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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA

YOUTH GROUPS IN THE
GILA RIVER RELOCATION CENTER

October 26, 1944

I. Nature and Method of the Enquiry

This attempt to discover the nature of the youth groups in the center was undertaken for three reasons: (1) to learn the type of existent groups, so that the basic nature of youth social controls be understood; (2) to learn how these basic controls fail in the relatively few cases which have become delinquent; and (3) to assist CAS in organizing its program in terms of dealing with the actual social organization.

Since the Community Analysis Section has a staff so small that it cannot procure all this information in a short time, volunteer assistance has to be sought. The volunteers were mostly from the CAS staff; a few others, interested in youth activities from other points of view, assisted. Each was asked to study the child, juvenile and youth organizations, both formal and informal, within his own block. In addition, he was to note those individuals in his block who belonged to groupings outside the block, and those activities extending beyond the block. Each volunteer was given a list of general questions (appended) on which to base his report. When the report was turned in, the community analyst supplemented the information on the report by questioning. The written reports varied considerably in the care with which they were written, and in the degree to which detailed studies were made. These inequalities were, to some extent, reduced in the process of questioning. Some turned in no written reports, and the results were obtained entirely by questioning. Some reports, verbal and written, were rejected because the assistant clearly had not made careful enough observations.

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The enquires were limited to children, juveniles and youths; the upper age group consists of unmarried young men and women. It would have been desirable to study all groupings, but this would have taken too much time for the immediate purposes. Parents were only considered in their relationship to their children, and young married couples

only in terms of their relationship to their juniors. It is planned to continue this study to include all block groupings, the time required and the degree of detail obtainable being dependent upon the amount of assistance available.

Since the assistants were, with two exceptions, volunteers, results are not as complete as might be desired. At the time of writing, there are reports on only blocks, 5 in Butte and 4 in Canal. These are probably sufficiently representative to be used as materials for tentative conclusions.

Because some assistants and informants wish to remain anonymous, the names of none of them are given, and the identity of the blocks given as examples is concealed. Any practical application of this information by CAS will have to be preceded by more comprehensive surveys and should include all blocks. (See recommendations)

II. Sample Blocks.

The data from the following 5 blocks are given as examples of youth groupings. They show both the uniformities and the differences typical of all blocks studied.

Block A, Canal

Pre-school children. There are many in the block. They play mostly in small groups, and near their parents.

Grammar School boys. They play as more or less compact groups; there are two age-level groups. The oldest boy in this group is about 12. There are no boys in 7th or 8th grade, so there is a definite gap between the older grammar school group and the high school group.

High School Boys. There are about 10 or 12 of these. They form a compact group. They have a volleyball team and a block basket-ball team. One boy of this age associates with boys outside the block, the rest stick together. They stay within the block in the evenings and seem to be well under the control of their elders. None of them belong to the Boy Scouts. A few belong to the Hi-Y or the Phalanx. Membership in these organizations does not take much of their time or their interest. One boy formerly associated with boys outside the block and got into trouble with the police. He now associates with boys of the block.

Young unmarried men. There are only four in the block. They play volley ball in the block and thereby associate with the high school boys. Two of them play football on the team of another block. Two of them associate with CAS personnel and find much of their interest outside the block. To some degree they provide leadership for the younger boys. All are employed.

Grammar School Girls. There are only 3 or 4 in the block. They form no organized group and seem to have no organized recreation, though they play together intermittently. They are much under the influence of their parents.

High School Girls. They do not form a compact group. They play volley-ball with the boys. Outside of that they spend much of their time at home or with nearby neighbors. Besides high school activities they have few interests outside the block. Two belong to the Girl Scouts, but are not very active.

Young Unmarried women. There are six in the block. They have no organization and do not group together much. Two play volley ball, the others spend their evenings at home or with nearby neighbors. All are employed.

Block Organization. There is a formally organized Young People's Block Association. They give parties at farewells and other important occasions. They have no regular meetings and (apparently) no other functions.

Leadership. The young men and young women provide the recreational leadership within the block. The informant observed no systematic or consistent leadership within the lower age-grades.

Block attitudes. The parents have little interest in the recreation of their children. The interest in recreation and block organization lies with the younger adults (see above).

Nature of the Block. Nearly all families in the block were agriculturalists before evacuation and all came from the same place. The latter fact contributes to block solidarity. The previous occupation (according to the informant) accounts for their lack of interest in their children's recreation and their lack of interest in activities outside the block.

Block B, Canal

Pre-School and Young Grammar School Student.

These form a somewhat undifferentiated mass, playing in small groups near home.

Grammar School Boys! There are about 30 boys, eight to eleven years of age. They form a somewhat vague group. They play football, cops and robbers, shoot slingshots and play marbles. They ususally eat with their parents, but occasionally numbers of them eat together.

High School Boys. There are about 16 of them and they form a very compact gang. Most of them are in 7th or 8th grade. There is only one high school senior and he associates with boys outside the block. They have their own football team. This is dominated by two exceptionally vigorous boys. The coach is a little older. The boys eat together. Even in the mornings they go about together. They "don't like the girls and the boys and girls don't get together."

Once the high-school boys are in the gang, they don't listen to their parents, and are under the control of the gang. Two of them got into trouble with the police on one occasion. This is stated to be "accidental"; they happened to be with boys of other blocks only on that particular occasion.

There are no young unmarried men in the block; they have all relocated or been inducted.

Grammar School Girls. There are several gangs. They are highly unstable. Members of one gang frequently go over to another gang. There are fights between gangs and quarrels within the gangs. But the older grammar school girls, in the 7th and 8th grades form a more stable and active group.

High School Girls. There are about 15 of them. Unlike the boys of the same age, they do not form a compact group. They group in threes and fours. They "chatter and study" and none of them have hobbies. They don't join clubs, as do the girls in other blocks.

Young Unmarried Women. There are about 10 of them. They do not form a group, but bunch together in groups of two or three or four. They are interested in movies and

shows. They don't join clubs. They spend most of their evenings at home. At the same time there are a few leaders in camp-wide activities from this group.

Block Organization. There is a young People's Club in the block. It is backed by the parents, but the most active leadership comes from the High School group. Interest in it is ~~is~~ dwindling. There are socials on special occasions, and gifts are sent to soldiers.

Block Characteristics. Among the parents there are not many active men or women. They are not interested in childrens activities. A few help but most don't care. "They don't realize how this contributes to delinquency." They don't attend P.T.A. meetings.

"The women gossip, the men talk about the war. (Men gossip too)". The men don't play go or shogi. They like movies and talent shows.

There is no clubroom for the block. Even if they did have one, it would be dominated by one group and the other groups would be either in conflict with that group or deprived of the use of the clubroom.

Block L, Butte.

Small Children. The little boys group by age, there being two vaguely defined groups. The girls are "about the same." This includes children up to 9 or 10.

Boys 11 years and up. There are 15 boys in the block from the ages of 11 to 21. These do not group by age. Nine of the boys form three groups, of these, two boys, 11 and 12 years old, go around together; three boys, aged 12, 14 and 15 go around together; and four boys, aged 16, 17, 17 and 21 form the largest group. This last is headed by the young man of 21. These groups are not antagonistic, but simply interest groups.

There are five boys not associated with any of the above groups. One, 11, plays with the younger boys. One is a "solitary." A third is a "mothers boy". A fourth is listed for segregation with his parents, and neither he nor his parents, have much to do with the rest of the block.

The fifth, 16, was formerly delinquent. He has not been in trouble for some months. The school principal now reports that he is doing well at school, and his parents report that he stays home at nights. (The informant doubts the latter statement).

Apart from the last boy, the members of this age group keep mostly within the block. They play ping pong. Some play cards and checkers. Most are interested in reading. Apart from ping-pong, they get their athletics at school or through CAS. All except one are interested in at least one outdoor game. All, with the one possible exception noted, stay at home or within the block at nights.

The block manager provides his office as a recreation room for the boys.

Girls 11-14. These formerly constituted a well-marked and active gang. One girl was an aggressive leader. At her instance, members of this gang used to steal money from their parents to buy things for the gang. The block manager reported this to the parents some four months ago and there has been no recurrence. They still form the noisiest group in the block.

High School Girls and Young Unmarried Women.

There are only two high school girls. They are quiet and go everywhere together. There are three young women. They live quietly and associate with each other.

Leadership. Among girls, leadership was noted only in the 11-14 year group. For the boys, the young man of 21 is the most notable leader. Two other boys were mentioned among the group. This does not rest upon aggression, so much as upon popularity.

Block Characteristics. The block is a divided one, the factions being each a group from one place in California. This division has not notably extended to the children. This is partly the accomplishment of the block manager. Among adults, he smooths factional difficulties; he himself does not come from any one of the three places of origin of the block inhabitants. He has a strong interest in childrens, particularly boys' activities. It is possible that he is to some degree responsible for the relative harmony between the boys in the block.

Block M, Butte.

Small Children. The boys 5 to 8 years form a small gang. A few of the elders of this group try to keep up with the boys of the next age group. The girls 6 to 10 form an identifiable group.

Boys 8 to 14. These constitute a formally organized group called the Tuxis Junior Hi-Y. A little less than a year ago a YMCA leader noticed a group of boys of this age gathering rather frequently and organized them within a week. Later, when the club was functioning pretty well, friends from outside the block joined. These constitute a small minority; the club remains essentially a block club. Its numbers were limited to 25. There are at present 20 members.

This group is considered stronger than the family group because they have a mass of ideas and interests in common. They spend most of their leisure time together. They have many hobbies: arts, crafts, athletics and social affairs. They do not mix with the girls. They cultivate "ruggedness" and "he-man stuff"; going with girls is "stssified".

The leader is the oldest of the group, and is regarded with respect. Informant was not able to indicate the nature of his leadership qualities, other than age. Their advisor is a YMCA man who spends much of leisure time with them and who seems to have a very definite influence upon them. A program has been developed which suits their needs; their activities are thus satisfactory to themselves and meet the approval of the elders. This particular group has never had any case of juvenile delinquency.

The block has no recreation hall, but the boys use the block manager's office or the laundry.

Boys 14 to 18. There used to be 9 or 10 boys of this age group, six of them spent most of their time out of the block, not getting home until midnight. They used to lie to their parents. They drank and "tried to act older than they were." Formerly they had formed a group called the Senior Hi-Y. They were advised by a young man aged 26. He did not give enough time to them and when he relocated the group dropped its formal organization.

Eventually they were arrested and were on probation for two months. All six have since relocated.

There are only three or four of this age group left. They are all of the "reserved" type and do not group much among themselves nor with others.

Young Unmarried men. Most of these have been inducted or are relocated. Those left pursue their individual interests. One of them is the adviser to the Tuxis Junior Hi-Y.

Girls 6-13. These are divided into two groups. There are many of the ages 6 to 10. They "go around together" and form a vaguely demarcated group. There are relatively few girls 11 to 13. They have not very noticeable group activities.

High School Girls. Girls of this ^{age} cluster in groups of three or four. They go to shows and pay visits together. They spend much time at home. Some of them belong to the Girl Scouts and other formal organizations. Many have boy friends with whom they go to socials. The informant thinks they should have a recreation hall with games and other diversions.

Young Unmarried Women. These work and stay home. On account of induction and relocation few of them have boy friends. Nevertheless they get into quarrels with their parents about going out at nights, from time to time. The informant thinks they should have more intellectual recreation.

Block N. Butte.

For this block, the research assistant provided a complete census of all children and unmarried young men and women between the ages 3 and 29 years. The numbers are as follows:

	Total	Male	Female
All Ages	79	40	39
Kindergarten	11	6	5
Elementary School	19	12	7
Junior High School	15	10	5
High School	18	8	10
Beyond H.S.	16	4	12

Pre-School Children. These play together in the block. They have swings and sand-boxes. After six years of age, boys and girls do not play together.

Elementary School Boys. These group by age, but number of such groups was not specifically stated.

7th and 8th Grade Boys. There are ten of these. They form a not very compact group. One of them plays almost entirely with boys of an adjacent block. Two of them stay at home after school. Five play on football teams. Two belong to the Scouts. They play together in the block to some extent.

High School Boys. There are eight of these. They do not form a strong group. Each associates with boys who come from his own home town in California. They mostly stay within the block. One boy, age 15 is one of the acknowledged leaders. He plays football. Two others play football. Another is a junior scoutmaster and member of several other formal clubs. Five belong to no clubs. They are, on the whole, a quiet group.

Young Unmarried men. Of the four, one is a CAS athletic director and has other club work. The three others spend most of their leisure time in the block.

Delinquency. Two boys were caught stealing, and a third was convicted of disturbing the peace. The first two, brothers, come of a good family and had never been in trouble before. The third is from Jerome and has always had the reputation of being a trouble-maker. The incident caused some tension in the block; the Jerome boy was accused of leading the other boys astray and there is some feeling between the old Gilans and the people from Jerome.

Elementary School Girls. These play together but again not in closely integrated groups.

Junior High School Girls. These seven girls belong to no clubs and spend much of their time at home. They play within the block.

High School Girls. Of the ten girls of this group, more than half belong to clubs; some to the YBA, some to the block club, some to both. Two are girl scouts.

Outside of the activities connected with these formal organizations, they spend most of their time at home. It is stated that they are very quiet.

Young Unmarried Women. The ages of the twelve unmarried women out of school range from 18 to 29. All are employed, most of them in offices, three in the Co-op, one is a teacher. Four belong to clubs, the others associate only with their fellow-employees and with block neighbors. All of them spend their evenings at home. Most of them have definite ambitions. This contrasts with the high-school boys and the young men, who expect induction and of whom only a few have definite ambitions.

Block Associations. There is a Block N Activities Club, organized in January, 1943. Some high-school students and some of the unmarried men and women are members. Its activities are social. The block has a volleyball set and basket-ball equipment. They want also a ping-pong set.

Block Attitudes. The parents in this block are interested in the activities and recreation of the children. Some of the mothers are now trying to form a youth club for girls; the proposed activities are sewing, knitting and similar things. They feel that the present activities club does not offer enough. The block took the fact of delinquency much to heart; and certain block tensions have resulted (see above under Delinquency)

III. Conclusions

The block studies, including those not given in this memorandum, give sufficient data to warrant the following tentative conclusions.

The organization of youth, formal and informal, is not basically different, in many respects, from what would be found in any community.

Up to 12 years of age, or thereabouts, the children group by ages, by school grade, or by other such common factors, within the blocks. Most of their playing is within the blocks and they sometimes, though not always, form gangs with well-defined membership. The boys and girls do not play together after about six years of age, except for such limited activities as volley-ball. The exact range of ages within any play-group or gang varies according to the numbers of any given age within the block,

and the relative physical and mental growth of the individual child. Sometimes these informal groupings are made the basis of formal clubs, as in the case of the Tuxis Junior Hi Y. Such formal organization does not originate within the group, but it suggested and assisted by someone older.

