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Community ANALYSIS
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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Colorado River Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

FINAL REPORT
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

David H. French
David H. French
Community Analyst

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APPENDIX I

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A. ORGANIZATION

The Colorado River Relocation Center pioneered in sociological research largely because of the dual control by the Indian Service and the W. R. A. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was greatly interested in the documentation and analysis of social phenomena in Poston, fostered the establishment of a special organization, the Bureau of Sociological Research. This Bureau functioned in Poston from shortly after the center opened until the fall of 1943. From August, 1943, until the middle of December, 1943, research work dwindled through lack of personnel. The few members of the staff of Sociological Research who were still in Poston at this time were transferred to other positions. Several of these Nisei continued to work at documentation while in the employ of the Reports Division.

Throughout most of the period of its history, Community Analysis was a section of the Community Management Division. With the dissolving of that division on July 1, 1945, the Analyst became responsible directly to the Project Director. This was by far the more advantageous position, since the Analyst had had need to deal directly with the Project Director on many previous occasions and prior consultation with the Chief of Community Management had proved a useless technicality.

It had been assumed, both in Poston and in the Washington office of W. R. A. that a Community Analyst, operating in the same manner as the analysts in the other centers, would replace the Bureau of Sociological Research. Through recruitment difficulties, this replacement was not effected until the end of November, 1945. David French, who was employed at that time, spent a short time in Washington with members of the Community Analysis Section and in Chicago with ex-members of the Bureau of Sociological Research, being oriented to community analysis work. He went on duty in Poston on December 18, 1945 and did not leave until the time of the closing of the center, in March, 1946.

The problem of building a staff of evacuee assistants a year and a half after the center opened was a difficult one. There were practically no unemployed persons on the project capable of doing either research or secretarial work. Furthermore, there were practically no evacuees with training or experience in social science; even college graduates were scarce, since

most of them had already relocated. In January, 1944, an Issei woman, who had had not only some sociological training but who also had worked in the Bureau of Sociological Research, was employed. A Nisei man, who had been Chief of Police and who was a very shrewd individual, as well as a clerk-stenographer, were soon found. The staff did not grow for several months thereafter, largely because the first two evacuee research workers, mentioned above, had been unfortunate choices. Both had numerous enemies in the community and their presence on the staff caused others to be suspicious and to avoid applying for work in the section. In March, 1944, other Nisei were, however, found to work as research assistants and an adequate staff was maintained thereafter. The size of the staff varied, of course, depending upon the rapidity of relocation of the workers and the availability of manpower for replacements. The quota for workers was gradually increased until a maximum of 10 was reached. At one time a total of 12 evacuee workers was employed under this quota, four of them being part-time employees.

It was difficult to keep a staff functioning steadily in Units II and III. At various times Nisei from those units were employed, but since supervision of their work would have been difficult had they spent all of their time in their home units, it was decided that it would be better for them to divide their time between those units and Unit I. Such workers collected data in their home units, but used the Unit I office for writing.

With the close of school in June, 1945, a school teacher in Unit II, Mary Ferris, became available for detail to the Community Analysis Section. She worked continuously from that time until she left to work in the Washington office of W. R. A. in February, 1946. Because she had lived in Unit II for several years, she was given responsibility for covering many aspects of the history of that unit, as well as for writing descriptions of certain organizations which existed in the other two units. For a short period in the fall of 1945, James Geater, an employee of the Federal Security Administration, on detail to W.R.A., did community analysis work. He concentrated on research in Unit III, documenting the closing period. For periods of a week each, two other members of the appointed personnel were detailed to the section for clerical and research work.

With the exception of the Issei woman previously mentioned, and

an Issei newspaper man, none of the evacuee employees of the section had had training or experience which made them peculiarly fitted for community analysis work. Several had had courses in junior college, one was a college graduate, but the rest had not advanced beyond high school. They were young, sometimes too young and hence boisterous; most were intelligent and open minded. Each new employee was given informal training in the aims and techniques of the section. As new types of tasks were undertaken by the research workers, additional training necessary for the job was given them. Few of the evacuee workers seriously considered a career in social science, and, therefore, overall training in research methods was not undertaken. Several of the workers did begin to show an interest in such a career after they had been employed for a month or so; special efforts were made to broaden the training of these few.

In a section as small as Community Analysis, no great problem in the organization of the workers was faced. The clerical workers were subordinate to the research workers in the sense that all research workers were free to assign tasks to the former. All were responsible directly to the Community Analyst, no formal distinctions being made between research workers. This was true even when appointed personnel assistants were employed. At all times, one research worker was outstanding in leadership and quality of work; this was not always the same individual. The other workers often turned to such an outstanding individual for help, and the Analyst sometimes relayed assignments through him. This informal arrangement was formalized when the Community Analyst was absent by the appointment of this natural leader of the group to the position of acting head of the office.

