates to enter into the realm of Caucasian contacts and friendships, keeping aloof from both "nipponized" Japanese and Caucasians, a basis for group conflict is seen. This is the typical Nisei and the representative of that type which is to be found at Gila.

Technically, the terms Nisei, Issei, ~~Kibei~~, Sansei, etc. are indicative of generation. Properly speaking, Kibei is not used alone but usually spoken as Kibei Nisei. Actually, the terms which still indicate generation are now concerned with the delineation of social groups. These social groupings have a definite import in the development and function of the Gila community.

Having defined these social groups, let us see some of the examples of group conflict.

It is obvious from the first, that the Issei consider the Nisei as untried fledglings but this is a conflict which will occur between generations among any people, anytime. The statement that is made so frequently by the most well-meaning people is that the Nisei lack the experience to solve the problems of the community and that therefore they should allow themselves to be guided by experienced and intelligent older people. Kibei Nisei have been taught this in Japan as have the older Nisei in America. The consensus is that the older people and not the younger, should guide the destiny of the center. From that point a criticism of the Nisei begins, a criticism which is much less kindly. It is true, however, that the Issei state that their own future lies in that of the Nisei. It is the latter group which will contribute the future leader^s. Criticism is justified on the

ground that the Issei seek a benevolent guidance so that the Nisei will be able to reconstruct their lives when the period of evacuation is over. The Nisei on their side, state that the Issei are jealous of the privileges accorded by the government because of their prerogative as American citizens. Many Nisei have told me that the Issei want to assume the patriarchal control in accordance with Japanese custom. These arguments I have heard expressed not once, but many times by representatives of all classes, Issei, Nisei, and Kibei.

Some concrete examples of such group conflicts may be listed here. They seem to fall into two separate divisions: There are the conflicts which arise when one group strives with the other for prestige or influence in the community, and there is the conflict between individuals, such cases being the parent-child conflict as the result of a greater degree of acculturation on the part of the children, etc. The first of these may be called the total group conflict, the latter, the individual struggles which rise out of cultural differences.

The overcrowded conditions at Gila necessitated the segregation of the single men. Certain recreation halls were set aside as dormitories for single men and Nisei and Issei alike were crowded into them. Single men, with no family ties ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ were put into these dormitories. The question may justly arise as to why these men did not align themselves with some family group and go to live with friends. The reason this was not done was because no single individual constituted a family group according to W.R.A. definition. No family could "borrow" him to come and live with them because by doing so they would be augmenting their own numbers and creating further difficulties with

regard to crowded housing conditions. Issei and Nisei men were thus living together in these recreation halls. One day the trouble ~~XX~~ trouble between the two generations came to a head. In one such dormitory the Issei banded together and threw the baggage of several of the Nisei living there into the street. The Nisei in this dormitory went to Mr. Henderson and requested additional quarters. There were about five such Nisei and an arrangement was allowed whereby they could have an apartment for themselves. The justification advanced by the Issei concerned for this act was that the Nisei were too noisy, too "smart", and that they kept the older men awake by talking far into the night. The Issei in other dormitories began to raise objection to the Nisei living with them. A meeting of block managers was called to arrange for provision of quarters for the Nisei whom the older men wanted moved away. The suggestion that Nisei be accorded apartments in which they could live aroused considerable debate on the part of the block managers, some of whom stated that only family groups could be accorded the use of apartments. A split then arose in the block managers. The Nisei block managers were for allowing the Nisei boys an apartment. The Issei block managers did not want these single boys in with the women and children. The matter was deadlocked until finally it was agreed that one dormitory would be turned over to the Nisei. The few Nisei single men in the camp, those without family ties, are now permitted to have a dormitory of their own apart from the Issei single men. This conflict occurred in Camp I but there is evidence that a parallel situation will develop in the single mens' barracks in Camp II.

Politically, the Nisei, even though they are the only ones permitted by federal law at this time to hold elected office,

are rather subservient to the demands of the Issei, as suggested in the resume of the political situation.

The Issei-Nisei conflict is more apparent in the cases of individuals. Problems are arising at Gila which probably would never have arisen in the pre-evacuation pattern. The overcrowded housing conditions necessitate that young married people live with parents and in-laws. The result is that a cultural conflict arises frequently between in-laws and between parent and child. Such problems may be more fully discussed under the heading of the family and family relationships.

There are, in addition to the suggestion of the Issei-Nisei-Kibei situation mentioned above, the social groups which have arisen as the result of evacuation. Many of these are dependent on the assembly center from which a group came. A subdivision of this development is the conflict which arises out the various backgrounds brought into the relocation center from the outside. Thus there is the conflict between urban and rural, between occupational groups, etc. These are further ramified by the social groups based on common background and friendship which existed in California in pre-evacuation days. People were drawn into the assembly centers from adjacent areas. Being friends and neighbors, it follows that they came together, lived near each other in both relocation and assembly center and formed little social circles which had only a small amount of interdependence. Those Japanese who have distinguished themselves in the outside by entering one of the professions, or by simply graduating from college, are fairly well known to a good many. Often these have arisen as leaders in the Gila community. It