During this age-span, the social differences between girls and boys become more marked. In most cases the girls keep closer to the family. The one case of a young girls' gang is given in the account of Block L. There it depended upon one unusual leader within the group.

At this period of development the children keep within the block during leisure hours, and remain under the influence of parents to a marked degree. Delinquency of any serious kind is rare.

From about 12 to 14 or 15, the exact year of change being dependent upon the situation within the block, and upon family and individual differences, the ganging of boys becomes more marked. They still group within the block for the most part, but individuals may break away and play in other blocks. In some blocks the boys of this age associate with the older boys; in other blocks they remain a group apart.

During this period, the boys begin to break away from the influences of their parents. They may eat together in the mess; they begin to stay out later; and some informants state that they begin to give back answers to their parents. But there is very great variation. The degree to which they break away from parental control is different from block to block and from family to family. The relative disruption is a tendency, not always completed.

From the age of 14 or 15, the drawing away from the family become more marked. In some blocks the older high-school boys form a definite group. In others they break into cliques. In still others they seek associations outside the blocks. The examples given suggest the range of possibilities.

Associations after 14 or 15 may be made on the basis of interests other than block contiguity. In many cases boys from the same home-town group together. In other cases it is membership in an athletic club, or, less often,

some other interest. The important point is that, in some instances, but by no means in all, the boys seek fellowship and recreation beyond their immediate neighborhoods. The vast majority do this in approved ways, but it is in this period that delinquency may develop. The delinquent is, among other things, the boy who does not find satisfaction in approved group activities, and who seeks satisfaction in groups offering excitement and adventure in gangs which are socially disapproved. This will be discussed more fully in a later section.

Girls do not usually develop socially in the same way. Usually the girl remains more closely controlled by the family, though exceptions are noted. Grouping is not by gangs but by friendship groups or cliques. Two, three or four girls form more or less enduring attachments, and go to and from school together, visit each other, and spend evenings together. More than the boys they are called in to assist in family duties, helping to keep the house clean and assisting with the other children. While problem girls exist, their number is small, or ~~is~~ at least few of their delinquencies become public.

Girls seem to seek their larger social satisfactions in more conventional ways. Membership in the girl scouts, the YWCA, the YEA, in block clubs and in other formal organization provides interest for some. The High School teachers report that they are very active and assertive in school activities. Apart from absence for approved activities, few go out in the evenings.

While there are thus definite similarities to development in more normal communities, the differences also are significant. These differences are caused partly by the Japanese family background, but more by conditions in the center.

The family values are still strongly influenced by the Japanese ideals. Conformity and obedience are among these ideals. The group which has modified these, and might still continue to modify them the Nisei parents of children, are largely absent. At the same time the children are influenced by two things: the American family values, and their lack of physical dependence upon the parents. They get their lodging and food from public funds and many are fully aware of it. Thus there always exists potentially a conflict situation: a family standard involving obedience, against a different family standard, with the economic sanctions lacking. Hence there is found

a great range within the center. At one extreme, there are a few families closely approximating the Japanese values. At the other extreme, there is loss of parental control over the children, even very young children. The majority show both sets of factors at work, but nearly all parents claim loss of control. The inference is that they have not the degree of control they believe they ought to have. The loss of control chiefly affects the boys; girls seem to remain more closely tied to the family.

Center conditions relevant to this topic are block solidarity and lack of social variety.

The solidarity of the block, shows itself in the continuing dependence of the child upon the block, even extending to some extent, to those boys who seek activity outside the block. Block control supplements or, in some cases supersedes, parental control. In Block L, the block manager takes an active part in controlling boys' activities. In Block M, leaders have organized the boys. In Block N, the parents are constructively interested in the children's welfare, with the result that few of the boys seek disapproved recreation. Blocks A and B, on the other hand, do little for their children. The residents are conscious of this fact. They tend to approve or disapprove a boy in terms of whether he "stays inside the block" or "goes outside the block". They are not very discriminating in this regard. They approve boy scouts and other formal, recognized associations, but do not distinguish between those informal associations which lead to delinquency and those which do not. Delinquency has been so much associated with groupings outside the block that they try to keep their boys in control by keeping him within the block.

The other condition, lack of social variety, needs only brief mention. CAS and, coordinated with it, national agencies such as the YMCA and the Scouts offer a variety of activities, but the casual recreation to be found in an ordinary community are lacking. Movies are available only on certain days. The corner drug store is absent. One cannot even walk along brightly lighted streets and go window shopping. Thus, for recreation child and youth must depend upon what the block has to offer, upon clubs and similar associations, or seek satisfaction in socially disapproved ways. It says much for the social controls within the community that delinquency is so rare.

IV. Delinquency

In the twelve months from October 1, 1943 until September 30, 1944, twenty-four boys were charged with delinquency. Of these, four had more than one charge laid against them, the others only one charge. The charges were as follows:

Larceny	6
Disturbing the peace	4
Disorderly conduct	14
Malicious mischief	7
Interfering with an officer	1

These figures are not very significant. Many boys were questioned but not charged. The Internal Security officers on many occasions were convinced of the guilt of certain boys but either had insufficient evidence or believed it inadvisable to make a formal charge and dismissed the suspects with an admonition.

The ages of those charged ranged from 14 to 23. There was no specific delinquency area; for example, the sixteen Butte delinquents lived in thirteen different blocks.

The delinquencies had more than one cause. Some of the boys had family difficulties. In one case, the father was in love with another woman, causing domestic tensions. In another case the father and son did not get on together, the conflict having begun before evacuation. In at least two other cases the parents had lost control of their children.

But this does not account for all cases. Some boys came of good families, and the delinquency came as a surprise to the parents. It is possible that more intensive case work would uncover family conflict situations, but on the surface, at least, a number of the delinquents had a normal family background. Thus social conditions other than the family must be taken into account.

One factor is probably lack of satisfactory activities of an approved nature. There are a number of clubs and societies which give interest to many boys. Besides those associated with the schools, there are the Boy Scouts, a number of athletic clubs, the YMCA and associated clubs,

the YBA, and some block clubs. These, of course, vary in the amount and type of activity provided. But they do give opportunity for recreation, and many boys avail themselves of one or several. In the blocks studied, about one half of boys over eleven belong to one or more of these societies.

For some boys, however, these clubs or societies do not provide satisfactory or sufficient recreation. One Scout leader, for example, said that many boys lose interest in the scouts after the age of fifteen. The limitations of center life do not permit camping and hiking; the opportunities for taking certain types of tests are lacking; so some boys drop out. Other societies do not appeal because they are "sissy"; a number of boys require more strenuous activities than those provided. These tend to cluster around a physically vigorous leader; and if the leader has anti-social tendencies the group may follow him.

The development of delinquency is sometimes the cumulative result of rejection by the community. Boys who like to pose as tough are shunned. By way of compensation, they get tougher. For this reason they fall under a greater weight of disapproval. In the end they develop a bravado about their social situation and defy the society which rejected them.

This is seen in one of the commonest of juvenile offenses, crashing dances. The boys are not wanted at dances. Their uncouthness and, frequently, their slovenly way of dressing make them undesirable. In revenge they either crash the dance or disturb it to such a degree that it is difficult to carry on. On at least one occasion this led to a fight with the police.

Another factor is resentment at restraint. One boy made the revealing remark "They put us in here, but they can't push us around." Another, being cross examined as a witness by the Chief of Internal Security said, on being silenced "Is this man trying to deprive us of our right of free speech?". This has certain psychological implications which might be followed up. The resentment is expressed at authority, and may be the product of resentment against parental authority. But it may also be what it appears to be on the surface; resentment at what is believed to be the whole complex of wrongs attendant upon evacuation and the restraint necessitated by life in a relocation center.

Internal Security estimates that there are about sixty delinquent or potentially delinquent boys, and that the number remains approximately constant. Some relocated, but the Jerome contingent contained a few trouble-makers, and these made their presence manifest in the first two months of their residence here. Moreover, the gaps left by inductions and relocation are filled in by new recruits. Each month, seemingly, boys of fourteen or fifteen, with no previous bad record, gravitate to the group offering action and excitement.

It should be noted that the number of delinquents or near-delinquents is small in proportion to the total population. The vast majority of the boys are orderly, and find sufficient outlet for their energies in ways which are socially approved. The delinquents are the small minority.

To summarize, delinquency is caused by undesirable family conditions, by limitations of opportunity arising from the nature of a relocation center, by lack of satisfactory activities, and by resentment at evacuation and detention.

V. Recommendations

Delinquency is caused by social conditions. Punishment does not change these conditions, it simply adds another factor. Consequently, punishment will not prevent delinquency. There is evidence that of the boys already punished, a number were sufficiently shocked by what happened, and will possibly not repeat the offense. But upon others, the effects were quite different. They are merely strengthened in their anti-social attitudes and will continue as problems. And, of course, punishment will not retard the development of new delinquents.

It is probable that no actions taken by the authorities will completely do away with delinquency. Where the cause lies in the family situation there is little that authorities can do, at least until after the event. But it is possible that measures could be taken to reduce the delinquency caused by other social conditions.

Of the agencies available, CAS can probably do more to reduce delinquency than any other. If the foregoing analysis is correct, what is required is a greater number of satisfactory activities, or an extension of already existent activities. Possibly this is a counsel of perfection. Athletic clubs do offer strenuous action of a type suitable for vigorous youth and it is difficult to see what more could be done. The suggestion must, of necessity remain vague.

A more specific suggestion is that the block type of organization be fostered. A number of blocks already have committees for encouraging youth activities. Some have purchased basket-ball equipment, and have illuminated the block playgrounds. An extension of these enterprises to other activities, and to all blocks, might be a project well worth undertaking. It is recommended that CAS take this under consideration.

A prerequisite to such a policy would be a complete survey of every block. Community Analysis cannot do this alone for lack of staff. It is suggested that CAS, Social Welfare and Community Analysis make this a joint effort, using all staffs to secure one volunteer from every block, and instructing such volunteers in exactly what is required. A body of knowledge would thus be available upon which CAS could base its future procedures.

Another recommendation may also be a counsel of perfection. Many blocks suffer from lack of a recreation hall. It is suggested that every effort be put forth to provide at least some indoor recreation space for each block. If a recreation hall, or part of a recreation hall is not available, an empty apartment might be assigned. The difficulties in the way of implementing this recommendation are fully realized.

These recommendations are not intended to suggest that present CAS policies be superseded. The project wide activities should by no means be discontinued. It is merely suggested that the block organization, based as it is upon a definite block social solidarity, be utilized to supplement present activities.

NOTES FOR STUDENTS OF YOUTH GROUPINGS

The following questions are suggested for those who are engaged in studying the groupings and activities of children and youth in this community. This is not intended to be exhaustive; other questions will occur to the students themselves.

1. How do people group together here?
2. Are the family groupings stronger than the age groupings?
3. What is the nature and the organization of "natural", or age group?
4. Are groupings organized by blocks or by age regardless of block?
5. Is the answer to question 4 different with different age groups?
6. Do the children and youths spend most of the time with the family or with members of the "natural" groupings?
7. Is there much difference between girls and boys in this respect.
8. Who are the leaders of these groupings; are they members of the group, are they older adolescents, or are they adults? Do they belong to the Block or area of groupings, do they come from outside or are they school teachers or religious leaders?
9. Which of these groupings are formally organized and which are informal groups?
10. What is the nature of social controls within these groupings; what type of group is most likely to become delinquent.

The best way to answer these questions is to observe the actual conduct of these children and youths in the area you are studying. But it is also useful to ask other people and get the results of their observations.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA

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July 12, 1944

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS REPORT

Notes On Japanese Language School In
The Gila River Relocation Center

In the past few months, pressure to establish Japanese language schools has become more manifest. Requests have been made to the Project Director, the Assistant Project Director, Community Management Division, and other officials. It is stated that this pressure took definite shape as the result of a meeting in the Project Director's Office in the early part of May, 1944. There were present, besides the Director, the Executive Boards of the Community Councils and representatives of the Block Managers. At this meeting the question was propounded. The Director stated that the matter must be considered carefully. This, mistakenly, was taken to mean that the whole situation was up for discussion and early decision, and pressures were intensified. The belief among the evacuees, grew that language schools would be permitted, though not sponsored, by the administration. A notice in the Japanese section of the Gila News-Courier was interpreted to the same effect. As a result, Japanese schools were established informally and without specific sanction. In June, the Project Director issued an instruction that Japanese language schools could not be permitted without sanction of the National Director. The National Director teletyped on July 4 that Japanese language schools were contrary to WRA policy.

This caused confusion and resentment on the part of the residents. The matter was discussed with the Executive Board of the Community Councils and at the Community Councils. The Assistant Project Director, Community Management Division, called a meeting on July 7. There were present some members of the Executive Boards of the Councils, the two Central Block Managers, six Japanese Language instructors and the Assistant Project Director. The following interpretation of the demand for language schools is derived from the discussion on that occasion, and from a number of individual interviews.

The desire of the Japanese parents to teach their children the Japanese language is essentially a manifestation of a desire common to all immigrant groups; it is simply the desire to transmit the cultural heritage of the parent to the child.

This inevitably creates a dilemma. If they are to be assimilated, the children must accept the values of the new cultural environment. This they cannot learn from their parents, except to the degree that the old and the new cultures have common elements. Hence the second generation lives in two cultures, and is not a full participant in either. If the immigrant group is relatively isolated, the second generation will tend to belong to the old culture. If the group mingles freely with members of the new culture, the assimilation of the second generation is accelerated.

The Japanese group are in a specially difficult situation. Before evacuation, many of them lived in relative isolation, although appreciable numbers did enter into complex relationships with the American society. The group as a whole were denied equal economic and social opportunities and thus their isolation was accentuated.

Even before evacuation, the war intensified the isolation of the Japanese in America. Evacuation completed it. Life in a relocation center throws the group back upon its own culture. Even the limited contacts which Japanese-Americans would have had outside are drastically reduced. Knowledge of the American culture is transmitted only through the schools and in limited occupational situations. The basic cultural teachings must, of necessity, have a strong Japanese content.

If the Japanese social pattern functioned as of old, the second generation would thus be markedly inculcated with Japanese cultural values. But the old social pattern has no longer the strength it had. Though the evidence is conflicting, there are definite indications that parental authority is no longer what it was. Family cohesion remains, but the relationships within the family are different. This holds more particularly for the relationships between adolescent children and their parents.