B. FACILITIES

One of the offices and a small amount of the office equipment that had been used by the Bureau of Sociological Research were preserved by the Chief of Community Management for the use of the Analyst on his arrival. This office was located in the main administration building in Unit I. At the suggestion of evacuee workers in the section, a second office in Unit I was soon opened in Block 21, near the center of the evacuee residential area. This office was used throughout the first half of 1944, but subsequent to that time the evacuee workers in the section preferred to use the main office in the administration building.

1. Reorganization of other administrative offices necessitated the shifting of the location of this office. However, because so many evacuees visited the administration building, the Analyst insisted on keeping his activities centralized there.

No office was ever established in Unit II. In Unit III an office which had been occupied by a part of the Bureau of Sociological Research was being used by the Reports Division when the Analyst arrived. Early in 1944 the use of this office was assigned to Community Analysis and it was occupied intermittently by evacuee workers that spring. Since the Welfare Section in Unit III had greater use for the space, they were permitted to use all but one desk which was reserved for Community Analysis.

An inadequate number of typewriters, desks, chairs and other equipment was available when the section was first established. A struggle, similar to the struggle of other offices, was necessary during 1944 to bring the equipment up to needs of the growing staff.

C. PURPOSES

The nature of community analysis work and its intended uses are outlined in Appendix I, which is a copy of a talk given during the family welfare orientation program in April, 1944. Since there were no major changes in policy or program after that time, the material contained in the appendix will not be repeated here. One amplification of a point made in that talk is necessary, however. Throughout the period that he was working on the project, the Analyst intended that the work of the section be directed toward the solution of center management problems. The greatest service that he performed along those lines lay in the distribution of information. This was effected by a wide circulation of reports and of copies of memoranda written by Community Analysis employees. A number of the reports were mimeographed, thereby increasing the number of copies that could be distributed. One disadvantage was present when this policy was followed--it was necessary to omit from reports certain kinds of data which could have been included had there been fewer copies made. For example, discussions of loyalty and disloyalty were sharply restricted.

D. SERVICES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. Interpretation of work of the section.

The Bureau of Sociological Research had made both the appointed staff and evacuees somewhat familiar with the work of a research organization in a relocation center. The Bureau, however, had been misunderstood by some members of both groups, for the following reasons: (1) some of the evacuee workers had not been typical members of the community and had been suspected of revealing confidential information to organizations that might harm members of the community; (2) the supervisor of the Bureau of Sociological Research was not only a doctor and a psychiatrist but also

wore a naval uniform (since he was a member of the navy medical corps). He was believed by some evacuees to be a naval intelligence employee; some appointed personnel members believed his primary interest lay in psychiatry. (3) the results of the Bureau's research--completed reports, for example--were available only to a few on the project. Consequently an air of mystery surrounded the work of the Bureau in the minds of some of the people of Poston.

Project Director Wade Head, who had become convinced of the value of research work from the assistance he had received from the Bureau of Sociological Research, was helpful in interpreting the community analysis work to the appointed personnel by his comments at a staff meeting at the time the Analyst arrived. The Project Attorney, who was assigned the task of orienting the Analyst on the project, was also helpful.

Conversations with evacuee leaders soon made them familiar with the purposes of the section. It was some time, however, before the suspicions of most ordinary residents of the community had subsided to the level that made easy work possible. Constant efforts at clearing up misunderstandings and spiking rumors through the help of evacuee leaders were necessary. The Analyst also felt it advisable to discharge and to fail to employ persons who were disliked by many evacuees.

No serious problem regarding cooperation of members of the appointed personnel with analysis work ever arose. No data requested by the Analyst was withheld, for example.

The cooperation of members of the evacuee community with analysis work increased gradually. Those who received copies of reports written by members of the section were perhaps more prone to cooperate than were others. This was also true of members of the appointed personnel. In Appendix II are copies of letters received by the Analyst which make this point clearer. Several other letters indicating the reaction to the reports are included.

One of the most important reasons for growing cooperation on the part of evacuees was the gradual relaxation of tension which occurred during 1944. Evacuees ceased to be afraid that inquiries by appointed personnel would lead to internment or other harm; furthermore they were generally less racialistic in their thinking.

2. Advisory relationship with center staff

The advisory functions of Community Analysis were both formal and informal. When information which might be of interest to a member of the staff came to the attention of the Analyst, or when a useful idea was conceived, a memo was sent to the head of that office. The Analyst was asked to attend a number of kinds of meetings, such as those on relocation information at the time of the lifting of the exclusion orders, since he might be able to offer useful advice. It should be pointed out, however, that administrators, even those with the greatest interest in community analysis work, often failed to call in the Analyst simply because they did not think of it. This was often true when evacuees were not directly involved in the problem; it was least likely to be true when evacuee opinions or social processes and social structure were involved. Similarly, administrators often forgot to send the Analyst copies of communications or reports which they would have sent had they remembered to do so.