must not be forgotten however, that the population at Gila is predominantly rural. They were for the most part agricultural people from the central San Joaquin Valley of California. True, there were those who had come from the cities, who were educated in universities, and who had found a place to practise their professions in this California area. But these are relatively few. The great bulk of the population in Gila has an agricultural background, they are Issei and poorly educated Nisei. This, I think, accounts for the predominance of the Issei. They have lived apart from the Caucasian population to a greater extent than those Japanese who are city bred. They have been able to a greater extent to preserve their Japanese ways of life, the stress on family ties, the patriarchy, and Buddhism. The Nisei who have come from a background of education are the leaders in the community by virtue of this education, but it must be emphasized that they are few as compared with the greater bulk of the population. Because the Issei have lived in this rural way, being somewhat isolated, they have developed only small social circles in which they and their children have moved. I contend that there was not a great deal of association between these circles in the days prior to evacuation. There is now as the result of association with the assembly center and loyalty to it.

The fact that there was not a great deal of association between these small groups of people who were known to each other socially is borne out by a brief analysis of the locations from which the assembly centers drew their population. The people from Turlock, it is true, came from the general area around Turlock. But urbanized rural people from San Leandro, Hayward, Livermore, etc. were

included in the Turlock Center. Some groups came from Niles, others from the region east of Turlock, others from Tracy, Manteca, etc. The Japanese with whom I have spoken maintain that there was very little contact between these colonies in pre-evacuation days. The same situation is generally true of the Tulare center where parts of the population come from Los Angeles, others from Bakersfield, Madera, ~~PERKINS~~ and Tulare itself. The bulk did not come from the smaller towns but were actually rural, living apart in farms. It is quite true that there was a certain amount of interplay between all the Japanese communities in pre-evacuation days. It must not be thought that there was a social bond common to all the residents of an assembly center. It is rather that there were the small circles of social interests mentioned above.

There are so many factors which have tended to disunite the Japanese socially not only in the relocation centers but in the more or less ideal pattern of the pre-evacuation development. In this discussion I am concerned with the rural Japanese of the San Joaquin Valley. The material to follow has been obtained from informants of both the Turlock and Tulare groups at Gila. These factors present a complicated array of differences. In the rural population of this sort the attention paid to closeness of relationship was marked. If families were united in Japan by marriage it also often followed that they were friends here, or likewise united. This brings up the matter of the kenjinkai which seems to have exercised considerable influence in shaping the lives of the San Joaquin Valley rural Japanese. Embree points out that at Kona, people from the same ken function in cooperative activities, indeed, that they serve as substitutes for relatives

and the extended family group of Japan. They serve as baisha-kunin and ~~XX~~ it is to this group that the family looks in selecting mates for its children. The same situation is true of the rural Japanese of California. The ken association seems to have played an important part in keeping groups separate. The import of this is largely lost among the Nisei but the Issei find the great bulk of their associations in kenjinkai members. Cooperation between such groups tended to make for a segregation of them and rather prevented unity among the whole Japanese population of the area in question.

Further disunifying factors appear in the occupational and religious aspects. The small town shopkeeper, of which there were many, rather thought himself better than the farmer, even though in California, the farmer might have more money. Thus it was farmer against shopkeeper. In religion too, it was Christian against Buddhist. The Nisei were encouraged to seek their associations among the Nisei who were of a similar religion. These factors, briefly mentioned above, were extremely instrumental in the prevention of any kind of "united front" among the rural Japanese who form the bulk of the population at Gila.

It is rather surprising then, to find the development of extreme loyalty to the assembly center. It is to be understood, of course, that conflicts were going on at all times between various groups in the assembly center. Should, however, there arise a rumor that the one assembly center is more privileged than the other, there is an immediate unity in the expression of the people from one center as against another. It is true that individuals identify themselves with the group from their assembly center and seek to defend it, realizing that if its

rights are infringed upon, that they themselves will be concerned. However, it is more than a mere banding together for mutual protection, it is definite loyalty. It is common to hear long arguments as to the respective merits of the assembly centers in question. This loyalty was best exhibited when a group from Turlock was moved over to Camp II among the Tulare people in order to alleviate the crowded housing conditions. Even though such people had similar backgrounds, rural, Buddhist, etc. even though there were identifications of kenjinkai, there was a feeling against the Turlock people which arose on the part of the Tulare people. They were considered interlopers, intruders, and were discriminated against to such an extent that they asked to be moved back to Camp I which was of course, impossible.

The assembly centers were graded by the W. C. C. A. on the basis of the success of the administrationX in them. Although Portland was at the top, Tulare ranked second best. The Tulare people feel a certain amount of prestige as a result and seem to think themselves just a little bit better than the Turlock group. This feeling manifests itself among all ages; oddly enough, bitter words have arisen because of it. Some Turlock people say that Tulare was so successful because all the people were subservient to the administration. And so it goes.

I believe that this division has taken an important turn in shaping the destiny of the community. Conscious associations have been formed as the result of pride in the assembly center and its group. These might even be called "Assembly Center jinkai".