As a compensation for that state of affairs, there is a strong urge on the part of many, though not all parents, to reestablish and transmit certain aspects of Japanese culture to the children. Japanese language schools are one

of the means to this end. Japanese language schools are justified in various terms. First, they provide leisure-time activity for the children and keep them out of mischief. Second, they provide a necessary means of communication by which parents may inculcate moral principles. Third, schools are themselves centers for the teaching of moral principles. Whatever may be the validity of any one of these justifications, the desire seems clear: to have Japanese taught the children as a necessary part of transmitting Japanese culture, particularly the ethical aspects of that culture, to the second generation.

This desire is intensified by the existence of juvenile delinquency. Actually, the juvenile delinquency rate is not high as compared with other communities. But the evacuees believe it to be on the increase. There is much evidence to indicate that sex irregularities are increasing. Thus the parents may feel that their children are not learning the moral restraints of either culture, and they therefore desire to inculcate a moral system which they value and which, in their experience, has been relatively effective .

There may be other factors behind the wish for Japanese schools. It is even possible that some of the Japanese teachers have in mind a more comprehensive indoctrination in Japanese values than they profess. This is stated only as a possibility because there has been no direct evidence of such a tendency in this center.

In spite of this last possibility, it is suggested that the desire of the parents to have their children taught the Japanese language be considered with the greatest sympathy. Behind that desire, there is deep-seated concern for the moral welfare of the children and for the continuity of the family life. If other administrative considerations render it undesirable to permit Japanese schools, the WRA might take into account the complex factors behind this desire and offer something in place of the schools.

To state what could be offered is beyond the scope of these notes. It would have to be something additional to what is offered now in the way of cultural training, particularly training in moral attitudes and values. It would, also, have to be a program which would convince the parents as something worth-while. It would have to involve the participation of parents as well as children thus strengthening the existing bonds between parents and children and creating new common interests. It would, in brief, have

to be far-reaching because it would be considered, at best, a substitute. Japanese Language has become symbolic of many wishes.

Whether such a program could be evolved is another and difficult consideration. But a flat refusal to permit Japanese schools might have unexpected and unfortunate results. The parents see something going which they value. They see nothing to take its place, so they seek to reimpose the old in terms of mechanisms they understand. If they are not permitted to do this, and nothing else is done, distrust of the administration may increase, and resentment and feelings of frustration be intensified among an appreciable proportion of the population.

Brief Notes on Interviews on
Japanese Language Schools

1. February 16, 1944. Referring to some members of the staff who were studying Japanese, a member of a group of men remarked "They let Caucasians have Japanese teachers, but not the evacuees." The group assented to the implication of discrimination.
2. March 28, 1944. A prominent Issei asked the Analyst "When are they going to let us teach our children good Japanese." The speaker was not an applicant for repatriation.
3. May 9, 1944. A well educated Issei and a Nisei member of C.A.S. came to have a discussion on the teaching of Japanese. The grounds stated were two: (1) that parents and children have an effective means of communicating both in the home and for writing to each other when absent; (2) the military value of having a certain number of Nisei acquainted with Japanese. I formed the opinion that the first was the real reason, the second a rationalization to back up the first reason.
4. May 11, 1944. One Block Manager, and one member of the Community Council (both Issei) asked the Analyst's opinion on the legality of teaching Japanese. They were specifically concerned with the moral connotations. "Parents want to teach their children good behavior". "We want our children to learn what is right from their parents."
5. May 12, 1944. Meeting in the Project Director's Office: Executive Boards of Community Councilors, Central Block Managers, Community Analyst, Project Director. The question was discussed at some length. No verbatim notes were taken, but the bulk of the discussion was concerned with the necessity for parents and children to understand each other.
6. June 29, 1944. One block manager, and two Issei, discussing the Project Director's instruction to discontinue language schools until a ruling was received from Washington: "If they cannot have the schools, the people will be very grieved; the people want their children to learn Japanese so that they can speak to them. Why should the WRA forbid us from teaching our children the language of their fathers?"

7. July 5, 1944. Discussion with a Japanese language teacher. "How can you expect them (juvenile delinquents) to behave if their parents cannot talk to hem properly?"
8. July 7, 1944. Discussion in office of Assistant Project Director, Community Management Division (cited in text). At this meeting of Executive Board Members, Central Block Managers, and six Japanese language teachers, all the reasons and rationalizations for language schools were brought out. The rise in juvenile delinquency, the increase in sex immorality, the growing disregard of children for parents' advice were all cited as evidence of the need for closer relationship between parent and child and consequently for the teaching of Japanese. The sincerity of most present was unmistakable. The only dissent came from one Issei father, who objected to the schools on the ground that they failed to teach Japanese adequately.

The group considered seriously the objections to the schools; misinterpretation by the public, misinterpretation by the Armed Services, the previous reputation of the schools, and the need to concentrate on the English language and American customs, for assimilating into new communities.

At the end of the meeting the impression was that they were disappointed that there were to be no schools, but that they understood the strength of the objections to them.

9. July 10, 1944. Discussion with a group of three: two Issei and one Nisei, (older than most Nisei). The gist of this discussion was that the people would not go against instructions but that they would give up the schools with the greatest reluctance. "Washington does not understand the subject." They want to have their children taught Japanese, for ethical reasons.
10. July 10, 1944. Comment of a Nisei (age 22): "Learning Japanese is a waste of time unless you are going to Camp Savage or are returning to Japan." (One or two statements disapproving language study.)
11. July 12, 1944. Reported by a welfare worker as part of a counselling interview. A Block Manager said, "We appreciate very much the way Mr. Wolter treats us. We wanted language schools very much, but he discussed the

matter so thoroughly and explained the reasons against them so clearly that we will not make any trouble about it."

NOTE: The matter was also discussed at a meeting of the Butte Community Council, but as no member of the Community Analysis staff was present, no adequate report can be given.

July 13, 1944

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
APRIL 29, 1944

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

Dear Mr. Bennett:

When Mr. Spicer was here he asked me to collect some information on the Seinenkai. This report embodies what I have learned to date. I should have preferred to make more prolonged and more careful inquiries but Mr. Spicer is in a hurry for such information as he can get. Apparently, the Seinenkai under George Yamashiro is active at Tule Lake and the Administration wants to know all that can be learned on the subject. As I acquire more information I shall send in further reports.

Yours sincerely,

G. Gordon Brown
Community Analyst

Approved:

Hugo W. Wolter

Hugo W. Wolter

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
April 27, 1944

THE SEINENKAI

The Seinenkai of Gila River Relocation Center had its origin in Tular Assembly Center. There meetings were encouraged, and, apparently, the nucleus of the organization was formed. Its organization became more formal at Butte Community, Gila, and on November 1, 1942, its constitution was adopted. It took the English name of Gila Young People Association.

The first article of the constitution says "We, the Young people of Gila River Relocation Center, residing in Rivers, Arizona, in order to promote the general welfare of the evacuee-residents of said Center, consistent with the effort of the Administration, do ordain this constitution."

The proposed range of its activities was very great. It formed a number of committees: public relations, publicity, athletic, dramatic, literary, library and welfare. The booklet; though the booklet appeared much less often than that. The welfare committee was "to cooperate with the Welfare Department of this Center to assist said department in taking care of indigent cases and to alleviate sufferings among the residents of this Community; to cooperate with the Chapter of the American Red Cross in this community, and in general to look after and provide for the general welfare of all needy families in so far as it is capable of carrying out this function."

Interviews with a number of people in the community suggest that, originally, those activities attracting the most attention were its welfare work and its library work. The members collected delicacies for the sick; they helped prepare homes and furniture for those unable to do so; and in general they devoted themselves to helping those in need with some enthusiasm. The library committee collected a number of Japanese books. These circulated among the members, and books were taken to the library. It is to be noted that only Japanese books were collected. A member of the library committee proposed that both English and Japanese books be provided. When that proposal was rejected, the man who proposed it resigned.

Japanese forms of recreation were sponsored or encouraged by the Association; and, while each activity had its own organization, it seems probable that the association assisted in maintaining interest and enthusiasm. Its booklet published stories and articles. Some of these appeared in an English

translation. Except for a few, wherein pride in Japanese ancestry was stressed, the published pieces seem sentimental and unreal, and presumably were put in to encourage what was considered fine writing.

Certain aims of the association were well recognized, though not stated in the constitution. Basically, these aims can be reduced to two; to encourage activities pertaining to Japanese Culture and to create better understanding between Nisei and Issei, but particularly between Kibei and Issei.

It is the opinion of many that the Association's aims were not primarily or essentially political. During and after registration, the Association became highly suspect; but it is possible that this was because of the activities of its leaders.

Outwardly, the organization was democratic. There were two separate ruling bodies and one advisory group. The officers were the usual officers elected by many clubs; President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and an auditor. These were elected, and were to hold office for a year. In addition, there was a Board of Governors, consisting of seven men and three women. They were elected, but were then to hold office for the life of the organization. They elected their own chairman; they alone could nominate officers; and they were to pass rules and regulations affecting the general welfare of the organization. Superficially it would seem that the latter group was to be the controlling, constant body, the annually elected officials to be instruments of its policy; but apparently it did not work out that way. The advisory group consisted of two Issei. A number of men served, in turn in this capacity. One or two resigned because they did not approve of the activities of the organization. Mr. Ochi, Buddhist priest, (sometimes designated Bishop) continued as advisor until his internment in September 1943.

There were 400 members. Although all young people were eligible for membership, it is stated that three quarters of these were Kibei. There were, in addition, about 400 associate (Issei) members.

The first president was George Yamashiro. He was born in 1914 and was therefore 28 years old at the time the Association was organized. He had lived in Japan from 1916 to 1931. In 1938 and 1939 he had studied economics and

political science at one of the California universities. His occupation was given as farmer, Yamashiro in the days following evacuation showed great intelligence, energy and organizing ability, and soon occupied a dominant position. This position he used to secure power for his group and to spread his own power in the community.

It is difficult to say precisely what is meant by "his group". Nominally it was the GYPA. With its culturally Japanese interest, its predominant Kibei membership and its resentment at its own status, the GYPA was certainly not opposed to Yamashiro's actions in relationships external to the organization. At the same time an appreciable number were indifferent to political activities. They were interested in the cultural activities: the library privileges, the flower shows and the recreational activities. For the organization of these, credit is ascribed to other officers of the GYPA. Yamashiro concentrated his energies on political activity and his group probably consisted of the active, but controlling minority of the GYPA. A small minority were hostile to him and a number of these withdrew from the organization. The position that emerged was thus a controlling minority under an able leader, predisposed to oppose the administration; and indifferent majority, interested in cultural activities but not actively political; and a small dissenting minority; which never became influential and which diminished in numbers.

Apparently the first struggle for power was with the CAS. I have not yet accumulated sufficient information to give the details of this struggle. It involved both internal and external conflicts. Internally, there were a number in favor of cooperation. They were the democratic Nisei minority. But Yamashiro was an expert negotiator. He seems to have quieted the internal opposition though at the same time exciting some enmity. He acquired a reputation as an autocrat an informant states: "Niseis wanted to decide affairs in open discussion but he used the art of manipulation and Niseis and the CAS complained about that." The external conflict was for control of activities and it seems to have lasted until Yamashiro left the center.

The critical period came just previous to and during registration. Nominally, as far as I can determine (and subsequent enquiry may alter this opinion) the GYPA, did not take a stand on the matter. But the GYPA leaders did take a stand. Yamashiro and several other leaders took a definitely pro-Japanese stand. They urged people to answer "no" to questions 27 and 28. Some of them are said to have stated

that Japan would win the war and that those loyal to America would suffer. And they swelt upon the wrongs of evacuation and consequent suffering and losses. Intimidation almost certainly was used, though evidence on which Internal Security could act was almost impossible to secure. Thus, while the GYPA as an officially constituted body took no stand on the matter, the active and dominant minority was used as a pro-Japanese pressure group.

Public opinion was divided. The definitely pro-Japanese, of course, favored their activities. The majority culturally Japanese, did not condemn them. Many thought they were hot-headed, ill-advised, and heedless of the realities of war-time. The activities were regretted but not condemned. The loyal Nisei were definitely opposed, but they were ineffective and unorganized.

The administration believed the situation dangerous. Informants believed to be reliable brought evidence of public and private pro-axis statements. All informants were interviewed individually, and their evidence agreed. The administration thus felt justified in recommending the removal of a number of individuals to Moab, Utah. This recommendation was made on February 15, 1943 by the chief of Internal Security and on February 17, nine men were taken away to Moab (later to Leupp). All were members of the Board of Governors. Of the seven principal male officers of the organization four were removed; and four of the seven male members of the Board of Governors. Those removed included George Yamashiro.

After Yamashiro's departure the GYPA became less aggressive. "He was like a dictator and after he was taken away, there was not much activity among the group." It still continued its Japanese cultural activities. Flower shows, athletic events and publication continued under its sponsorship or support. A large proportion of its cabinet was on the segregation list. As late as May, 1943, its booklet published a story, "Father's words", in which a father praises successively a Kibei son for answering "no" to the loyalty question and a Nisei son for answering "yes". But it seems no longer to have been outwardly aggressive. Its influence, violent. The new leaders, cautious either by inclination or by example, avoided any open conflict. And the society died when the bulk of its active leaders were segregated to Tule Lake in October 1943.

Summing up, the Seinenkai was a definitely Japanese group; devoted to the maintenance of Japanese cultural activities. A minority were ready to use it as a pressure group,

April 29, 1944

though the majority acquiesced passively rather than participated actively. George Yamashiro, when leader, was definitely pro-Japanese. He was an able leader, but he dominated rather than led. Even among those who did not disapprove his actions, his desire for personal power, and his dexterity in frustrating opposition were noted and disliked. In August, 1943, he was permitted to return to this Center to get married, on undertaking that he would abstain from political activities. Within twenty-four hours he was congratulating a man who had given trouble at the hospital for asserting his rights. Other remarks on other occasions, public and private were construed as political, and he was returned to Leupp after ten days stay. There is nothing in the accounts given at this center to suggest that he will ever cooperate except on his own terms. At the same time, his leadership abilities are such that he cannot be ignored in any community of which he is a member.

MEMORANDUM ON COMMUNICATION

Community Analysis
January 22, 1944

In a community such as a relocation center, there are certain special necessities for accurate transmission of information, and at the same time there are special difficulties of communication. The special necessities arise from the fact that administrative policies affect the people more immediately and directly, and in many more ways than is the case in a more normal community. The special difficulties arise because an appreciable proportion of the people are indifferent to certain administrative policies; some are inimical to them and suspicion, born of experiences since evacuation, is apt to cause a mistrust of administrative announcements. Further, these attitudes are a fertile ground for distortion of truth and for unfounded rumor. That hostility and suspicion have become less in the last few months is true, but this only decreases the seriousness of the problem, it does not get rid of it.

Transmission of information, at once correct and credible, is to be one of the pressing problems in the relocation problem; therefore I shall discuss communication as related to this problem, though I believe that I say will be applicable, in part at least, to other problems.