The informal advisory functions of the Analyst were performed during frequent informal conversations with members of other sections and divisions. These were initiated by either party. The other sections of Community Management and the Relocation Division were most commonly involved when the Analyst acted in an advisory capacity.

3. Research and Reports

Reports on studies made by the Community Analyst could be divided into seven classes: (1) Simple statistical analysis of leave figures and other data from the statistical and housing offices. (2) Background studies, consisting of descriptions of pre-evacuation life in Japanese communities in California. (3) Summaries of changes in public opinion. Most of these were (4) Weekly trend reports. (5) Histories of specific events or incidents. (6) Studies of particular aspects of center life, such as funerals. (7) Sociological essays--interpretations and predictions. The Analyst also wrote monthly reports of the activities of the section. Copies of two reports are attached as Appendix III.

Some indication of the general procedures and techniques of the Community Analysis office is included in Appendix I.

For non-statistical study four sources of information were generally employed: (1) Examination of available written materials on the subject. (2) Consultation with well-informed evacuee leaders of varying points of view. (3) Interviewing unsophisticated evacuee residents from differing segments of the population (for example, both Issei and Nisei, men and

women, and farmers and city people). (4) Interviewing appointed personnel members likely to be informed on the subject. Much of the Analyst's work was done outside of office hours; informal conversations with evacuees and appointed personnel members with whom the Analyst had a close relationship often proved the most valuable source of information. Naturally the evacuee and appointed personnel assistants in the section also collected data and wrote reports. They followed the same general techniques.

4. Relationship with the Washington office and other analysts.

While all formal reports were written for the Project Director, copies were also sent to the Washington office of Community Analysis. In addition, certain other kinds of materials were sent to Washington. These included the more important memoranda written by the Analyst. Some verbatim transcripts of interviews, particularly those held during the last months of evacuee residence, were submitted. Very few items originating in other offices were sent, since it was assumed that the more significant of these would be available to the Washington analysts. An evacuee diary and a few minutes of evacuee meetings were among the items that were sent. All interview material in the Poston Analyst's files was shipped to the Washington office at the time of the closing of the project.

The Analyst participated in one conference with analysts from other projects and found it a fruitful experience. The same was true of three visits by the Washington head of the section and two visits in Poston by other analysts. It is unfortunate that there could not have been more such visits. The Poston Analyst paid a visit to the Gila Relocation Center but that was after the Analyst there had already left. During 1945 there was also a brief interchange of letters, dealing mainly with center closure problems, with the Heart Mountain Analyst.

5. Administrative policies changed by Analyst

Most of the changes in administrative policies in which the Analyst played a part were based on information supplied to the administrators by the Analyst, rather than being changes suggested by the Analyst. Furthermore, the Analyst participated in numerous policy making meetings and informal conversations, and, hence the resulting policy changes and joint efforts.

A few instances are listed here in which the efforts of the Analyst in changing policies can be isolated: (1) The Analyst

participated in the establishment of the "district plan" under which the workers in the welfare and relocation offices were responsible for particular areas of the project.

The particular contribution of the Analyst lay in introducing the idea that relocation and welfare interviewers should take into consideration the differences between people evacuated from differing parts of California; he devised districts which included, insofar as possible, people evacuated from the same area. (2) The Analyst was largely responsible for causing relocation and welfare interviewers to learn and utilize the history of the blocks in their district and to utilize the services of evacuee leaders in helping the people to make relocation plans. (3) At the time of the lifting of the exclusion orders the Analyst encouraged the Project Director to broaden participation in meetings on post-exclusion information so as to include evacuee leaders antagonistic to relocation as well as those who were favorable to it. Through their participation in these and in similar activities involving relocation, such leaders ceased to be antagonistic. (4) The Analyst called the attention of the Relocation Program Officer to the fact that the Bakersfield-Delano and the Riverside-San Bernardino regions in California were being overlooked by the relocation offices. The Program Officer, in turn, called this fact to the attention of the West Coast field offices; thereafter, relocation officers in the nearest office traveled to these forgotten areas to handle these evacuee's problems. (5) By constantly calling attention to the close connection between evacuees' ideas about their probable acceptance outside the center with their acceptance by non-Japanese within the center, the Analyst was partially responsible for the removal of discriminatory policies in recreational and other facilities in the center.

E. RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS

Because the Analyst and his supervisor felt that research work would be hampered and relations with evacuees threatened, the Analyst was rarely assigned tasks not closely related to analysis work. For example, the Analyst was considered as a member of the Leave Clearance Board and was indeed appointed to serve for one day, but it was decided that this was unwise. However, the analysis office functioned as a "service bureau" for the supplying of statistical and other information for the use of other offices. Sometimes this led to short work projects which had not previously been considered within the scope of analysis work. However, because of the policy of making the office useful to others on the project, these tasks were undertaken unless it seemed more appropriate to refer them to other sections or divisions.