It will be well to ~~organize~~ analyze briefly some of the aspects of the Assembly Center groupings, observing the extent

of organization in them. The Turlock Assembly Center was not very well organized. It did not bring with it as well founded an organization as did the Tulare group. By this statement I do not mean to convey that it was disunited. As the group came in, the same block managers continued to function, the church groups were particularly strong, especially on the Buddhist side, and that organization was instrumental in shaping the affairs of Camp I especially in its organization of the Nisei. The administrative leaders, the office staffs, etc. immediately took over. Yet the Turlock group does not seem to have the leadership that the Tulare group does. The people from Turlock and from the White Zone as well exhibit considerable uniformity of background. The Tulare group is much more cosmopolitan, having a large percentage of Los Angeles people and taking into account all the varieties of occupation which a large city offers. Tulare leadership is much more pronounced, being far better defined than that of Turlock. The result was that the Tulare group transplanted not only its leaders but its factions, rivalries as well. Tulare got hold of the newspaper and the former editorial staff of the Tulare Center took over immediately on its arrival as the paper was just being organized upon the arrival of the Tulare evacuees. In the first editions, attention was paid only to the activities of Camp II ~~XXXXXX~~ while the news of Camp I was very limited. There was considerable resentment on the part of the Turlock Nisei who were all for beginning a separate newspaper to cover Camp I activities. Although the situation was rearranged by the Recreation department, the incident of the newspaper was the first ~~IX~~ example of rivalry between the two camps.X

Tulare brought in with it a definite division of social groupings all of which were well defined and active. The Issei were divided into two political factions, those who were favorably inclined to the mandates of the W.R.A. and those who were in opposition. The Nisei were well organized into several political groups: there were those who aligned themselves with the Issei favorably inclined to the administration, these Nisei taking over the reins of self-government in the temporary community councils, those who were concerned with membership in the J.A.C.L. and those who were opposed to this organization. The problems of the J.A.C.L. in its affects on the members of the community is one which will bear considerable further examination. It is true that the same situations existed among the Turlock people but the lines which may be drawn between the various groups are not nearly so well defined, nor do the Nisei seem to be so active.

Among both Issei and Nisei in both camps the importance of the small social circle cannot be disregarded. As pointed out above this is dependent on the associations which had been formed in pre-evacuation days on the basis of similarity in background, profession and occupation, education, and religion. Among the Issei the kenjinkai, and among the Nisei, the locality from which the family came in California as well as the inclination and power of the parents in maintaining family control were additional factors in the formation of the social circle which functions as a friendship or recreational group. These social circles continue to exist of course in the Gila community but certain new associations are being formed which tend to break down the connections which were previously made. New social circles are being formed dependent on the administrative attempts at organizing recreational

outlets for the community. There is considerably more leisure time especially for the Issei the majority of whom are not concerned with working in the community. There is a greater opportunity to visit than there was in pre-evacuation days. It is also true that some of the ties which bound people together in the rural areas of California are being broken. The kenjinkai are not functioning in the Gila center, the bond which existed because of similarity in occupation is no longer so strong because the various occupations of farming, shopkeeping, etc. are not being carried on. The principal recreations for the older people aside from conversations are a sewing circle for the women and the go-shogi for the men. Thus new friendships and associations culminating in new social circles are growing up. The same is true of the Nisei. Freed of rural isolation, they are able to make many new contacts as the result of organized games, occupations in the community, school, and a certain amount of freedom in directing the political destiny of the camp, the latter in spite of the fact that they are being ~~XXXXXX~~ made to keep in line by many Issei with political interests.

The development of such social circles is far better demonstrated among the population of Camp I (Turlock) than among the residents of Camp II. The unanimity of background in Camp I as compared with the better organization and cosmopolitan atmosphere of Camp II finds a more fertile field for the development of social circles. The principal conflicts between social groups is occurring in Camp II among the Tulare evacuees.

A significant problem in the delineation of the social groupings at Gila is that of the inter-play and overlapping of

the associations, friendships, and the like which have been formed in pre-evacuation times and have been transplanted to Gila or are being formed at Gila. An individual may be able to belong to several social groups and be able to adjust himself to membership in them even though such association may conflict with the tenets of the major social group to which he belongs. I mean to convey that the lines between social groups are not defined. Further, they vary with the individual.

The social groups suggested above are supplemented, especially among the Issei and Kibei, by the application of the social caste or class system which has been transplanted from Japan. Nisei, although they are aware of the social castes of Japan, have not had much contact with conflicts which might arise because of differences in social caste. The present day regime in Japan has done much to suppress the ideas of class distinctions by legislation. It is to be remembered, however, that the Issei came to this country on an average of perhaps 30 years ago, at a time when the social classes of Japan were still more or less rigidly observed. The idea still exists in present-day Japan and makes its imprint felt on the Kibei even though there is the attempt on the part of the Japanese government to suppress caste ideas and to admit equality for all. With some justification perhaps, the class system of Japan has been compared with that of the British Isles. A distinction between noble and commoner is made although in Japan a certain amount of attention is directed toward the pariah or eta caste. There are survivals of this class system in this country and they are ~~XXXXX~~ accentuated in the relocation centers perhaps because of closer contacts.