The special difficulties in this connection, other than the general ones, are: (1) reluctance to relocate, for various reasons given elsewhere; (2) a belief, not universal but widespread, that the WRA does not give the full facts, only those which favor relocation; (3) active, though not coordinated opposition to relocation on the part of an appreciable minority, expressing itself as contempt for and suspicion of all administrative actions; (4) misinformation, transmitted orally, and in good faith, by members of the appointed or evacuee staff; and (5) persistence of erroneous ideas, however derived. To overcome the general and specific difficulties a coordinated plan of campaign would be useful; and to do this the media of communication might be noted.

(1) The Gila News-Courier. Attempts so far made to estimate how carefully and completely this paper is read have been unsuccessful. There is a general opinion that the vast majority of adults read it, either the English or the Japanese section. There is no assurance, however, that the whole paper is read; some say that only those items of interest are read, other parts may be skipped. Nevertheless it is probable that the News-Courier is the best medium of communication and it must have a key position in the public statement of any policy.

(2) The Block Managers. Administratively, this is an accepted means of communication, but its usefulness is uncertain. Some Block Managers will transmit the news, either by notices, by word of mouth or at Block meetings. But there is no uniformity in their practices and, without a reform in procedure, they are unreliable as a body. It might be worth while considering the introduction of uniform requirements and procedure, with a view to increasing their reliability.

(3) The Community Council. This is a body only now in the process of acquiring prestige. But it is essential that the members understand thoroughly administrative policies. As they acquire prestige, so will their statements be increasingly accepted as statements of administrative policy. The continual improvement of means of transmitting information to them should be pursued systematically.

(4) Public Meetings. This is as yet not fully developed. It could become part of a coordinated program if sufficient interest were created to stimulate and maintain attendance and attention.

(5) Personal transmission of information. This has already been mentioned as a possible source of misinformation. If the staff is trained and instructed, it can become a useful adjunct to other means of communication; this holds particularly of the appointed staff and those of the evacuee staff who hold key positions.

(6) Notice-boards. These are probably useful, though subsidiary aids to any systematic publicity.

If an effective system of communication is to be created it must take into account existing facilities on the one hand and handicaps on the other. It must also, of course, consider carefully what fields of information are relevant to the problem and the order and mode in which they are to be imparted. This memorandum will not deal with the last problem, but will present suggestions on the first two.

The strengths and weaknesses of each of media might be assayed. The News-Courier for example, is ready by the vast majority. A long-range plan of insertions might be considered with, of course, sufficient flexibility to meet new situations. The usefulness of the "Relocator" might be given careful scrutiny. It provides information which those interested will find conveniently assembled, but it may merely be a signal to those now uninterested to ignore the whole section. It is also possible that items interspersed in the general body of the paper may receive more credence

as well as more attention. These are not established facts; they are merely possibilities to be considered.

The organization of the Block Managers could probably be reformed. If each block gets a recreation center, a bulletin board might be placed in it, and the block managers made responsible for keeping the bulletins up to date; or, if there is to be a relocation representative in each block, this duty might be relegated to him. Information might also be imparted more systematically to the block managers at their weekly meetings.

The community council is in the process of learning its job. In so doing it has to acquire much information of an administrative nature, and an appreciable proportion of its time is necessarily occupied with internal problems, not immediately related to relocation. Only part of its attention as a body, can be given to relocation. Consequently, order and method might again be useful in presenting essential facts. This, of course, would be done through the relocation committee of the council.

The instruction of the WRA staff could be undertaken by circulars or by meetings, as considered advisable.

The impediments to accurate communication are of long standing and can not be broken down immediately. The best hope of overcoming them is by the adoption of a systematic plan. The plan should be systematic. Each medium of communication should be utilized as part of the larger scheme and not in a haphazard manner. It should be consistent. It should be continuous. And, above all, it should be completely honest if suspicion is to be overcome.

The plan requires some organization and some skill in the arts of publicity. While suggestions from the larger advisory bodies will be useful, the executive work can best be done either by a qualified individual or by a small committee. Assuming it to be a committee, its functions would be to organize the information to be transmitted: to evaluate existing media of communication and to modify them when necessary and possible; and to keep track of all relocation movements, with a view to utilizing them to the best possible advantage. Whether this committee would be responsible to the larger relocation committee or to the relocation executive committee is a minor matter of organization. In my opinion; the essential point is that publicity policies be the responsibility of an individual or of a group small enough to work efficiently.

Jan. 22, 1944

COPY

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

WASHINGTON

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Poston
Sunday morning
March 7, 1943

Gila
letter
K5.12
Japanese Relocation Papers
Bancroft Library

Dear JHP -

Though written from Poston, this letter will be mainly about Gila, where I spent three full days. Half the time I was there, incidentally, it poured. The balance of the time it was wonderfully clear and sunny and exhilarating.

Here are some impressions, based, naturally, on inadequate information obtained in the course of a short visit. Gila seems to have licked most of its physical problems, but there's a markedly missing ingredient in the community relations side of the picture. It's hard to put your finger on, but it's manifest in Community Activities, the work program, and in the general community attitude.

Bennett recognizes it, but says that he knows from contact with other project directors that it's true at all of the centers. Perhaps it is, to some degree, implicit in the relocation setting, but my hunch is that there's a darn sight less of it at Heart Mountain and Utah, which I have seen, and Minidoka, which I haven't.

Here's what Bennett says. Moral fiber is deteriorating. Evacuees won't take any community responsibility. They won't work at anything they don't like. The kids raise hell and destroy government property, and the parents merely say so sorry. When there's a heavy rain, the kids stay away from school (many of them) and work on the farm all but stops. WRA (in the new unnumbered Administrative Instruction especially) is far too soft. All I can do is to tell them to behave better next time - which doesn't work with tough kids. You lean over backwards to help these people, and they deliberately, etc. etc. etc.

Case in point. There's been a bit of delinquency - especially on the part of two tough 15 and 16 year old kids. They've behaved outrageously, no doubt of that. They broke in the school to commit petty thefts; they drove farm machinery around without permission and slightly damaged it; they slashed tires to get at the inner tubes so they could make sling shots. Before much of this had happened, but when there was warning it might, Lu Hoffman, Tuttle and others who had formed a sort of "guidance clinic" wanted to make it operative - to work out a plan for these kids that would divert their energies. Internal Security, which reports right to the project director, by-passed them and said they would take care of it. They were juvenile "experts". They would organize an athletic league to keep the kids out of trouble. Well, it didn't work, and when trouble came Internal Security recommended (directly to Bennett) that the kids be tried in a juvenile court off the project and sent to state reform school!!! They had a full report drawn up in which they said it was no matter for "sociological theories", but one for practical handling. They had the kids sign a statement admitting their guilt - a statement,



by the way, which said that they were signing "of their own free will and accord" and without coercion!

Bennett himself went over to the Canal camp, where the kids lived, and held a hearing on it. Despite police urginings, he was unwilling to have the kids sent to reform school. The upshot is that they are to be given "one more chance" - the next time they do anything, such action will be taken.

Wolter, Hoffman and I talked with Bennett about this case. (I had previously talked with Tuttle, who was pretty sore about the action of the police, especially since it had been previously agreed to work cooperatively in such situations.) Hoffman, strengthened a bit by our presence, said to Bennett what he had previously told me - that Community Services is only called in when a problem is so far advanced that they are willing to concede it's a "human relations" problem. By that time, the damage is usually done, or at least it's twice as hard to solve.

I've no doubt the case I've referred to is an extreme one, and I don't blame Bennett for wanting something done about it, but I'm inclined to think that he approaches things from somewhat too much of an "operations" point of view. He is a good man with the right instincts and qualities of leadership that are unmistakable, but the subtleties of this type baffle him. At least that's my snap judgment. Hoffman says he has made progress, he believe, since the beginning, when Bennett (who had no use for Temple at Manzanar) brought to the job a distrust of Community Service men.

Bennett sees a WPA attitude growing among evacuees. He thinks they're being very unrealistic in terms of jobs on the outside which are offered them, even though some of them (the majority domestic) are sub-standard.

He and Hoffman are together in saying they are very disturbed that no word has come from Washington as yet on the exact form of issei participation in local government. They understood at San Francisco, that such provision would definitely be made. As a result of the delay since then, the constitution committee, which had labored very conscientiously since Oct. 8 has resigned, pretty much frustrated, and the temporary council (which knows a change is in the offing) has threatened several times to do the same thing because it's lost much of its effectiveness with the community. You will no doubt hear from them on this directly, if you haven't already. (At Poston, incidentally, the advisory council of Issei now has "status" which appears to satisfy them and still keep the Nisei council a useful governing body.)

Hoffman recognizes that the plan for a nisei council was intended to give some recognition to citizenship. But he claims that this factor is far outweighed by the need for a government that is truly representative of the community - something the present one is not. He claims that the nisei themselves are the most vehement in desiring a council in which issei are represented.

The announcement of the change in Arizona boundary line came while I was at Gila. They did a good job in sounding out Phoenix and

other sentiment, and are determined to hold requests for passes to a minimum for a while, and thus agreeably surprise the residents of nearby communities, who apparently expect a flood of evacuees. Poston concurs in this and it strikes me as sound at this point at least, in view of Arizona's record on evacuee sentiment to date. I said I hoped it would be possible for more back-and-forth stuff between project and outside in time, Y.M.C.A., etc, so that doubts bred of ignorance could be somewhat reduced on both sides. Both Poston and Gila were uncertain what the boundary change would mean in terms of cameras, package inspection, etc. I told them my belief that they were now in exactly the same position as Minidoka or Utah - in the Western Defense Command but outside the prohibited area. That meant no cameras. I think word on this should go out from Washington, however.

So far as registration is concerned, its effect was certainly earth-shaking, though final results are not yet plainly seen. It's evident that there was confusion and misunderstanding as to intent and meaning. At Gila, for example, I was told by an exceptionally objective evacuee that many parents feared that if their sons said yes to 27 and 28 they would be drafted immediately. As he put it, "it was a question of economics, not loyalty". The likeliest breadwinner was in many cases the young man of draft age. In his relocation was the best possibility for the family's return to normal life. Recognition of this checked volunteering. Then there were other reasons. An engineer who had been unable to get a job here in his field told a confidant on the administrative staff that although he wanted to remain in U.S. he didn't like to close off the last possible escape to Japan. One boy said "no" because he was just sore - he was rejected by the Army when he tried to volunteer a year ago. One lad refused to forswear allegiance to the Emperor, though he calimed to be loyal to the U.S. and willing to bear arms. "The Emperor's a God," he said, "and I can no more forswear allegiance to him than you could to your Lord. If you change the wording to "Empire" instead of "Emperor" I'll say "yes"."

Of course there was "disloyalty", but it was imagined as well as real. It's my conviction that any drastic step WRA might take, directed against all Nay-sayers, should be held up pending further examination of the causes of the reactions received.

In any case, registration will have its effect on new leave applications, at least for a while, I am told. The boys don't know if and when the draft is to be applied to them, and some are just sitting tight. It should also be made clearer whether a draftee's dependents living at a relocation center, are entitled to additional Federal aid in the form of dependency allowances.

Another factor influencing work program and to some extent relocation in both Gila and Poston is the net factory. People are working at a terrific rate, far exceeding the anticipated output, and in some cases are clearing, above all costs, \$100 a month. This is drawing off leadership from many activities. Despite the 65 -35 sharing arrangement with other evacuees in essential project jobs, the wage difference is a considerable one, and at Poston, for example, workers in numerous categories (plumbers, electricians, etc.) are redoubling their efforts to get \$19 instead of \$16.

Miss Findley also informs me that WRA lack of decision on what to do with surplus clothing has been costly. They have put it in warehouses, as directed, but in her belief it should be given out to people doing the dirty jobs. At present, she says, they are forced to spend virtually their entire clothing allowance for work clothing, shoes, etc.

In the matter of family internment camp I am told at both projects that they have been sadly handicapped because they had no authoritative information to give applicants. They stuck to the facts at Gila and Poston, not wishing to misrepresent. While they were waiting, however, many of the women received rather detailed information in the mail from their husbands. At both centers, welfare apparently handled it as well as possible, but was disadvantaged. Miss Findley, especially, complained that her request had gone unanswered, though written in January. All feel a detailed statement (in Japanese as well as English) should be made available - as coming from an authoritative source. Incidentally, a noticeable result of registration here at Poston was a renewal of interest in going to the family internment camp - even, in a few cases, on the part of married sons of internees, who wanted to bring their families.

I've gotten all the way to page 4 without much comment on Community Activities. But on the spot you realize how closely it ties in with all the previous topics referred to which are uppermost in the minds of the people you talk to. Here are some comments, relating only to Gila:

1. Few college people, and such leadership as is available being drawn off to camouflage net and other activities.
2. Real need of leadership training. Hux Wolter will pitch into this right away - in fact made an excellent start even while I was there. He was certainly given a royal welcome. He will handle C.A. in Butte, and a converted teacher, plodding but pleasant, has recently been assigned (working with Gaba) to handle it at Canal. Special attention given to work with boys evidencing tendencies toward delinquency will help. Gambling needs to be curbed.
3. Issei influence unusually strong. Farm people, and Buddhist (50% at Butte, 77% at Canal). Issei activities self-propelled and quite active, involving younger people as well. Question asked: as younger people leave centers, mustn't we expect a program more and more issei in character to develop? Hard to combat, with resentment encountered. At Gila, judo and sumo are active, kendo (fencing) strong. The Gila Young Peoples Association (Kibei Club) was dealt powerful blow by removal of 27, but still holds forth in its own club house, operates library of Japanese books (in Butte), and is sponsoring big track meet with nearly \$100 worth of trophies purchased by issei. Hux will give this early scrutiny.
4. C.A. Section up to now in poor position. As someone said, its prestige rises and falls with the supply of wood, and there hasn't been much wood. C.A. has built some basketball standards, but most of them were built by the blocks from scrap lumber. Certain maverick tendencies noted: baseball leaders preferred to start their league outside of C.A.S. They have issei backing - the old men are interested and have forked up goodly sums for uniforms, equipment, etc. Players are thus almost semi-pro, and are drawn not from blocks but on basis of ability. Firemen built their

own diamond and put big "keep off" signs around it. Hux thinks he can break down all, or a large part of this trend. Hux and I checked recreation equipment statement that he and I and Gibson drew up in the light of Gila experience. We feel it is O.K. as it stands, with two changes: 1) Should be for a center of 10,000; 2) Should say that WRA will provide goal posts, basketball standards and other initial equipment to the extent materials are available.