As was natural, the Analyst found that his closest relationships were with other sections of the Community Management Division. This was true, not only because they were staffed with professional people of similar interests but also because, on the whole, those sections were the ones dealing most closely with evacuees. The Analyst did not, however, have many dealings with the Internal Security section because that might lead evacuees to think that the analysis office, too, was engaged in police work. At various times the relationship with the Reports Office was a close one, which was logical because of a similarity of function. As time passed, closer and closer relations with the Relocation Division were established - during the last year of the project, a great deal of the Analyst's work was intended to be of use to the Relocation Division. Having dealt before with men doing work like that in the Operation and Administrative Management Divisions and having found them antagonistic to research work and professional training, the Analyst was cautious in establishing contact with such people in Poston. It was an agreeable surprise to discover how little antagonism there was. Although relations with members of those divisions were not constant, a mutual interchange of information occurred whenever appropriate. The same was true of the Project Attorney's office. The task of orienting the Analyst, undertaken by the first Project Attorney, has already been mentioned.

F. CENTER CLOSURE

During the closing months of the center, particularly after evacuees had left, the Analyst concentrated on final reports. This involved not only writing, but also working as a consultant for others in the writing of their reports. The Analyst was a member, in fact, of an informal committee on reports. Because valuable records were otherwise going to be lost, all the employees in the section spent some time collecting materials from evacuee files. Block offices, the offices of the various Councils, and the unit administrators' offices were visited and the file materials of greatest value were brought to a special office in the administration building for use in writing final reports. Later, "record material" for the National Archives was removed from this office and forwarded to Washington.

Colorado River Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

August 14, 1944

MEMO TO: Duncan Mills, Project Director
SUBJECT: Poston Community Analysis Report No. 13,
"Community Analysis".

The following paper was presented during a session of the Family Welfare Orientation Program on April 7, 1944. The Welfare Section has mimeographed the material presented during the program; this is simply one of the papers which they are distributing to those who attended. However, since there are those who might be interested in the problems of community analysis, but who will not receive the whole group of papers, I have obtained permission from Miss Butler to distribute this one separately. It is being numbered as one of our report series in order to follow our uniform practice of distribution.

David French

David French
Community Analyst

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

David French
Community Analysis Section

The function of this section is to carry on sociological or anthropological research. There are also others here that carry on research and writing: The Reports Office records the principal historical events; the Census Department did, and the Statistics Section hopes to do, special research work in addition to regular duties; high school classes have undertaken projects on evacuation and life in Poston; and there are said to be a number of old men here who are writing histories in Japanese. In addition, a research group, headed by Dr. Dorothy Thomas of the University of California, has done work in many centers and in cities on the outside where Japanese are re-locating. Tamie Tsuchiyama, an anthropologist, worked here for awhile as a part of this program.

Before the establishment of the Community Analysis Section in Poston during December, 1943, similar work was done by the Bureau of Sociological Research. It was headed by Dr. Alexander Leighton, psychiatrist, and Dr. Edward Spicer, who is now Washington head of the Community Analysis Section. The Bureau concerned itself with documenting the history of Poston during the early formative period. Dr. Leighton has written several papers on Poston; these do not exhaust the materials gathered by the Bureau which are to be preserved for the future use of scholars.

By contrast with the Bureau, the work of the Community Analysis Section is intended to be of immediate use, rather than of future scientific value. Naturally, our records will be preserved; however, we would consider ourselves to have failed if we had not managed to

increase general understanding of the nature of the Poston community during the time that that community was in existence. The people of Poston and the administrative staff, here and in Washington, learn what happens by other means. Our function is to present to all interested parties the meaning, an interpretation, of what happens.

Our basic job is to learn and describe the way in which this community has become organized to perform the functions that any community must perform. We are concerned with the kinds of people that are found here and the relationships between them, but it is important to stress that in keeping with our interests and the instructions in the Administrative Manual, we do not investigate the activities of individuals.

One example of differing kinds of people can be found in the difference between issei and nisei. Special problems are sure to arise when parents and children speak a different language and have a different culture. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that these problems are absolutely unique with the Japanese; other first and second generation immigrant groups face comparable situations. There are many sorts of ways to divide people into types. On the basis of geography, observable cultural differences exist between west coast Japanese and those from Hawaii, or those from Orange County and those from Boyle Heights. A foolish little reflection of the latter difference is the fact that Boyle Heights people go to bed later at night than the farm families.

Another important activity of Community Analysis is the study of public opinion. Questionnaires, at least those which have been mimeographed and distributed, have not proved to be a very satisfactory way to study opinions here. Consequently, we use instead the same

method that we use in the study of the sociology and history of the community, namely, informal interviews. Newspaper men and politicians often use the same sort of techniques when they want to learn the trends in the thinking of the public. We do not necessarily take large samples, but attempt to cover the range of opinion, choosing people as well-informed as possible. We do not necessarily believe everything that people tell us; rather, we examine their motivation and make allowances for personal bias.