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There are many ~~XXX~~ ramifications of the caste system in Japan but the principal classes which may be depicted are three: noble, commoner, and eta. Of course there are degrees and grades especially in the middle castes which make for a much more complicated picture. Immigrants to America were principally from the commoner or middle class. There were younger sons, misfits in Japan, fortune hunters, and the like. The first immigrants developed solidarity through the ken associations, and through the occupation class of Japan which they represented. The urban-rural conflict and the graded importance of occupations were reflected in ~~XXXX~~ America inasmuch as individuals sought their contacts through people from their own district or prefecture and ^{among those} who had occupied a similar occupational level in Japan. Thus a certain amount of class endogamy took place which was influential in building up communities of people with similar associations. There also came to America groups of eta, seeking perhaps to rise from the humble status they had occupied in Japan. They too banded together to form separate rural Japanese communities. The picture discussed here is that of the development of the Japanese rural community in American rather than the urban development inasmuch as the bulk of the Gila population is rural. These eta colonies were not admitted to a level equal with that of the other communities. The Issei, remembering the position of the eta, prevented their Nisei children from intermarriage with this group. This was not so much a conscious discrimination, it was rather something which had its roots in Japanese culture and it is doubtful that it was even discussed in the homes. The Nisei grew up aware of the situation of the eta, eta Nisei

grew up aware of their own position. The situation does not give rise to any intense feeling on the parts of either Nisei or Issei. It is rather that such conditions are known to exist and accepted. Communities of middle class Japanese simply did not mix with eta socially and discouraged their children from marrying into this class. Naturally, there was bound to be a certain amount of contact in schools, church groups, business, etc. Social intercourse, however, was discouraged.

The problem of what occurs when such a pariah group is brought into direct and daily contact with people who feel themselves a bit better is interesting. Several Issei informants (Okuno, Hikida, Miura, Mrs. Yusa) told me that eta appear in the Gila community in fairly large numbers and that considerable resentment is being shown against them. Middle class people, or the few whose antecedents are samurai, resent the fact that their children will have to appear with these eta in schools, in recreational activities, etc. Such a feeling was not manifested so strongly in pre-evacuation days because of the fact that the eta had virtually their own communities. Now, however, that the evacuees are thrown against this class in closer contact, the old prejudices are again cropping out. Some of the younger Nisei are also concerned. Being more closely under the domination of parents than some of their older fellows, they have been made to feel a sense of superiority against the eta. In pre-evacuation days one of the reasons for the presence of baishakunin, marriage go-betweens, etc. was to prevent inter-marriage with the eta group. Marriages do not occur frequently at Gila as yet and some have said that the eta presence and the consequent demand on the part of some of the Issei for baishakunin, a trait

which had been lost to some extent even in rural California, are preventing ~~XX~~ certain of the young people from marrying. They cannot get the sanction of their parents at the moment.

Eta are generally agreed to have arisen in the period of the Tokugawa Daimyo when serf labor was imported from Korea. By imperial edict in 1922 eta are now called Suiheisen in Japan, although this expression has not as yet taken root in this country. Etymologically, this word is sui, meaning level, hei meaning water, and sen, meaning line. "Level water line" is perhaps a euphemistic way of expressing the "bottom of things". The problem of the eta is one which will bear further scrutiny. It will be necessary to secure an estimate on the numbers of eta people at Gila and to determine their position in the community.

Middle class people seem to get on without any rigid class lines being drawn. An individual is drawn to the group which he knows and plays favorites in that group as discussed above. There are a few in the camp whose antecedents are samurai, their families being permitted to carry two swords, etc. These individuals have a tendency to turn up their noses at the common herd, although in occupations and in social matters they have ~~XXXXXX~~ mixed in with the middle class people. I did hear one woman complain about the "snooty" attitude taken by another because the latter's family were of samurai origin. The samurai distinction is not so important as that of the eta, probably because there are few in this country who can ascribe to themselves noble ancestry throughout.

To recapitulate briefly the social groupings that have arisen at Gila; the parallel Issei-Nisei development is one which

has arisen in pre-evacuation days as the result of culture conflict; this is offset and paralleled by a regional differentiation, subdivided into social groups smaller in size which are based on a similarity in background; urban and rural, social association, occupational diversification, religion, education, and locality all play a part in the formation of such groups; all of this ~~XX~~ is offset/^{and supplemented}by an overlay of social castes, carry over from the culture of Japan. These are the general factors underlying the establishment of social groups in the community. They are only suggested here and much further work must be done in order to understand their whole function in the community.

Robert Spencer
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ADDENDA TO INFORMATION ON SOCIAL GROUPINGS IN THE
GILA COMMUNITY

The following information was obtained through various conversations with our observer, Mr. S. Hikida. Some of this information comes from the careful study which he has made of the varying conflicts which arise between the two generations. Reference is made to his own analysis of Issei and Nisei rivalries and conflicts.