I talked at length here last night with Miss Briesemeister of the YWCA who has been to all ten WRA centers, and just spent two weeks at Gila. Of course she was there during registration. But she sensed the same lack of contact between appointed staff and evacuees that Hux and I noted immediately. Here at Poston it's not nearly so evident, though I expected the reverse. Miss B. actually asked me if Gila was a WRA experiment in having a project run more as a business, with less contact between staff and evacuees. I don't think she meant it quite that baldly but here's an example. A number of wives of appointed staff are interested in YWCA work. Miss B. asked if they would be willing to serve on the board of the Y for the Canal and Butte communities. It was to be a mixed board, of course, like those in other projects. They said they would be willing, but that in taking it up with the project director it would be best to have it appear that they would be serving in a "supervisory" role, rather than merely as board members serving jointly with evacuees, even though they themselves, of course, would not recognize any distinction. Miss B. said she couldn't misrepresent, but handled it very deftly in another way. Mr. Bennett, incidentally, mentioned to her that he was of the opinion that disturbances at Poston and Manzanar had been caused in part by too much "fraternizing" and that he wanted to hold it to an absolute minimum at Gila.

It's interesting to note that four of the "delinquent" kids came to a leadership training meeting held by Miss B. They came because they were interested, despite the fact that it was advertised as a YWCA session. They wanted to discuss "personality" problems. As one of them put it, "We want to know what makes some people always pick on other people." Although the only boys in a meeting of some 25 girls, they stayed for an hour and a half and were well behaved. Of course it was only after they left that Miss B. learned from some of the girls who they were. They had said they were leaders in their groups (gangs), and Miss B. thought they were probably good material, if steered the right way.

Miss B. is somewhat disturbed above some of the attitudes she's encountered going around, in regard to "sitting out the war". Her assistant, Kimi Mukai, who works out of the YW office in Denver and recently spent a week in Granada, wrote her that six girls who had gone out to Denver to work had returned to Granada. Others who have gone out to work are finding hours and duties burdensome after project assignments, and are changing jobs too frequently, creating public relations problems. I'm more than ever convinced that many evacuees are drugged by project living into an unrealistic position. They desperately need help in thinking through in a hard way where they're going from here. Perhaps because I'm on the scene it takes on undue importance in my mind, but it seems to me that sympathetic but firm counseling, in which the evacuee is forced to develop a rounded

family plan, is our first order of business and should go hand in hand with any job-promotion outside.

Pardon this overlong and rambling letter. Everything I've touched on has been on the seamy side; there are plenty of things you can say on the other side, if you look for them. To a certain extent Bennett is right when he says that any really smart investigator, visiting a center, could create a hell of an explosion. But if he watched them work at the camouflage nets, watched the kids of an evening practicing Irish jigs for a St. Patrick's Day dance, and seen the infinite care that individuals - and sometimes blocks - have given their barracks gardens - seen their pride, and love for growing things - he would get quite a different view. It's the task of building that individual dignity into community responsibility that we've apparently missed out on so far.

Y'rs,

/s/ Ed MARKS

Mr. Lutt

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA

September 7, 1943

MEMORANDUM TO: All Division and Section Heads,
Cost Accountants and Storekeepers

SUBJECT: New Account Numbers

Please add to your "Cost Accounts effective July 1, 1943" the following numbers which will be used to accumulate special program costs:

1. 40-1500 - Cost of sorting ration book stubs for the O.P.A.
2. 40-⁶¹⁰⁰6200 - Cost of segregation program.

W G Graham

W. G. Graham
Act. Asst. Project Director
Administrative Management

NO. 6

TELETYPE

SAN FRANCISCO
9-27-43 11.47A

LEROY H BENNETT
GILA RIVER RELO CTR
RIVERS, ARIZONA

HAVE NOT RECEIVED TRAIN LISTS OR PRESENT JOB ASSIGNMENTS
OF SEGREGANTS FOR TRIPS 27, 28, 29, AND 30. PLEASE
RUSH AIRMAIL.

KENNETH M HARKNESS GENL CHAIRMAN TULELAKE WRA
VIA SF

MC 1.04P

ORIG: WOLTER
CC: TUTTLE
SHELLY
DIRECTOR
HUSO
DIRECTOR (2)
DEP. DIRECTOR



COPY

GRANADA PROJECT
Amache, Colorado

Txa
(69)

April 28, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: James G. Lindley
FROM: John A. Rademaker
RE: Visitors to Granada, week of April 23-29.

Mrs. Anne Laughlin of the War Refugee Board visited the Center on Tuesday, April 24. She visited the farm, met with the Council, and ate at one of the evacuee messes. She wanted particularly to secure suggestions from evacuees as to how to make a war-time emergency center such as will have to be provided for refugees in Europe as good as possible. Suggestions given by the Council, by the Community Analysis staff, and by a small group of women leaders in the Center included better selection of site; better water supply; no barbed wire fence or towers (to which she replied that there have to be those to keep in confinement the spies which the Nazis would unquestionably send with refugees); participation of members of the resident group with the staff--from the first steps of planning for the camp through its operation and administration and closing; better provision for the needs of family organization--single family tables in the mess halls, "turn-about waiting-on" instead of cafeteria style service, etc.; sub-division partitions within family rooms, to provide privacy for boys, girls, and parents in each room; adequate opportunity for employment of teen-agers; a thorough-going recreation program including trained group-work leaders and a comprehensive group-work program; instruction in more economical and nutritious techniques in household economy, diet, etc., implemented by a dietitian, and home economist of the residential group's nationality; adequate medical, psychiatric, and social services carried on if possible by trained individuals of the residential group's nationality and background; staff which is aware of human values and anxious to preserve and safeguard them; a carpenter or wood-working shop with adequate supply of materials to help build furniture, shelves, etc.; a large reception committee to make people feel at home, and if possible to prepare the quarters in advance so they won't be quite so bare and uncomfortable as they were here when the residents first arrived, including the furnishing of a table and bench in addition to cots and blankets and stoves for each family.

Mrs. Laughlin gave some excellent suggestions to the effect that evacuees could really help themselves (as can any residents of such a center) by exercising more initiative and ingenuity, rather than yelling for everything, to be done for them. She suggested several instances in which greater exercise of such traits might be exercised here. She seemed

to be awake and intelligent.

Mr. Ray Gibbons of the Congregational Church's Council for Social Action was here for two days, spoke briefly at the Block Managers' assembly, and visited widely with the evacuees. He proposed several possible ways in which his Council might help with evacuation. He felt that the bottleneck now is at the projects, and discussed with the Relocation Officer, the Community Analyst, and Family Relocation Counselor, the Executive Secretary of the Relocation Advisory Board, and several other people possible plans for collaboration with WRA to help break this bottleneck. He still has to secure the consent of his committee, but his suggestions were approved wholeheartedly by those with whom he spoke. His plans may materialize into a six-month experimental program for the Granada Center, carried on by his Council in cooperation with WRA.

Gila
work file

December 26, 1944

Dear Mrs. Myrick:

Thank you very much for your very thoughtful Christmas gifts. We are all so grateful for your remembering us, year after year, at this Christmas-time - when you are so far away and probably very busy. My father was so thrilled that you remembered his liking for the special brand of cigarette paper - they must have been so hard to get - considering the awful cigarette shortage we are now having. I can't tell you how thrilled I was when I discovered the tiny little ring in the bag. Thank you again.

The Christmas we all looked forward to has come and gone and the new year will be here in only a few more days. We are all hoping that with it will come peace and good will among men once again.

The War Department announcement which allows for the return of Japanese to the Coast was heartening news to us and we regard it as one of the best Christmas gifts we have received. Of course, very few of us have any immediate plans for returning but the thought that we are free to return certainly has done wonders for our morale. Most of the people here will bide their time and will not return until they are quite sure that decent housing and employment is available. And of course favorable community sentiment is very important. The only family planning to return to Santa Barbara soon are the Taki Asakuras. You may know them - they used to have the Florist shop in the El Pasco buildings.

My parents have asked me to thank you for them and they send along their very best regards to you and Mr. Myrick.

From all of us, a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Tomako Yamada
Gila Center

Pullman:

P.A. - ~~ages~~ Infirmary (no sp. ag. week or up in)

PPR - Pregnant women 1, 2 or 3 mo. now.

PC - Mothers with babies 1-18 mo. old.
+ # mo.

PX - mental cases (every member of family
feeling pullman desirable)

Is Be Hill back.

B.H. Bed patient at home

M " " Hospital

B.D. " " Home but doubtful
(up down)

S.D. Special med. case (amblyopia by
Prophet med. service)

P.R. + mo. (mothers beyond 6 mo. pregnant
" babies under 1 month)

A - not signal rep. - or no. don't have
to go - just accompanying families
& Gule.

Q - may be questioned - perhaps ^{or} list
by mistake.

Housewife and Mother

Female Issei

Age: 38

My husband is interned in the Detention camp in Santa Fe, New Mexico. I and my 4 children are all in camp. My oldest son is 18 years old now out of school working in this center. My second son is working in the mess hall as a dishwasher. My third child is a girl attending school. The last and third son is about 10 years old. My husband has been interned since the war began. We haven't seen him since then. although my oldest son went to visit him recently. Soon I shall go, to.....

All of us have signed for repatriation...but recently because my son became 18 years of age, he put in his declination. But the rest of my children are on the expatriation list. All of us would much rather stay in this country but had to sign the repatriation application for we want to be with my husband. If only the government will let us be together... then maybe there will be no need for us to go to Japan. It's quite true that when the children gets to be a certain age, they will be on their own and go their own way but I wouldn't want it this way. However, during war time, We expect that... what I can't understand is why put them in an internment camp?

If segregation occurs, we will probably be segregated. Still away from my husband.. My son will probably not go with us. That will mean that 2 from our family will be gone. My younger children will have to go with me because of their age. Will our family ever be together again....? Maybe I'm selfish but as a mother I want our family to be together if it were only for a week or two.

Before my husband was taken he always use to say that our family can never make a livelihood in Japan and live happily for our children are Americans. They will be foreigners there; they will not be familiar with the people and their customs. But after the war, when he was interned I was surprised to hear of his signing for repatriation. His desire was that we do the same. I thought of this, I knew that the children didn't want to go to an unknown land and live there with the unknown people. Yes, it's true that they will look like them.... but they will not act or think like them. Will they be happy in a place as Japan?....I don't think so.

I was wondering what made my husband change his mind. It must have been because he was interned....also his business taken; his assets frozen; his family put into a camp.

He was probably thinking of the future...after this war is over he doesn't want his children discriminated and when the depression, which is bound to come in the near future, hits the American people it would be twice as hard. It would be a difficult problem to start anew in a place where one is not wanted....but all of us must face this problem which isn't

easy. It is going to be a difficult task to fight the prejudice, towards us Japanese. It would be especially difficult for us to start a business because of the hatred of the Caucasian--- we lost everything when the war began. From Dec. 7th 1941 we had no income. My husband's assets were frozen so for 5 months, we were living on my money. I don't think its possible for us to make a living here.....

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

January 31, 1945

TO: COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND BLOCK MANAGERS

The accompanying population pyramids are drafted to give a graphic picture of the state of the population in this Center as of September 30, 1944. Since that time some people have returned from seasonal leave, and others have relocated, but the picture is essentially unchanged.

Particular attention is drawn to the following points:

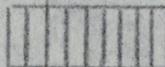
- (1) The comparative scarcity of men between 20 and 39.
- (2) The large number of old people.
- (3) The large number of children.

The significant fact is that a relatively small number of workers must look after a population with a large number of old people and children. This will necessitate a careful distribution of manpower, so that all essential tasks will be performed. The situation will probably become more critical as the summer approaches.

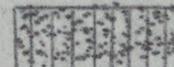
The graph of your block is intended to show how this condition affects your block. A few blocks have a comparatively large proportion of workers, but most have the same problem as the Center as a whole: a very great scarcity of men of the best working age.

In the block charts, the legal status is shown as follows:

CITIZEN



ALIEN



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

February 9, 1945

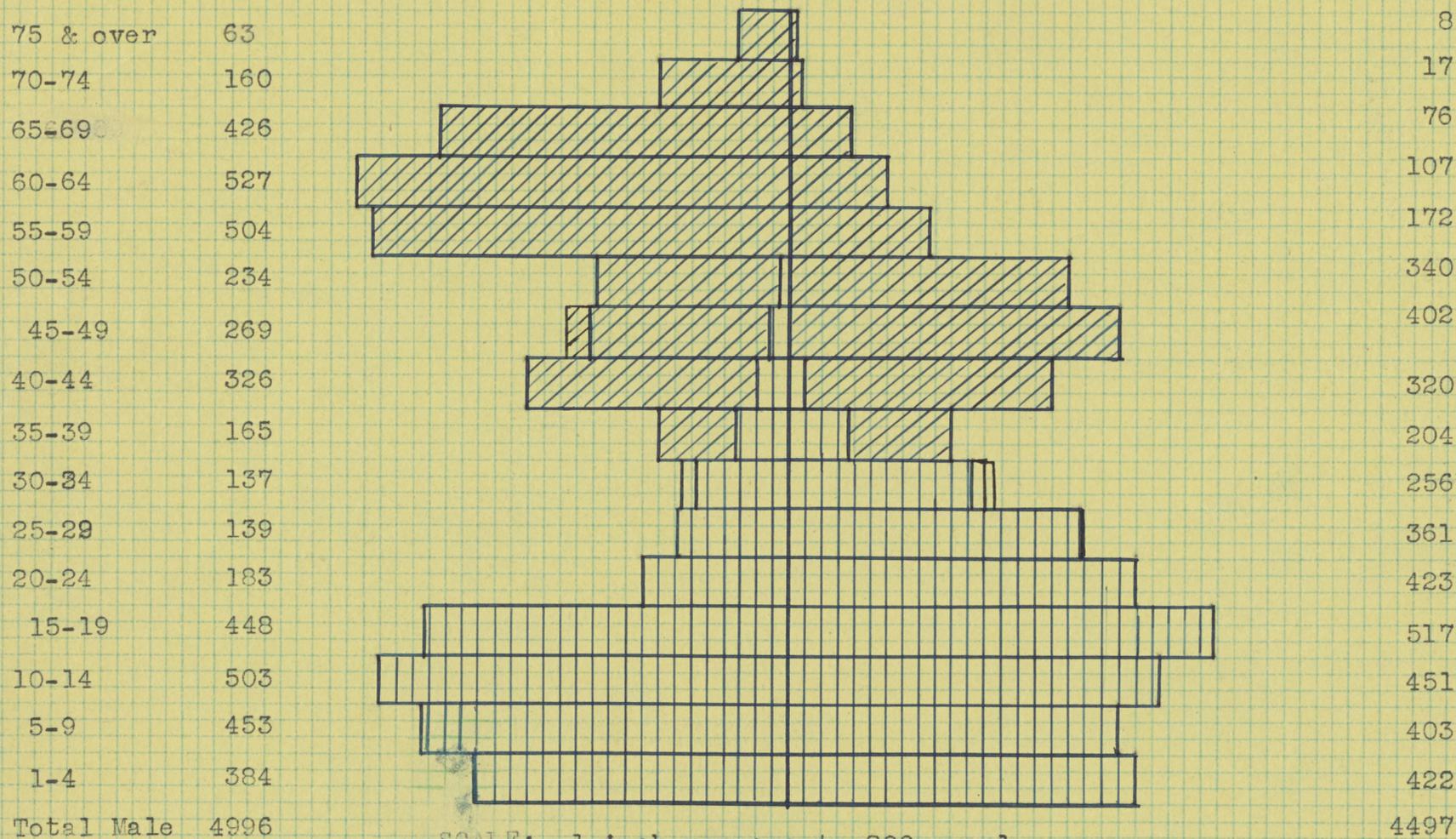
Community Analysis Report: Population Pyramid

The accompanying population pyramid is based on the Center census of December 31, 1944. It is not essentially different from that of September 30. The population had increased from 9277 to 9493, a difference of 216. This is almost completely accounted for by the returns from seasonal and from trial indefinite leave; they were that much greater in number than the relocations for the three month period. From the points of view of both relocation and center operations the problem is slightly eased but not essentially changed. Men likely to relocate and, at the same time, useful to Center operations have increased in number, but not very greatly, and this increase is likely to disappear and the shortage of working men to become accentuated in the early months of this year.