Community Analysis should be able to tell people commonplace things about Poston which they already know but don't know they know. For example, there seems to be a well developed tax system operating in Poston. The people are asked to contribute to the support of the Red Cross or the shibai groups, both institutions being community wide in their importance, yet people do not think of these practically compulsory contributions as taxes. Also, a full fledged caste system, with all the rules discouraging social relationships between groups, exists here. The groups referred to are the appointed personnel and the evacuees; the tabus against the association of the two kinds of people are not as strong as those in the caste system of India, for example, but they are of the same order.

In regard to the ways in which Community Analysis can be of use to the family counseling program, mention should first be made of the books, pamphlets, and mimeographed papers, which Welfare workers are free to check from our library. We will pay constant attention to the reactions of the Poston Community to the program, being especially alert for the appearance of misunderstanding in regard to counseling. By attending Welfare staff meetings and by discussing the results of

the interviews we will attempt to provide interpretations of family problems, and we will make suggestions from time to time concerning the methods of the Welfare program.

COLORADO RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
Poston, Arizona

November 30, 1944

Dr. David French
Acting Community Administrator (Sic!)
Camp 1
Poston, Arizona

Dear Dr. French:

This is just a gesture to let you know that I look forward to your Community Analysis Reports. Your last report, No. 27, received my special admiration because you handled well a rather explosive subject tactfully; namely, the story of X and Y.

I am hoping that you will continue throughout the future to regularly verbalize your thinking.

One of your interested readers,

Ruth N. Crawford

Colorado River Relocation Center
Block 218, Administration B
Poston, Arizona

May 21, 1945

Mr. David French
Community Analysis Section
Colorado River Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

Dear Mr. French:

This will acknowledge with thanks a copy of Community Analyst Trend Report No. 77 issued May 15, 1945.

This is the first copy I have ever received from you. The report is well composed. I can readily understand the effort undertaken in presenting the fact in concise yet readable form. The headlines are good; words chosen are agreeable. As a whole, you have succeeded in establishing the fundamental of writing, the community of impression.

I hope that our office will be placed in your distribution list in the future.

Sincerely,

I. Motoki
Legal Division II

January 15, 1945

MEMO TO: Dr. D. French
Community Analyst

FROM: Executive Board
Unit I, City Hall

SUBJECT: Request for previous Analysis Survey

Recently we have been receiving copies of your well pictured survey pertaining to public sentiment on the West Coast. Having such information available to us, we know it will serve as good reference for the evacuees' problem on resettlement; therefore, if available would you kindly send us copies of previous surveys, our first copy received being #33, whether they pertain to relocation or otherwise.

Would you forward them to this office at your earliest convenience.

G. Y. Katow
Chairman of the Executive Board

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
1031 South Broadway
Los Angeles 15, California

Information Division

May 10, 1945

MEMO TO: Mr. Pauline Bates Brown, Reports Officer
FROM: Mr. Paul G. Robertson, Area Supervisor
SUBJECT: Summaries on Japanese in Southern California Communities.

Mr. O'Day calls attention to the interesting and useful contents of the various summaries your Community Analysis section has prepared on Japanese in Southern California communities.

He suggests that we ask you to supply the appropriate number to the five District Relocation Offices in our area. An up to date list of these officers is enclosed for your convenience.

I do not wish to impose a needless burden of reproducing these documents, and if they are not available, please let us know. If necessary, we will try to have copies made here.

Mr. O'Day also suggests that if an opportunity arises to confer with our Imperial Valley Relocation Officer, the extensive background in your possession on that district would prove of immense value to him.

PAUL G. ROBERTSON
Area Supervisor

COLORADO RIVER RELOCATION CENTER
Poston, Arizona

May 16, 1945

Mr. G. R. Booth
Western Pacific Building
1031 South Boradway
Los Angeles 15, California

Dear Mr. Booth:

Mr. Paul G. Robertson, Area Supervisor, wrote on May 10 to Mrs. Pauline Brown, Poston's Reports Officer, suggesting that arrangements be made to send some copies of our Community Analysis reports to the District Relocation Offices of Southern California. Mrs. Brown referred the request to me.

Enclosed are copies of these reports; they are summaries of the way of life of communities of California Japanese before evacuation. Most of them were written by Nisei who are ex-residents of these communities.

Sincerely yours,

David French
Community Analyst

Enclosures--11

Duplicate Copies to:
Hartney
VanNorden
Thomsen
McClendon

Report No. 60
March 16, 1945

Community Analysis Section
Colorado River Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

MONTEREY PENINSULA JAPANESE

Geography and Climate

Monterey, romantic capital of California from 1776 to the end of 1849, presents itself to us a city rich in historic lore and tradition. Though it has been the seat of Monterey County, today Salinas, 19 miles away, holds the county seat. With a pre-war population of about 11,000 (16% of the county), being the home port for the largest fishing fleet in the United States in the point of annual tonnage, and the third largest in the world, Monterey has become one of the most progressive cities in the State of California.