Hikida is convinced that in the pre-evacuation period, there was definite Issei control, which in the congested assembly and relocation centers became more and more marked. Of course, in both the assembly center and the relocation center, the Nisei had the opportunity of holding jobs, which because of linguistic difficulties were barred to Issei, and of holding elective office. In this sense they were more powerful than they had been in the pre-evacuation period. Issei control, however, continues to be marked and to find its source of power in the family situation. The fact that Issei parents can virtually control the attitudes of their children is significant because the Nisei then do as their parent's wish them to do. The result is that the Issei move behind the scene and their control still continues to be uppermost. This is fairly clearly demonstrated in the analysis of the factors involved in the Army program of registration and voluntary enlistment. The Issei's desire to hold the family unit together is, perhaps, the most significant and far-reaching motive in the social phenomena which arises in the relocation center. No analysis of social groups can be complete without a consideration of the family ties which form the basis for the formation of all social groupings.

Mr. Hikida has made some rather astute observations in regard to the Nisei relation with their families. He points out that high school age Nisei cling to the American way of life, probably because of associations of an Anglo-American nature with which they are brought into daily contact. However,

Mr. Hikida says that as such Nisei become older, they revolve again to the Japanese pattern. In the normal scheme of life of the Japanese minority in the United States the social groups in which a Nisei high school graduate might move was limited. The same is true, to a lesser extent, of college graduates. Although those who have been privileged to attend institutions of higher learning are able to adopt a broader view, nevertheless, upon graduation, they find themselves confronted with a choice between Japanese and Anglo-American societies. Very few make the choice in favor of the latter; indeed, such adjustments are usually difficult to make. The result is that there is a return to the Japanese ways of life. If there are parents and if there is a rather large extended family, the individual will usually draw his entire social life out of the associations of this group. This is a situation which Mr. Hikida fears will only be emphasized the more in the resettlement program following relocation.

An individual is raised speaking Japanese, conforming to Japanese cultural patterns. At the age of ten, the ability of most Nisei to speak Japanese is good, but after starting high school and entering upon a social life which is more in accord with the typical pattern of this country, this ability breaks down. Thus, we find outside influences beginning to overlap family influences. These family influences generally win out in the end because of the fact that the individual is obliged to return to his own racial society. Of course, the percentage of those who are able to go on for university training is somewhat small. The result is that certain Nisei remain apart from the Caucasian social group and never leave their own immediate circle, following the Japanese patterns completely. Significant in determining this factor is the locality from which the individual comes and the religion to which he belongs. Certain areas in California had large Japanese groups. The result was that Nisei born in these groups shared the social advantages which the group offered. In the same way, Buddhism and Shintoism made for greater solidarity of the Japanese local group, whereas the Christianity encouraged a greater degree of admixture with neighboring Caucasian

communities. Most of the Issei are of the opinion that the best brides for their sons were to be found in those communities where there was considerable racial solidarity and where there was closer observation of the Japanese patterns of culture. A prevalent Issei opinion in the center today is to view with some misgivings those urban Nisei girls who have been college trained or are college graduates. Similarly, it is conceived that Buddhist girls make the best wives. Christian girls are thought to be a little apart from the Japanese ideal. Opinions of this kind in the center and in the pre-evacuation home locality serve to increase Issei control.

As Mr. Hikida points out, such Issei, and they are far in the majority, have failed completely to grasp American cultural principles and, thus, look upon any ideas which the children might have following their contact with the more Americanized social groups as too liberal and as too divergent from the patterns with which they are familiar. Issei Christians are, of course, in the minority. But such Issei Christians tend to go to another extreme in under-valuing certain cultural traits which are Japanese. Some Nisei brought up by parents of this kind in Christianity become more limited as to social group and tend to look upon the opposing Buddhist groups with some suspicion. A girl of nine to whom Mr. Hikida talked attends a Christian Sunday School in this center. She stated that the Buddhist people were no good and pointed out that she would not play with children who attended the Buddhist Sunday School. "Fortunately," said Mr. Hikida, "whereas this idea was fairly prevalent among the Christian groups in the pre-evacuation periods, now in the relocation center, a greater solidarity has been achieved and the racial bond rather than the bond of the local group or of the religious group is being stressed again." Hikida, although himself a Christian, accorded the Buddhists a great deal of tolerance and is of the opinion that religious rivalries in the community which tend to make for social groupings are bad. The above example of the religious and local feeling in making for a social

group is to Hikida fairly indicative of the limited horizon of most Issei. They are unable to make an adjustment themselves between things Japanese and Western patterns. They are, therefore, resentful of any such adjustment in their children.

It occasionally happens that a family will appear where Americanization has been attained to a rather high degree. In such extreme cases, the Nisei children of the families tend to look down upon their race and use such expressions as "that Jap" and the like. The result is that some Nisei under-estimate their own race and attempt to identify themselves as completely Caucasians, failing, thereby, to realize that they themselves are of the Japanese race and that in order to survive, they must make their contacts among their own people. This would not necessarily be true if it were not for the fact that some individuals and families are "Americanized" by their own admission. They attempt to be Americanized; they boast about it, and they continually make comparisons between themselves and "those Japs." Hikida points out that a family which has been successful in becoming completely Americanized would not do this, but would appreciate the relative values of each of the cultural patterns involved and would not have an antipathy toward the mother culture. Such families, he maintains, are able to make an adjustment, are able to intermarry with Caucasians, and to be accepted by American society even though they may arouse antagonism in the Japanese group.