GILA RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
 POPULATION PYRAMID
 CENSUS OF DECEMBER 31, 1944

MALE

FEMALE



SCALE: 1 inch represents 200 people
 Graph lines are 1/10 inch apart

CITIZEN

ALIEN

TOTAL POPULATION 9493

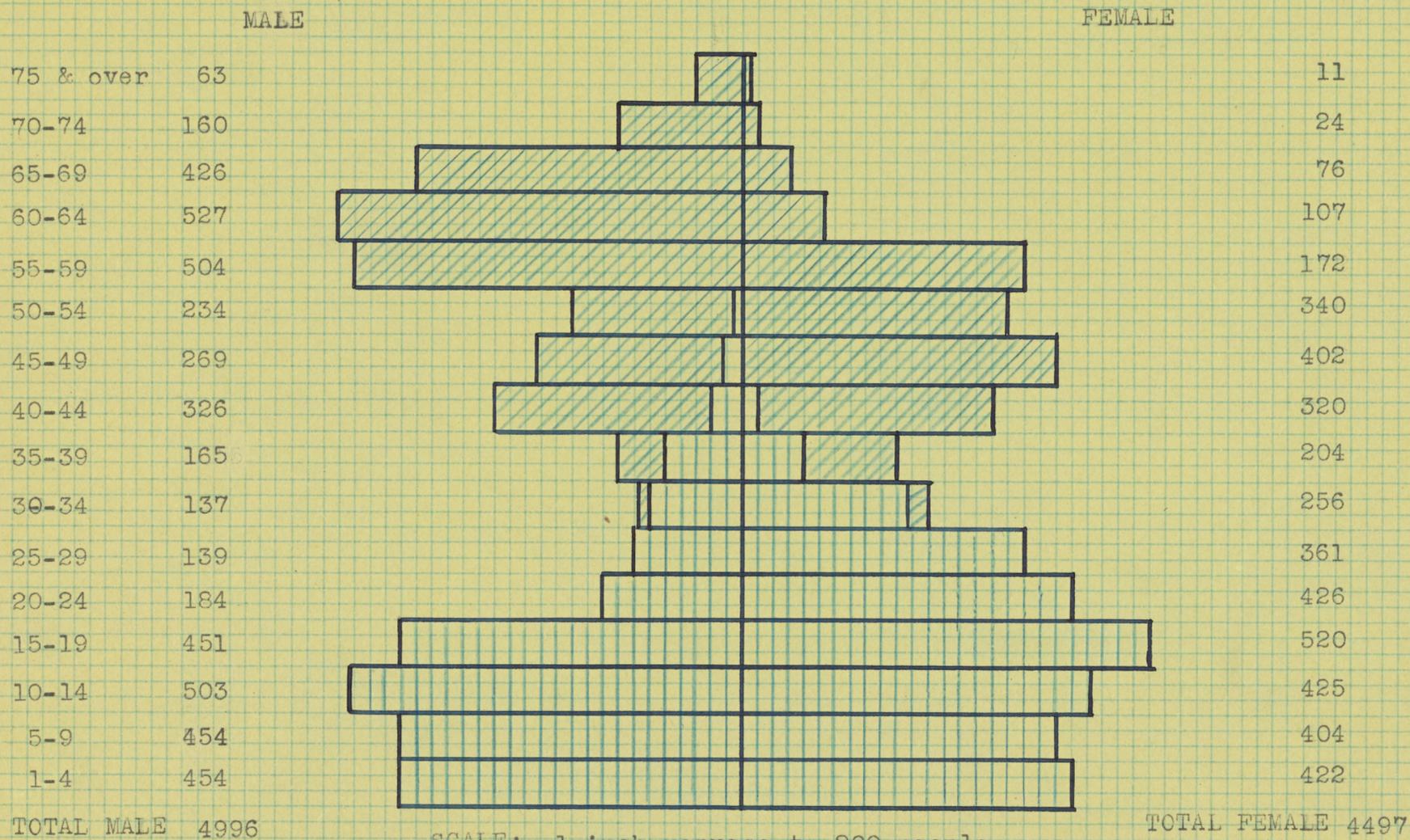
WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

March 5, 1945

Correction to Community Analysis Report

The population pyramid of December 31, 1944 forwarded in a report dated February 10, 1945, has some statistical errors. These errors do not alter the essential structure of the pyramid, but nevertheless need correction. Offices possessing copies of the original pyramid are requested to destroy them, and to replace them with pyramids attached.

GILA RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
 POPULATION PYRAMID
 CENSUS OF DECEMBER 31, 1944



SCALE: 1 inch represents 200 people

Graph lines are 1/10 inch apart

CITIZEN

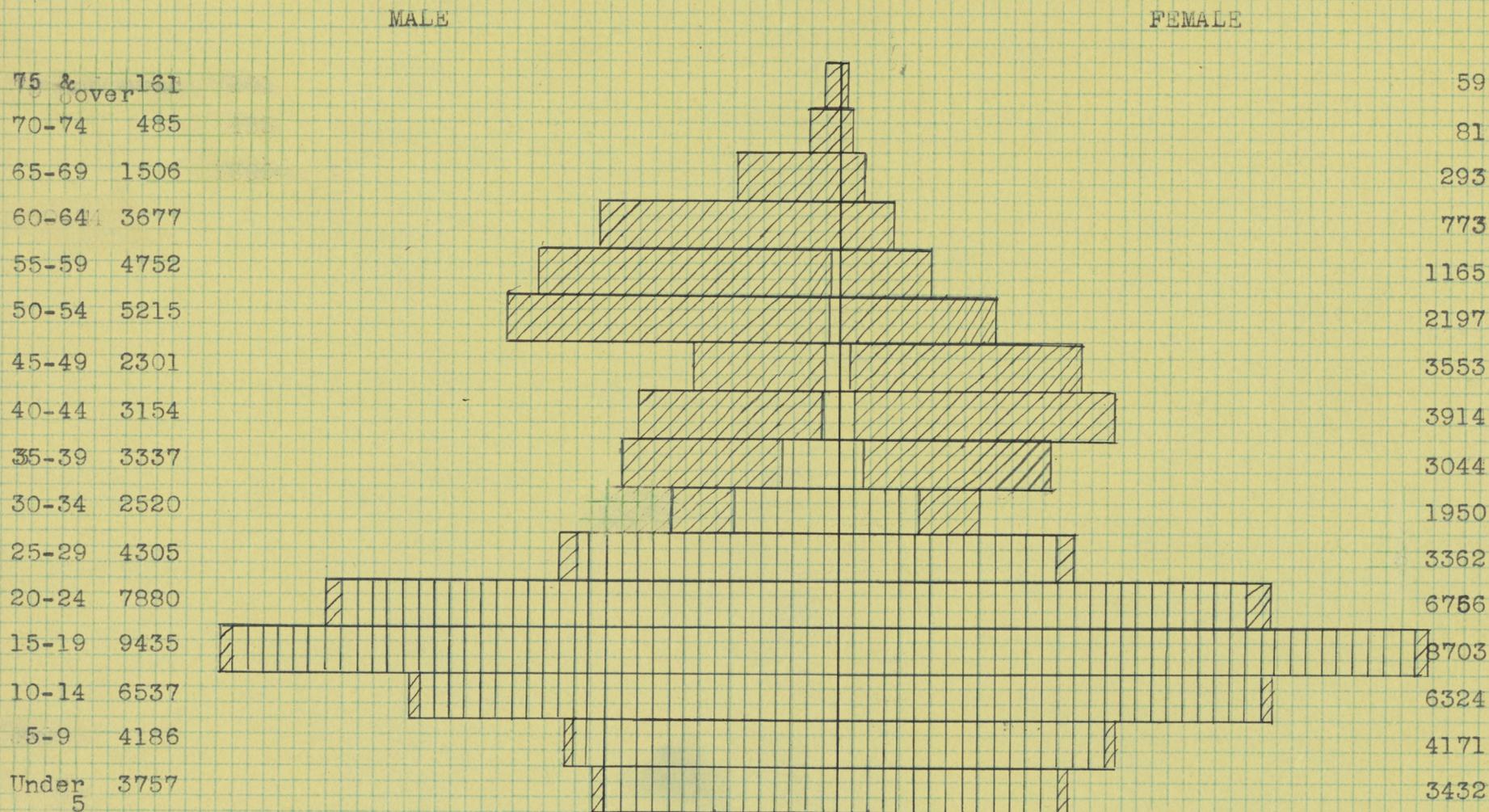


TOTAL POPULATION 9493

ALIEN



Population Pyramid
 Japanese and Japanese-American
 In California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona
 U.S. Census of 1940
 By Age and Sex



63208 Total Male

1 Linear inch=2400 people
 Graph Lines are 1/10 inch

Total Female 49777

Citizen



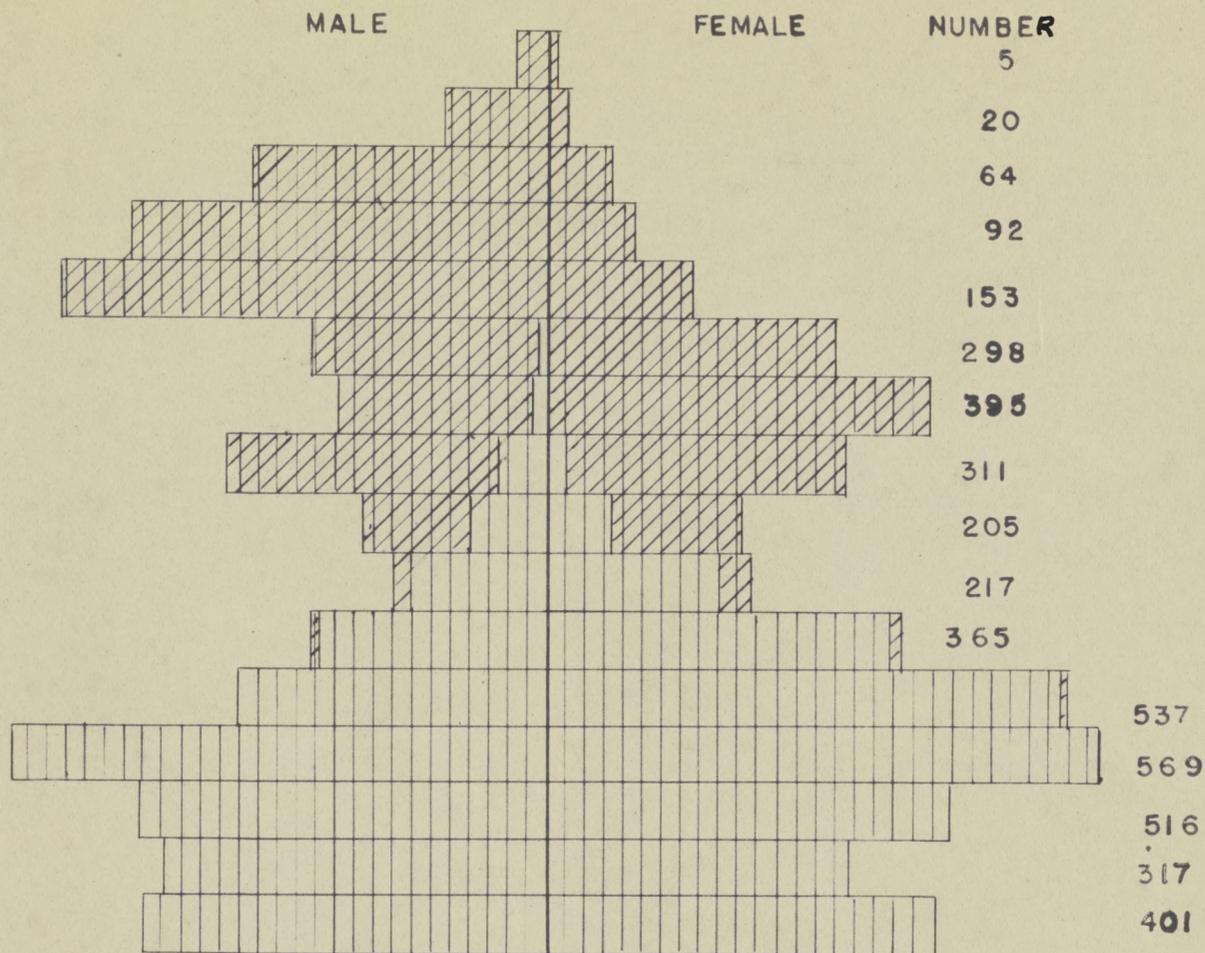
Alien



Total Population 112985

GILA RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
 POPULATION PYRAMID
 CENSUS OF MARCH 31 1944