Monterey, Carmel, and Pacific Grove are known throughout the world as the "Circle of Enchantment." These three communities on the Monterey Peninsula are credited with about 25,000 permanent residents in the 1940 census.

The climate of this world-renown peninsula is its chief attraction. In the winter months, the temperature rarely drops below 30 degrees. During the months of September and October, a moderate amount of fog sets in, as it does in all coastal regions. The temperature during the summer months remains low enough to permit excellent truck farming during that time, as well as the rest of the year.

Economics

Many of the pioneer Japanese lived in Monterey as long as 40 years. Coming to the region about the year 1905 as common laborers, they did whatever was offered them in the form of work. As they achieved independence, some went into the fishing business, especially abalone and salmon fishing. Through their patience and relentless effort in this dangerous and adventurous work, many of them were rewarded handsomely. Prior to evacuation, many of the Issei and Nisei were found to be engaged in the successful and world-famous sardine industry of Monterey.

The city dwellers, as called by the people on the peninsula, were engaged in business and domestic work. Some of them had groceries, a pool hall, hotels, cafes, shoe shops; they also worked as domestics and in canneries. On the average, those in business were better off than the others. Their main customers were the Japanese on the peninsula.

The farmers that tilled the soil on the outskirts of Monterey and Carmel were small truck farmers, most of them having about 10 to 15 acres leased from the Caucasians. Because of the excellent weather that prevailed throughout the entire year, they were always busy on the farm. All their crops were consumed by the populace of the peninsula. Except

for the farmers, most of the people on the peninsula owned their homes.

Churches

The Christians of the Monterey Peninsula had a semi-independent church built by themselves in the year 1916; it was kept up financially by the membership. The church had an affiliation with the Presbyterian church of Monterey. Residents from nearby Carmel and Pacific Grove also had membership in this religious organization. An Issei minister, hired by the church members, was the pastor and was well-respected by the people. The Nisei were led by a Caucasian couple, who devoted all their spare time to promoting the principles of Christianity amongst the Nisei. The Nisei attending church, however, did not take much interest in the spiritual aspects of the church, but were more inclined to be interested in its social program.

Relationships with the churches of other denominations were excellent. The different nationalities that formed Monterey had an "International Night," where the various nationalities on the peninsula would have representatives to promote better understanding amongst them. Some of the nationalities represented in these Christian meetings were: Italians, English, Germans, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Portuguese, and Mexicans. Through such meetings, relationships on the peninsula were improved to a great extent.

The Buddhist church, though having a much greater membership than the Christian church, was not active as far as religious services were concerned. Only under special circumstances were there ever priests in Monterey to conduct services. However, there were a few devoted followers that attended Buddhist services in Salinas occasionally. Being Buddhist, the church did not have contacts with the non-Japanese as a church group. Their church was used extensively by the populace in showing Japanese movies and for young people's social events.

Education

The grade school children attended grammar schools in their respective communities and were readily accepted into the Caucasian group without any comments from the non-Japanese parents and school staff.

Upon entering high school from the eighth grade, the students were absorbed into the mass without any comment or friction. They were also readily accepted into the school activities of the student body, as they were like brothers and sisters because of their acquaintance during grammar school days. But in spite of this excellent relationship, the Nisei were reluctant to take a leading role in their school activities. The scholastic standing of the Nisei was, however, above the average, and they received unlimited praise for their athletic skill and ability.

A few of the students, after graduating from high school, enrolled in Salinas Junior College, a school about 19 miles inland.

The Japanese language school was not a paramount interest of the Nisei, but rather of their parents who wanted their Americanized children to develop the Japanese language somewhat so that the social relations between the two generations could be improved. The Japanese Association sponsored a language school, but this school was more often referred to as the Buddhist school. It was taught by a member of the Association, who was hired by the Buddhist members of this locality to lead the organization and also act as an instructor for their children.

Despite the fact that the Christian school had only about 25% of the students in comparison to the Buddhist group, the minister taught the Japanese language to those that were interested in it. Neither of these schools proved very successful in teaching Japanese to the Nisei for the simple reason that the most of them were not interested. Classes were held twice a week by both the schools.

Association

When the JACL (Japanese-American Citizens League) was organized amongst the Nisei on the Monterey Peninsula, many responded to the call and became members; however, only 50% of the members proved themselves able to take an active part in the organization. Many of the Nisei acquired membership because of their social interests, but there were others who were aware of the fact that it was also a political and a welfare body, and a help in adjusting to American culture. During the evacuation, this JACL chapter acquired a disputable reputation amongst the people. It is reported that the JACL leaders were the first to leave Monterey for inland districts, thus exposing the residents to turmoil. They were left without an influential body to iron out the difficulties that arose during those trying periods.

The Fujin-Kai (Women's club), composed entirely of the Issei women, was really two separate organizations: the Christian and the Buddhist group. The relations between the two parties were very poor, but their purposes and aims were alike. They hoped to promote their children's welfare, promote social gathering amongst themselves, and to take an active and constructive role in the betterment of their respective churches.