Some rather interesting observations are given by Mr. Hikida regarding the locality question. In comparing the two relocation centers which are represented in the center, that is to say, Turlock and Tulare, Hikida points out that the people from those sections of the state of California who were sent to the Tulare Assembly Center were known to have the highest economic status of all the California Japanese. They had, therefore, a higher standard of living. This is borne out by the fact that there is a large number of wealthy men in this center from the Tulare Assembly Center. The Santa Anita, Guadalupe, Santa Barbara, Ventura farmlands were successful in providing a considerable source of wealth for those people who were settled there. People from these coastal farming areas

incline to feel themselves a little better than the poorer Delta farming people of the northern San Joaquin Valley, who were concentrated at Turlock. The Guadalupe community was almost entirely Japanese. As such, it was well organized and was virtually the only complete Japanese community which was built up along American lines. Although the economic life of America was followed out in detail in this community, the residents there, for the most part, clung to Japanese patterns of society. It is unfortunate that a community study could not have been done on this Guadalupe settlement in the pre-evacuation period. It can be said, however, that this, perhaps, of all of the West coast settlements was the most completely Japanese in character. This community was bodily transplanted to the Gila Relocation Center and came through the Tulare Assembly Center.

With such a nucleus, the Tulare Assembly Center was able to build up a well organized social system. Mr. Hikida, although his own family was in residence at Turlock, believes that the Tulare Assembly Center was the best organized of all of the assembly centers on the Pacific coast. The wealth and organization of this Tulare group has made for a much better integrated community in Butte than occurs in Canal among the Turlock evacuees. Considerable difference is, thus, to be noted. Pointing out that the Tulare Assembly Center is what might be called "higher class," Hikida reasons that there are no members of the Eta class among this group and that any Eta in this center are to be found among the people from the White Zone and from Turlock. The question of the Eta is one which should be considered and has been to some extent and which always gives rise to the conclusion that there is not much discrimination of the members of this caste in the center. Hikida points out that in the pre-Evacuation period, there was strong discrimination against the class in certain communities. As the result of the feeling of racial solidarity which has arisen following evacuation, the tendency is to disregard the pre-evacuation social status. In a community of this kind, there is a social leveling off resulting in a lessening of the feeling toward the Eta group. The pre-evacuation period showed that Eta's were members of this class because of

their low economic status. Now, there is no external means of judging a person's economic position, with the result that discrimination against the Eta is almost non-existent and is certainly not alarming.

In the relocation center, the most significant cause for rift and split among the center residents is to be found in the conflicts which exists between the two generations and which manifest themselves in so many and varied forms. Where in the pre-evacuation period there was individual dissatisfaction with one generation or another, now the split has been relegated to the two groups with the result that there is a mutual group feeling of distrust and rivalry, something which need possibly not have occurred had not powers and privileges been given to Nisei and denied Issei.

HIKIDA ON ARMY ENLISTMENT AND REGISTRATION

At the present writing, Mr. Hikida is engaged in working out his own analysis of the Army enlistment situation. ~~Appropo~~^{So}f his contemplated work, it will be well to point out some of his own reactions to the Army program. With other members of his generation, Hikida is in agreement that the dual measure of registration and enlistment coming as they did at the same time was a tactical error. Hikida has been successful in convincing his own block of the role which the Nisei should play in the present war effort and has talked to several Nisei and aided them in overcoming the objections of their parents not only to negative answers to questions 27 and 28 of the 304-A form, but also in going so far as to enlist.

Hikida has taken a firm stand against Bennett's policy of resorting to threats in order to bring across to the Nisei the necessity for answering the two significant questions in the affirmative. He indicates that the Issei should have been informed of the fact that the refusal to answer questions 27 and 28 in the affirmative was tantamount to a crime inasmuch as the negative answers amounted to treason to the country of citizenship. Not only Hikida, but several Issei with whom I have talked, have expressed the opinion that the argument regarding loss of citizenship made no impression upon most Issei minds. The argument has been raised by a majority of Issei who were opposed to their children cooperating with the Federal government that citizenship in itself was valueless inasmuch as both citizens and aliens alike had been forced to agree with evacuation. Therefore, loss of citizenship was not significant, because the feeling generally was that citizenship in itself had been cancelled by evacuation. If, however, negative answers had been described as crimes, a better reception would have been given because of the desire of the Issei to avoid conflicts of this sort.

Hikida has made mention of the bushido concept. His own analysis of bushido is that the code of the warrior is applicable to every person and that, therefore, everyone is obliged to serve the country of his birth. Most of the Kibei

use the bushido concept as an argument for entering the United States Army and is failing to cooperate with the Federal government and the Army authorities of the United States. Some Kibei pointed out that their fathers and brothers had been killed by members of the armed forces of the Allied nations. They are, therefore, obliged to avenge the deaths of these relatives and could not, on the strength of the bushido concept, cooperate. Hikida states that a true application of the bushido concept would be that all of the Nisei should enter the armed forces if this was the desire of the government and that they should receive the sanction of their relatives and parents. There had been many bitter arguments over this concept and there are many varying views as to its application in the present emergency. The Kibei group is the most anxious to justify its action in this measure on the basis of the bushido concept and yet, not only as Hikida points out but other Issei as well, it is the same Kibei group which returned to America in order to avoid conscription in Japan.