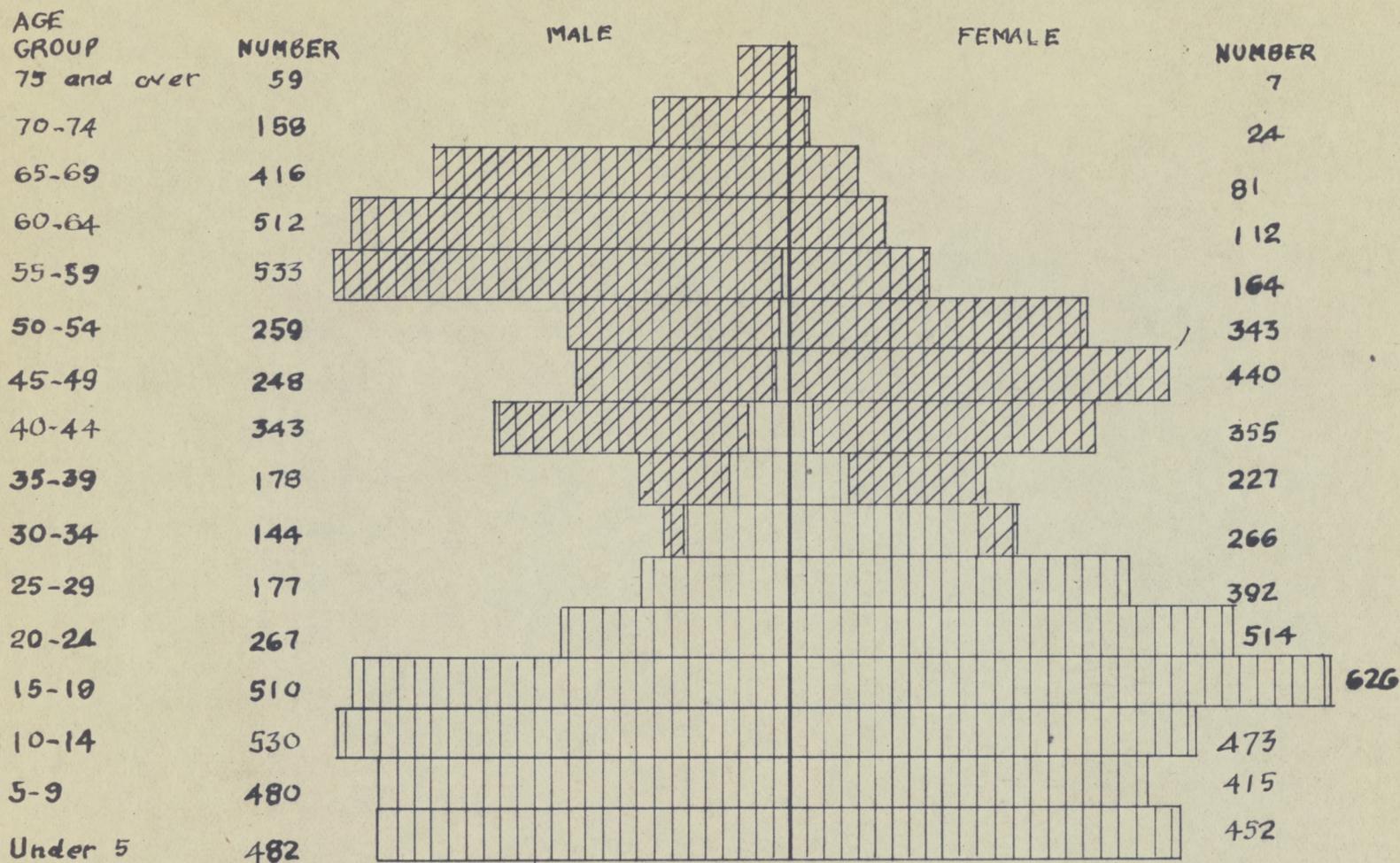
AGE GROUP	NUMBER
75 AND OVER	36
70-74	111
65-69	308
60-64	436
55-59	508
50-54	248
45-49	240
40-44	337
35-39	193
30-34	159
25-29	245
20-24	322
15-19	553
10-14	422
5-9	397
UNDER 5	419



SCALE 1 INCH REPRESENTS 200 PEOPLE
 GRAPH LINES ARE 1/10 INCH APART

CITIZEN ALIEN

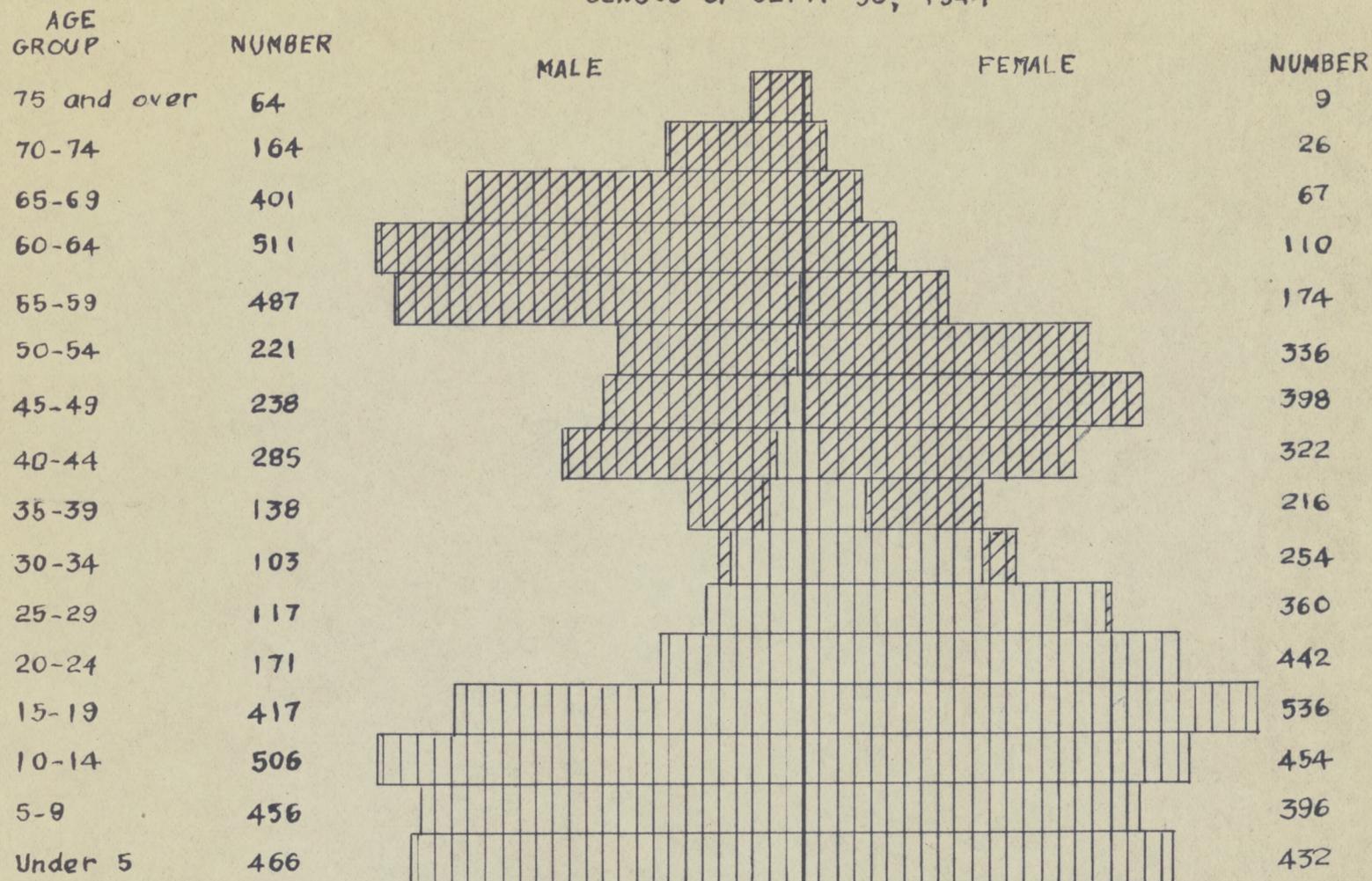
GILA RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
 POPULATION PYRAMID
 CENSUS OF JUNE 30 1944



Scale: 1 inch represents 200 people
 Graph lines are 1/10 inch apart

citizen Alien

GILA RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
POPULATION PYRAMID
CENSUS OF SEPT. 30, 1944



Scale: 1 inch represents 200 people
Graph lines are 1/10 inch apart



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
GILA RIVER PROJECT
RIVERS, ARIZONA
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

January 31, 1945

POPULATION PYRAMIDS AND CHARTS SHOWING AGE DIFFERENCES IN MARRIAGES

I. The following graphs are submitted:

1. Population pyramid, Japanese and Japanese-Americans in California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona, from the U.S. Census of 1940.

2. Population pyramid of the Gila River Relocation Center as of project census of March 31, 1944.

3. Population pyramid of Center as of June 30, 1944.

4. Population pyramid of Center as of September 30, 1944.

All these pyramids show the numbers in 5-year age groups, by sex and citizenship.

The scale of the Center pyramids is 200 people to the linear inch. As the population of this Center on September 30, 1944 was just a little less than 1/12 of the Japanese-American group in the first pyramid, that pyramid shows 2400 to the linear inch; the pyramids are thus roughly comparable, the ratio of the two populations being taken into account.

5. Age differences in marriages of Issei men to Issei women (Issei-Issei marriages).

6. Age differences in marriages of Nisei men to Nisei women (Nisei-Nisei marriages).

- 7. Age differences in marriages of Issei men to Nisei women (Issei-Nisei marriages).

All these were taken from the project census of March 31, 1944.

There is no chart of marriages of Nisei men to Issei women; there were only 23 cases, not enough to be statistically significant.

II. Comments on the graphs.

The pyramids simply show graphically what is already known

statistically. The explanations of the peculiarities of the population structure of the group are also known, and will be noted only briefly.

1. There is a large number of Issei men 55 and over in the Center. Below that age the number of Issei men in each age group is less. This shows in the pyramid of the 1940 U.S. Census, except that the drop shows below the age of 50. This is easily explained by the relative cessation of immigration during the war 1914-18, and the passage of the Exclusion Acts in 1923 and 1924. The last young immigrants arrived by 1923 and show as less than half the male population in the age group 35-39 (project census) or 30-34 (U.S. Census, 1940).

2. The Issei females are of less age than the males in the Center. The median age of Issei males is 58, that of Issei females 48. This corresponds fairly well with the fact that the median age difference in Issei-Issei marriages is 9 years. A common practice was for immigrant males to enter alone, and to bring wives over when they had established themselves. There are fewer Issei females than males; in the September census there were 2413 alien males and 1607 alien females. This means that there is a large number of bachelors. Of the 2413 alien males only 4 are under 25 years of age; yet 690 are listed as single. This large proportion of bachelors is presumably because some failed to establish themselves sufficiently ever to get married, others were unable to do so before the Exclusion Act was passed.

3. A look at the pyramid showing the population structure of Japanese-Americans in 1940 indicates that there was a relative scarcity of males 25-49. The project pyramid of March 1944 shows the same phenomenon, but with males 25-39 in even smaller proportion. By September, 1944 the males of that age group have diminished still further. Relocation and induction are the obvious explanations. This becomes, among other things, a graphic presentation of the manpower difficulties already existing in the Center; these difficulties will presumably increase.

4. In March, 1944, the largest age-group was the 15-19 year. This corresponds with the U.S. Census of 1940. By 1944, four fifths of those in the 15-19 year group would have passed into the 20-24 year group; as the latter was the second largest, presumably it would now be the largest; but relocation for both sexes, and induction for the men have reduced it in the Center leaving the 15-19 group still the largest for females, but not for males. The statistics on which this pyramid is based show that the reduction is largely in those males 18 and 19 years old; again, relocation and induction.

5. In 1940 the five year groups under 15 became successively smaller. By 1944, this trend has become altered, for the people in this Center at least. In September, the group under 5 slightly outnumbered the 5-9 group.

6. The average difference in age between Issei husbands and

wives is a problem in relocation. Old fathers of young children are fairly common, with many fathers incapable of any great range of occupation, and a number unable to do a full day's work. The absence of able-bodied sons accentuates this problem.

7. Nisei-nisei age differences in marriage are nearer the all-American median and do not offer any particular problem.

III. Problems of the present population structure.

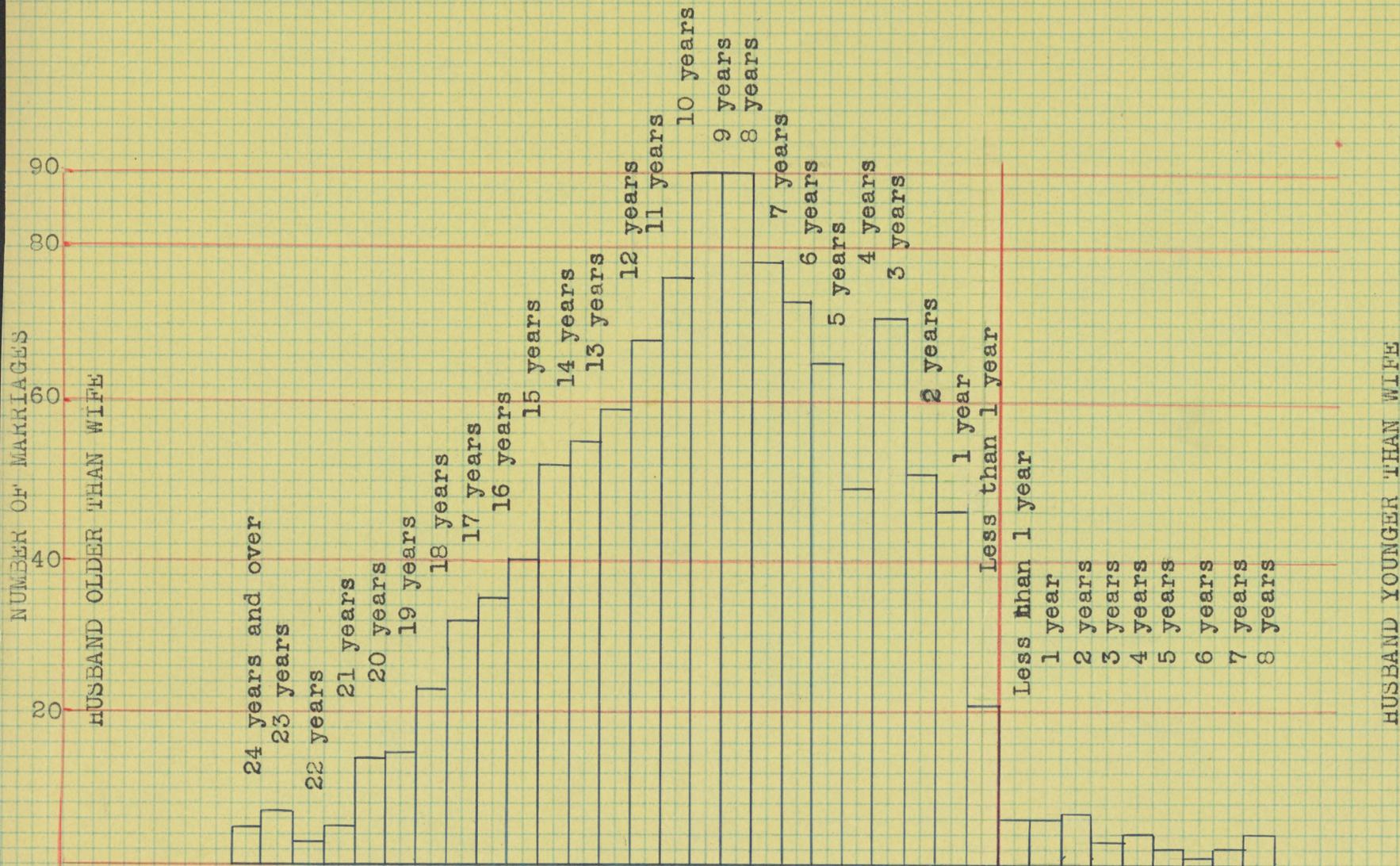
The fundamental problem is the smallness in number of men and, to a less extent, women, capable of work, relative to those capable only of limited work or of no work at all. In September, males from 19 to 49 years of age numbered 990, slightly more than 10% of the population. These facts pose problems of internal administration and of relocation, as indicated above.