The Seinen-Kai (Young men's club), more often mentioned as the Minato Lions, was a club organized and supported by the Nisei themselves and whose sole purpose was to activate athletics amongst the Nisei and promote the members socially.

The Japanese Association came into existence in the year 1926 as a body to represent the Buddhist group of the city. Through this association the problems of the Peninsula Japanese were met and solved, but because of the difference in opinion with the Christians of the city, the Christians did not become members of this group.

Recreation

The recreational activities of the Nisei on the Monterey Peninsula were not extensive in comparison with those of other communities

with equal Japanese populations. In addition to the activities carried on at the high schools with Caucasian students, the Nisei occasionally held social events exclusively their own. The Japanese Presbyterian Church often held parties for its Nisei members to keep intact the membership and the interest in the church. However, after graduation from high school, the Nisei drifted away from their Caucasian friends, due to the fact that most of them were too involved in their work to leave their own group and assimilate with non-Japanese.

As members of the Minato Lions, the Nisei were able to participate in various sports with Nisei from other localities. Their main interest was centered around basketball and baseball. During the winter months, bowling tournaments were sponsored by the Lions, and teams from neighboring towns would come into Monterey to enjoy an evening of competition and sociability.

The Minato Lion basketball team would occasionally play with the high school team for practice, which I believe was one of the prime factors in bringing about an excellent relationship with not only the students but also the adults of the Monterey Peninsula.

The Issei's activities, like those in other communities where the Japanese were not heavily concentrated, were limited to their family circle. Many of them in their spare time had such hobbies as: reading, gardening, writing, handicraft work and fishing. Some found card playing to be their main form of relaxation and recreation, while others found occasional visits to pool halls a satisfying pastime. Most of them continue with their pre-war hobbies in camp, if such are practical here.

Kendo at one time was a popular Japanese sport, enjoyed by a few Nisei, but it was disbanded when they lost interest. Judo, however, continued until evacuation with a very few members; it was almost at the point of disbanding.

Race Relations

The Nisei through their assimilation with Caucasians in school activities and through their outstanding achievement in school athletics were very much liked by both the students and the faculty. The fact that this city was composed almost entirely of minorities helped them establish excellent relationships in many ways. The Christian church was one of the prime means of furthering this understanding.

The Issei, though handicapped by their lack of knowledge of the American culture, had somewhat encouraging relationships also. Because of the many minorities that were a part of the fishing fleet, the Issei were accepted into their midst as one of them. But this situation was not limited to fishing. Approximately 60% of the population in Monterey was of Italian ancestry and this helped to bring about a good relationship in various aspects of life.

Today, after all these months of agitation in California, the evacuees from the Monterey Peninsula have kept up their friendships with their former neighbors. The Chamber of Commerce, officials of

the city, and the unions are welcoming back the Japanese to their homes and to numerous employment opportunities that have arisen since evacuation.

Evacuation

When the sudden evacuation roared into Monterey on March 28, 1942, with only 72 hours notice, the people, while expecting the notice to come sooner or later, found themselves in a somewhat difficult position due to the lack of influential Japanese leadership¹ to relieve the problems that arose with the issuance of the evacuation notice. Before the notice arrived, the Issei thought that surely their children, who were of American citizenship, would not come under this category and would be exempted from the exclusion notice after the true facts in the Pacific war were made known to the general public. But as orders came, the Issei were very much disappointed; their faith and trust in a country which they felt was theirs, despite their lack of citizenship, was shattered.

Most of the people, however, were able to move to central California, which they thought would not come under Army supervision. These people were mostly centered around Reedley and around Fresno. There, they helped out the farmers and later were able to help them harvest part of their crops before these San Joaquin Valley people, too, were ordered to evacuate.

There were a very few that moved out to the mid-western states from the Monterey Peninsula.

The few that were herded into Salinas Assembly Center suffered a great deal in comparison with those that left Monterey for inland districts. When the temperature was at its highest they were moved again, and they suffered the extreme heat, to which they were not accustomed, causing much bitterness amongst them. Those that traveled to Poston from the San Joaquin Valley were rather fortunate due to the fact that their evacuation was much delayed and because they were much more adapted to the warmer climate than those from the Salinas Assembly Center.

Although there were a few that had to suffer financially, most of them were not heavily affected. Many of the Monterey Peninsula people are fortunate in that they are able to return to their former homes, but most of them are rather hesitant as to return as yet, because of the conflicting news that has trickled out of California and also because some of them have leased their homes for the duration.

At present, the Monterey people are found in Blocks 11, 13, and 32 in Camp I, and in Camp II: 214, 215, 216, 219, 220, and 221.

¹Influential Issei leaders were interned before evacuation.

The Camp III people are in 305, 307, 308, and 316.