It has been mentioned elsewhere that the Kibei are a spoiled and pampered lot who have been pretty much successful in getting their own way. It is this group which all along has raised opposition to the various defense and Army measures which have been brought up from time to time by the WRA and other governing agencies. Out-spoken statements against such measures as enlistment in the Army Intelligence Division, work in the camouflage net, and the enlistment and registration program precipitated the strong feelings against these measures which manifest themselves in the center. However, these out-spoken Kibei were given the backing of a few Issei in each block. These were not usually Issei family men, that is, the more stolid type of dependable persons, but usually single men whose fortunes could lie in Japan as well as in America. This group of single men, being dissatisfied, has been the focal point of difficulty for a long time. In the various block meetings when the block councilman attempts to make clear to the block residents the various issues confronting the population, agitation has always arisen from the Kibei group of each block by the single men of the Issei

generation. During the course of Captain Thompson's visit to the Gila Relocation Center in order to effect registration and enlistment, a visit was made by an attache of the War Department, Colonel Scobey, who came to make clear to each relocation center the stand of the War Department in regard to Nisei and enlistment. Scobey's message was one of considerable promise for most Nisei, but in many blocks the Kibei and single men were successful in confusing the issue so that the true meaning of Colonel Scobey's words was never really brought across to many blocks. Instead of aiding the purpose, Scobey's visit only served to add to the confusion.

Now that many of the single men and many of the Kibei have been interned, the Gila Young People group is again making a bid for power. At the present writing, it has been unsuccessful in doing this. With the apprehension of the president, George Yamashiro, and of the chairman of the Board of Governors, Fukumoto, five or six young men of the Kibei group are attempting to inaugurate political band-wagons of their own so that they can step into Fukumoto's position as the controlling agent of the Gila Young People. No one wants to assume the presidency, however, inasmuch as the president must take the responsibility for the action of the Board of Governors and, as has been shown, Yamashiro's career as a leader was rather short-lived. Until adequate leadership for the Kibei Club can be found, it seems likely that the position of the organization as a pressure group will be lacking even though certain members do make a bid for power. The ecclesiastical head of the Kibei group, the Zen Bishop Ochi, is still active in carrying out religious programs for the organization. Mr. Dyo, however, who is said, probably with some truth, to have dictated the policies of the organization, is gone. Mr. Hikida, the third advisor, has always taken a back seat in regard to the organization, meeting it only through his association with Yamashiro on the CAS staff. It will be worthwhile to note Hikida's further comments on the Army situation.

ADDENDA TO INFORMATION ON THE CAS

As has been pointed out in previous reports, Hikida is coordinator of CAS; and under Hoffman in Butte Camp has been acting virtually as head of all activities in the center. Butte's CAS is better organized than Canal's. A change in administration has recently come about, however. Hoffman, as Director of Community Services for the Gila Relocation Center, had been in charge of recreation in Butte until such time as an individual could be hired to take charge solely of recreational activities. Similarly, Gaba, Assistant Director of Community Services, had been acting in this capacity in Canal. Gaba had not been so successful in finding an evacuee to handle the recreational situation as Hoffman had been. Hikida functions solely under Hoffman in Butte. Greater strides had been made in Butte to mold the CAS, but the fact that both Hoffman and Gaba are hesitant to relegate authority to an evacuee has meant that CAS in both camps has suffered because of the lack of Caucasian headship. Beginning in February of 1943, Caucasian heads were found to take over the recreation program in each camp and, at the present writing, they are only beginning to take over their tasks, with the result that it is difficult to say what their effect will be.

The discussion of the CAS to follow here which is in addition to the material already given is understood to concern only the Butte Camp. Hikida, as coordinator, has had under him various directors of various activities. A young Issei has acted as assistant coordinator as well as the head of Nisei recreation. This is Jiro Oishi, who has not been too popular a choice so far as the evacuees are concerned. George Yamashiro had been acting head of Issei recreational activities and had been the representative of his own Kibei Club on the CAS. A head of the activities of clubs and organizations on the CAS was found in the person of Earle Yusa. Several other activity heads were represented on the CAS staff such as Boys' Director, Girls' Director, Music and Art leaders, Athletic Directors, and the like. These made up the CAS Council, a body which proved to be most ineffective. In addition to this, was contemplated a groups and organiza-

tions Council which has been described to some extent.

The Clubs and Organizations Council was arranged at Hikida's suggestion in order to effect a check on the activities of the two strongly opposed Nisei clubs, that is to say, the Gila Young People's Association and the JAOL. It was the design of Hikida to bring these two groups closer together by mutual understanding which could be effected by a Clubs and Organizations Council, thus, fomenting better relationships. It was Hikida's design to find a common objective for these two organizations in the center to break down the rivalry between them. The Gila Young People's Association, under the leadership of the Chairman of the Board of Governors, Fukumoto, was most antagonistic to this objective on the part of the CAS. George Yamashiro, in speaking to his group, denounced some of the Nisei on the CAS staff. He was reprimanded by Hikida for this with the result that Hikida's position as advisor to the Gila Young People's Club became ineffective. He, himself, became unpopular with the group at large and could exert no influence over them. Instead of bringing about better relationship, he only made matters worse.