IV. Use of graphs in the Center.

The population pyramid of September, 1944 is being forwarded to all section and unit heads employing appreciable numbers of people. It is also being sent to all block managers and both community councils to emphasize the manpower problem. Each block manager, in addition, will receive a copy of the population pyramid of his block. Accompanying the pyramids sent to the managers and councils is a brief explanatory letter, a copy of which is appended. This will be done in a few days, when the block pyramids are complete.

It would have been preferable to send out pyramids from the December 31 census, but the Community Analysis section has not yet been able to do the additional breakdowns from that census. In any case, the situation is not materially altered. From September 30 to December 31, the population increased from 9277 to 9493, mostly men returning from seasonal or from trial indefinite leave. Relocation since that date has brought the population down again to something very close to the September number.

AGE DIFFERENCES IN YEARS IN ISSEI-ISSEI MARRIAGES



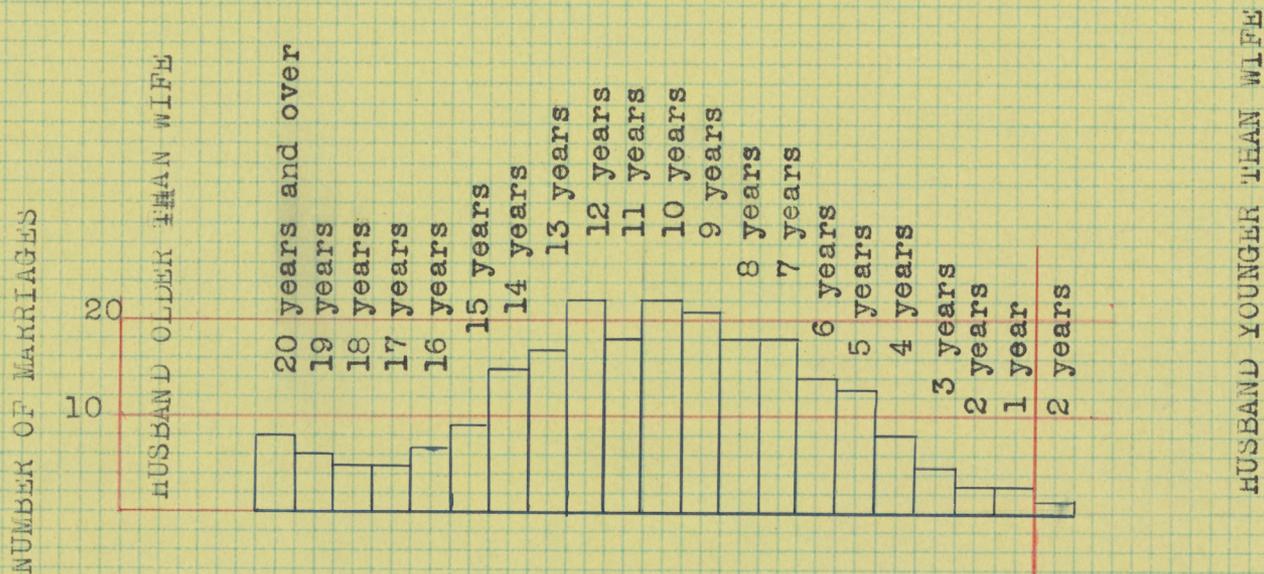
EACH VERTICAL SQUARE REPRESENTS TWO MARRIAGES

TOTAL NUMBER OF MARRIAGES 1,176

MEDIAN AGE DIFFERENCE 9.0 YEARS

HUSBAND YOUNGER THAN WIFE

AGE DIFFERENCES IN YEARS IN ISSEI-NISEI MARRIAGES

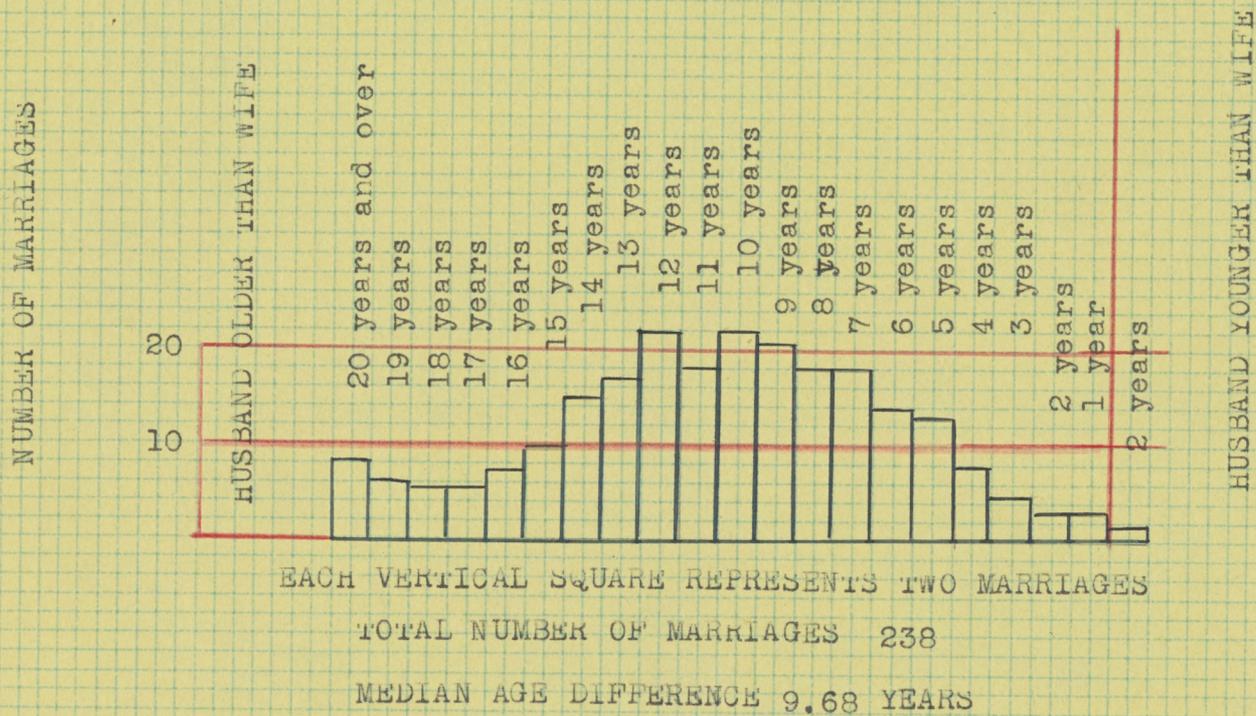


EACH VERTICAL SQUARE REPRESENTS TWO MARRIAGES

TOTAL NUMBER OF MARRIAGES 238

MEDIAN AGE DIFFERENCE 9,68 YEARS

AGE DIFFERENCES IN YEARS IN ISSEI-NISEI MARRIAGES



William K. Little

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
March 7, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 4

Social and Political Organization of the Block at Manzanar^{1/}

The social structure of the block at Manzanar is similar in some respects to that of a Japanese village or mura. The mura is the smallest political unit in Japan and is a collection of local groups or hamlets called buraku. The village or mura is governed by a headman (soncho) who can be compared to the chairman of the block leaders. The residents of a Manzanar block come together in civil cooperation for minor labor (i.e., to fix a playground, to decorate a recreation hall, etc.) much as do the people of a buraku in Japan. Also, as in the case of the buraku, the block keeps small funds for civic use to be spent as the people desire. At Manzanar, such funds are spent for offering or flowers at funerals, marriage gifts, recreational equipment, and for foodstuffs not available through normal channels. Whenever any question of the misuse of block funds comes up, the problem is always settled within the block concerned.

The night-checkers who were appointed by the administration to take barrack count and to inquire if any assistance were needed by the residents are called by the Japanese-speaking residents, omawari-san (person who goes around). Omawari-san in Japan are usually appointed to warn people against fire hazards and also act in the capacity of night-watchmen.

The volunteer fire brigade of the block resembles the mura type of fire brigade; it is made up of the youth of the block, and as in Japan, the bell is hung in a conspicuous place. In some blocks charts are posted in a public place telling the exact duties of each person in case of fire, just as is done in the mura. Usual duties include work on the bucket brigade, salvage crew, traffic crew, fire extinguisher crew, and service as bell ringer. At Manzanar the block fire wardens are usually appointed by the block leader.

Composition of block population was determined by the order of induction at Manzanar. Since in most cases people had evacuated with friends, (using falsified addresses in some instances to facilitate this) blocks were made up of friends and acquaintances instead of strangers. It was a common sight before evacuation to see those who were to be

^{1/} Taken from a report by a Japanese American who lived in a Japanese village for several years.

evacuated walking around Los Angeles looking for an empty house in the district from which they desired to be evacuated, in order to use that address. In certain cases, such as those of the people of Terminal Island and Bainbridge, the people were evacuated and inducted as a group, and live together in the same block at Manzanar.

Most of the elders in the Terminal Island group came from the prefecture of Wakayama where fishing had been their common occupation. Terminal Islanders speak the dialect used by the people of Wakayama which is said to be rougher and cruder than other dialects. The tone of speech is much louder and the Japanese say this is due to living near the seashore. It is common for the Japanese to say to a loud-talking person that he must have been born near the seashore, and that he thinks to be heard he must talk above the sound of the waves.

Where discord among the residents of a block occurs the solution is to move to another block.

From the official point of view, the block leader occupies the highest office in the block. Many of the residents, however, consider the block leader merely as a messenger boy or kozukai (messenger boy, servant), and they use this term to designate him. He is considered a good leader if he is able to acquire incidentals that are in great demand by the residents, such as soap toilet paper, and mops before other blocks get them. Therefore, a leader who is shrewd and who possesses a loud voice is a great asset to the block. He may be very popular at some time, and very unpopular at others, depending on his opinion in regard to any certain issue of current interest.

In most cases these block leaders have little or no training in parliamentary proceedings and therefore very little is accomplished at most of the block meetings. As the average Nisei says, a great deal is discussed but very little is accomplished. The main source of power in a block is a group of men who have been quite prominent in their communities and respective businesses prior to the evacuation. These men are either called genro, in the old traditional way of speaking, or addressed as sodan yaku, "counselors".

In the blocks the duties of these men are to act as advisors in all matters with which they are familiar. Due to their wisdom and also because the Japanese have always respected their elders, their words carry a considerable weight. These men were very important in Japanese communities before evacuation. Usually they were those who were active in some larger business organization or in some prefectural organization. Their biggest asset is their age; they are able to advise all types of persons without insulting them, whereas a young man would be reprimanded for so addressing an older person.

Although this type of man is valuable to the block, the people cannot always induce him to take an active part in community affairs.

One of the reasons for this is that since the start of the war many men who were active in the Japanese communities have been apprehended and detained by the government. In some instances no definite reasons are known to the residents as to why certain men were taken. The people are consequently unable to be sure of their status, and of how the authorities consider them. Many of the men who have not been interned but who have been as active in Japanese affairs as others who have been interned are fearful that they are borderline cases, or that they have been overlooked and will be apprehended if once their names should come to the attention of the authorities. These men tend to shun public office or anything that will make them conspicuous.

There are many men of this type once interned and now released who, because of their previous leadership, are again being called upon to act either as block leaders or as counselors. They have consented in some cases, but on the other hand, most of them are trying in every way within their power to stay out of politics or civic affairs; for many believe they were detained for similar activities. These men who were held by the authorities at one time were formerly the policy-makers of the Japanese community.

Because of the reluctance of former leaders to take control, other leaders have come to the fore. The chief cook is often looked upon as the man of influence in the block. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that all meetings or political gatherings center around the mess hall. The chief cook is generally quite independent in the sense of doing what he pleases. Sometimes whether a man is able to get a good piece of meat or more to eat depends on his popularity with the cook. The cooks have been known to organize a union in order to safeguard their jobs, and it is understood that the cooks have priorities on Barracks 13 and 14, which are closest to the mess halls. This is not the policy of the housing department, but the wish of the cooks. It is well known that men of influence and economic importance in the center have received favors, such as fresh eggs, sugar, and butter from the chief cook. In one instance, at a time of shortage of eggs in the mess hall, one of the mess hall workers was seen washing her hair with a fresh egg, a custom of Japanese women to soften the water. Apple-polishing the mess hall cook is frequent. In some blocks a rather large block fund was distributed New Year's day among the kitchen workers, on the basis that they do such direct service for the residents. Even block managers are catering to the mess hall chiefs. In some instances, people's feelings toward the United States government fluctuates from day to day according to the quality of the food they are served.

The morale of the residents in the blocks has been strongly influenced by the food problem. The mess halls have been the center of dissatisfaction from the beginning. The idea of bringing a tray or a plate to be filled in the mess hall hurts the pride of the Japanese more than any other thing. The cafeteria system has never been popular with the Japanese as a whole; even in a city where they dine out, they prefer not to go to cafeterias. In Japan there are beggars who go from door to

door with plates in their hands, perhaps with an infant on their backs. This type of beggar is looked upon as the lowest of the beggars. Therefore some residents feel that the mess halls have a bad psychological effect. This is tied up with the dislike of the Japanese for being on relief; they had the lowest rate of relief of any nationality. It is safe to say that there were very few families on public relief before evacuation. Such cases, if any arose, were taken care of by the prefectural or local organizations.

In the final analysis of block politics, the wish of the majority rules. The opinion of the block is either strongly one way or strongly the other. In some meetings of the blocks the minority is never heard from regardless of the issue; this is due in part to ignorance of democratic procedure. If parliamentary procedure could be introduced, voting could be greatly facilitated. For example, when a vote was taken in regard to having beer on the center, it was by raised hands; consequently some, too shy to openly vote for beer, did not express their true wishes. If a secret ballot had been used, the result might have been different. Voting among Japanese women is in a very elementary and pioneering stage. They are in a way thrilled by their new voice in matters which were generally reserved for men only.