Correspondence with their former non-Japanese friends is kept up extensively by some of the evacuees and also news is gathered through the newspaper of the city.

Paul Higashi
Assistant Community Analyst

Community Analysis Section
Colorado River Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

COMMUNITY ANALYST TREND REPORT FROM
MARCH 12 to 18, 1945

Post Exclusion--General

The life of the average individual and family in Poston these days is actually a surprisingly calm one. Japanese and non-Japanese who have visited other centers during these past months have commented on Poston's relative lack of tension and the lack of organized resistance to relocation and the closing of the center. Perhaps, because this last week, particularly, was uneventful, this is an appropriate time to sum up the situation.

The categories of people mentioned in earlier reports¹ who wish to remain in Poston for the duration, or longer, are still planning to stay. This could be called individual resistance to relocation and center closure. However, there is no suppression of these feelings; such people are quite frank with members of appointed personnel about their intentions. Relocation is neither popular nor unpopular. When persons who have many friends leave, a large crowd at the departure station bids them goodbye. During the time when relocation is being planned, no pressure is put on people to change their minds. Influential evacuees are not anxious to sponsor or aid in meetings in which relocation is being presented favorably. On the other hand, meetings in which relocation is opposed are rare or non-existent.

¹ See Report N6. 38, particularly.

Evacuees distinguish consistently between relocation for those who can leave, and what they would term "forced relocation" of those who can not leave. The closing of the center would "force" many of the latter category to leave, and to this most evacuees are opposed. The opposition is frank and open; the term "organized resistance" does not, however, fit the opposition very well. The opposition is directed mainly toward W. R. A. policies, rather than toward the Poston administration. Specific restrictions of center activities, such as the closing of the schools and mess halls, are resisted in an unfrenzied fashion. Both the appointed administration and the evacuee population are acting like reasonable people.

Relocation

The number of people leaving during the first part of March has been lower than expectations. Only 91 had taken terminal leave by March 18.² The following seem to be the reasons for this: (1) property owners whose property could be repossessed immediately left during January and February; (2) the few remaining property owners must make complicated arrangements because their property is occupied; (3) the normal spring outpouring has not reached important heights yet, because the weather in the East is still cold; and, (4) the effects of the stories of burnings and shootings during February were being felt during the first part of March, because of the length of time that relocation plans take.

Poston Schools

On the evening of March 15, a meeting sponsored by the P. T. A. was held in the elementary school auditorium. Approximately 150 people,

²The number had, however, jumped to 144 by March 20.

mostly Issei, were present. The education of the children of Poston during the latter part of this year was discussed. It was decided that continued protests would be made against the closing of the schools. However, plans would also be made for evacuee-run schools when the regular ones are closed (unless the protests are successful).

A letter was written recently by evacuees to the Arizona State Department of Education asking that the state run the schools; the answer was that it was a Federal matter.

Segregation Rumor

On March 15 and 16, I heard many rumors about segregation. One version which had spread rapidly throughout Camp I was that those indicted for refusing to be inducted would be segregated in September. On tracing this down I learned the following: the above group are indeed being placed on the segregation list a few at a time by the Western Defense Command. Yet it is improbable that they will actually be segregated since presumably they will need to remain near Phoenix to appear at their trial. Another origin of the rumor had been a discussion in the Unit I Block Managers' meeting on the morning of March 15. September was mentioned by the Supervisor as being a likely date--he thought the segregation would occur before then. The fact regarding the additions to the segregation list and the speculation regarding the time of segregation were linked together in the final form that the rumor took.

The Supervisor reasoned in the above meeting that people are under misapprehensions regarding the Army segregation list: because neither the project nor the Army has notified people that they are on the list, many find out that they are scheduled for segregation when they try to relocate or apply for a short-term pass; many evacuees think there will be

hearing after hearing before segregation actually takes place; and, many believe that families will be segregated intact--there is no evidence for this. The Supervisor said that, since few knew whether they are on the list, they should check this fact at the Relocation Office. Furthermore, if they want to appeal, and feel they have any grounds, they should do so immediately.

Employment

Much of the time during the joint meeting of evacuee and appointed administrators on March 14 was spent in a discussion of manpower problems. Not only was the supply of workers discussed, but also the efficiency of the various types of workers. It appeared that a situation would be arising in which there is both unemployment and a shortage of workers, the unemployment being among unskilled people, and the shortage would by no means all be in the administrative offices. The position of Block Manager, for example, is one involving intelligence and training; Block Managers are leaving in appreciable numbers. Blocks have been putting pressure on valuable workers in the administration building causing them to leave their jobs and accept positions as Block Managers.

Mess Hall Closing

The combining of mess halls, which is not difficult in terms of mechanics, is progressing slowly so as to permit the best possible arrangements regarding manpower. The closing of the Block 11 mess hall was postponed from March 17 to March 24. Certain workers are being retained, though they have less seniority than others, because they are the only employable members of their families.

David French
Community Analyst