Hikida's plan in the CAS has been all along to make use of this organization to break down the strong feeling of rivalry which exists between the two generations. In order to push this program, Hikida has brought about the suggestion of the formation of CAS wards, similar to those now in existence at Tule Lake. This plan, however, is thus far only a suggestion. It is proposed that these wards, made up of several blocks, be designed to cover activities for both Issei and Nisei. Of course, certain activities such as sports, block clubs, and the like, are spontaneous and have been organized without pressure from the administration. It is the design of the CAS to act as advisor to all such clubs and to aid in getting them started, placing what limited facilities there are at their disposal and according to them a certain amount of beneficial supervision. Although many blocks have taken spontaneous initiative in putting up basketball and volleyball courts and in formulating their own block clubs, Hikida hopes that the CAS will step in and attempt to co-

ordinate these activities for both generations. As the situation exists at the moment, all available space has been utilized by the Nisei. Nisei organizations made use of the mess and recreation halls. Nisei athletics come to the fore in each block as the result of the erection of these courts mentioned above, with the result that the Issei feel left out of things, and there is considerable Issei criticism.

Nisei leadership in the CAS is pretty much at a minimum. The result is that the Issei are beginning to take a more active interest in the CAS and on the intellectual side to surpass the Nisei. Hikida still hopes to bring in both activities and to attribute to them an equal emphasis. He is not, however, getting the support of Hoffman, who does not take this situation particularly seriously, and the rivalry between the two generations in the matter of recreation has only been increased. Hikida, himself, is more or less alone in his desire to bring about the formation of block clubs and of wards so that a full recreational program may be kept continually and smoothly running.

Hikida is opposed to a purely recreational program, but desirous of bringing in discussion and study groups. The Nisei block clubs make use of block facilities in order to hold parties of a recreational nature such as dances, social get-togethers, and the like, and there is considerable Issei criticism in view of the fact that the CAS itself sponsors a weekly dance in both camps for all of the Nisei. Hikida's program of attempting to organize the Issei on the basis of an intellectual level is meeting with some success. Committees have been appointed from each block among the Issei and have met with Mr. Hikida in order to launch a program of education for the Issei. This has already begun in some blocks inasmuch as requests for these programs have appeared from time to time since the inception of the Gila Project. The Issei are anxious to have forum meetings at various times during the week in each block. The difficulty lies in the problem of control of such meetings since the discussion will take place in the Japanese language. It is hoped that the speaker and the block residents will engage in

active discussion which is important to the cause of the Issei and Nisei alike. Hikida hopes to use his plan of Issei block programs in bringing across such ideas as geography of relocation, the necessity for resettlement, problems of assimilation, and the like. He wishes to have people discuss such matters as property loss, business, insurance, and so on.

The CAS Council, being composed largely of Nisei, is unwilling to take Hikida's proposal of such Issei block clubs too seriously. Even in the CAS a split occurs between the two generations on the basis of what each wants. The CAS Council is now meeting twice weekly. Reorganization of the staff is taking place under the leadership of the new recreational director. This is the third time that a reorganization of the CAS staff has taken place. The purpose is to find adequate leadership from among the center residents, and it is difficult in a community of this kind which is composed largely of rural people to find people who have had the training and who can appreciate the problems of both generations. Hikida alone is unable to take the sole initiative, without the sanction of the administrative officials. This has not been forthcoming with the result that the Nisei side of the CAS is split between JACL, non-JACL, and Kibei. The Nisei have the facilities, the Issei have none. It is significant to note, however, that the Issei are organized from the point of view of the type of recreational program which they want.

A Clubs and Organizations Council can draw lines for the types of activities which is most worthwhile for each generation, but a Clubs and Organizations Council has been unsuccessful in maintaining itself because so many organizations are still awaiting Hoffman's official recognition. The Kibei Club is, for example, although recognized and given a recreation hall, has not been permitted to send a representative to the CAS Clubs and Organizations Council. The same is true of the Sumo Club, the Kendo Club, and so on. Such organizations as the Model Airplane Club are entitled to representation. The result is stupidly chaotic and has arisen out of the fact that there has been lack of supervision from above in regard to the formation of the CAS. The Clubs and Organizations Council is designed to be subject to the

CAS Council proper. It is to present passage of various recommendations to the CAS Council for approval. Until the CAS Council can properly organize, there can be no function for a Clubs and Organizations Council. For example, the position of the athletic head has not as yet been filled. The CAS desires to control athletics in the various blocks but is unable to find the personnel to do it. Without the personnel and without leadership, Nisei recreation is almost at a stand-still except for a spontaneous block and organizations activities. These arise, not from above, but from within the evacuee group itself.

Issei recreation seems to have a better start but lacks the approval of the administration. Such a situation has given rise to considerable resentment among the Issei who feel that they are being left out. It is hoped that under the new administrative reorganization, a more equitable arrangement can be effected.