

PLAN FOR BLOCK HISTORIES

April 23, 1943

MEMORANDUM FROM: Robert F. Spencer

TO: All Field Workers

This analysis will concern itself with the history of the settlement of evacuees in various blocks. One of the problems that has confronted the Study from time to time has been the difficulty of ascertaining a dependable sample or cross-section of the community which will be of aid in determining group development within the community, the types of social stratification to be encountered, the generation conflict, and the like.

It will, therefore, be necessary to make an analysis of several blocks in the community, presenting as complete a history and description of these blocks as possible. In this community, we are confronted with a population which is derived from a number of sources and which represents four assembly centers and the Free Zone. In order to elicit information in regard to pre-evacuation backgrounds and also material pertinent to individual families and group adjustment in the relocation center, it will be necessary to study the representative groups of each of these local California areas and assembly centers. This report will, therefore, endeavor to take as representative a sampling as is possible under the circumstances; limitations, of course, will be understood as arising from the inability of the staff to have contacts in all of the blocks desired and because of a more or less limited time element. If we may, however, obtain information of this kind from time to time, it will be understood that our block studies can be extended and supplemented.

It will, therefore, be desirable to take the following blocks into consideration:

CANAL CAMP: a Turlock Assembly Center Block,
a White Zone Block,
a mixed Turlock-White Zone Block,
a Pinedale Block, if possible.

BUTTE CAMP: A Turlock Assembly Center Block,
a Tulare Assembly Center Block,
a mixed Turlock-Tulare Block,
a Santa Anita Assembly Center Block,
and the professional blocks.

If possible, and time permits, studies of other blocks should be added.

In the consideration of these block studies, some attention should be given to the suggestions which follow. It will be understood, however, that the items for discussion mentioned here are purely sugges-

tions which will aid in the understanding of group, family, and individual adjustments in the block and the relation of the block and its population to the community.

From time to time, I have mentioned case histories and other forms of personal documentation which are of aid in determining the class to which the individual belongs and the relation of that class and of the individual to the community. Somewhat the same procedure as has been mentioned for the case histories should be followed in the elicitation of information relative to block discussions. Not only are personal case histories of individuals in order, but also family histories and backgrounds are also significant.

The study of a block may be taken chronologically. It should include the history of the settlement within the block. If possible, it should take into consideration, together with the discussion of the total number of population, movements of families and individuals in and out of the given blocks and the reasons for such movements. For example, families have been split or moved in entirety to other sections of the community because of their inability to adjust under the circumstances of the given block. The reasons for maladjustments of this kind should be delineated if the information is available to the writer.

Family backgrounds are significant in determining some of the aspects of social stratification within the block. In this respect, it is of interest to know where each family had its former residence, and what the family profession and social standing were. The impact of evacuation together with a brief discussion of economic loss should follow, if possible. Adjustments in the assembly center also should be included, and then, finally, adjustments of the families and the individual members of the families to life in the relocation center.

The consideration of this particular aspect brings up the social developments in the block and gives cause for an analysis of the solidarity of the block in relation to other blocks. We shall be interested in knowing what spontaneous group developments have arisen within the block from the point of view of political activities, social activities, and the like. A consideration of factors of this kind will enable us to see with some clarity the relation of the Issei to the Nisei within the block and, finally, the relation of the Issei to Nisei in the individual families.

Block personnel should also be discussed and some consideration given to the personalities entrusted with the management of the mess hall, the Block Manager's Office, the care of the washrooms and of the laundry room, etc.

Fears which have touched individual block members, rumors, administrative edicts, etc., should be discussed from this point of view. The residence situation in the block should also be described. How many people are living in each apartment. What is their relationship to one another. Do conflicts exist between them. What are the evidences of social stratification and disorganization to be observed in considering

them. In how many instances have friendships and relationships arising out of the pre-evacuation period been preserved in the relocation center. In other words, are extended families to be found in these various blocks. Furthermore, to what extent have the block Issei and/or Nisei acted as pressure groups in block affairs. What is the attendance at block meetings. What is the reception by the block of the new C.A.S. program of block entertainments, lecture series, and the like. Is there inter-block rivalry, and how does this manifest itself, if so. Are there evidences within the block of pre-evacuation clubs or associations such as kenjin-kai, nihonjin-kai, fujin-kai, etc.

In discussing the individual families, the religious affiliation in brief might be mentioned, and the relationship of family members to the organized religious life in the community as well.

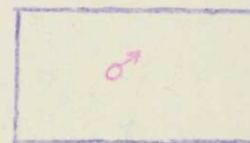
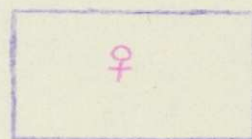
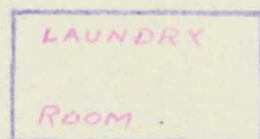
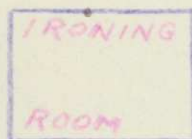
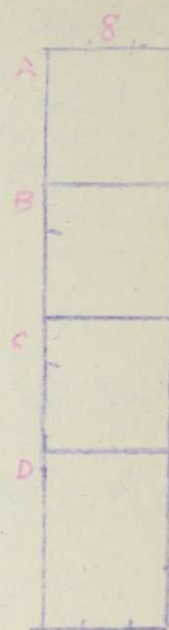
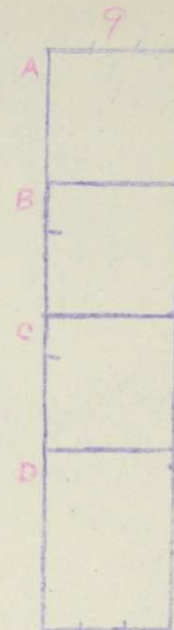
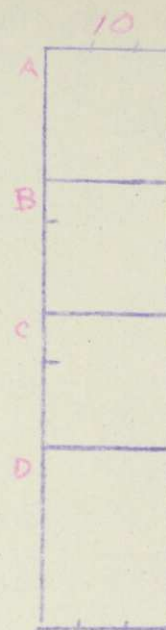
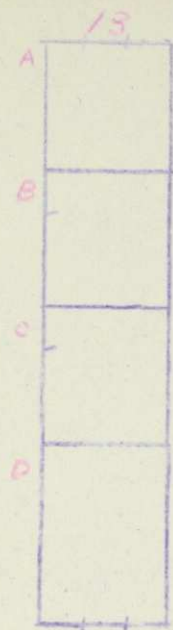
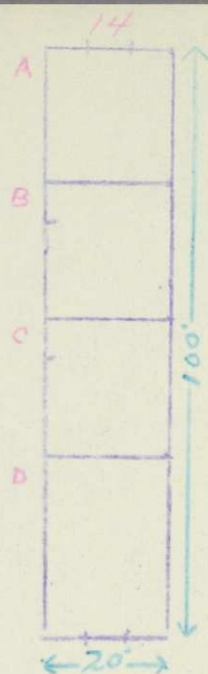
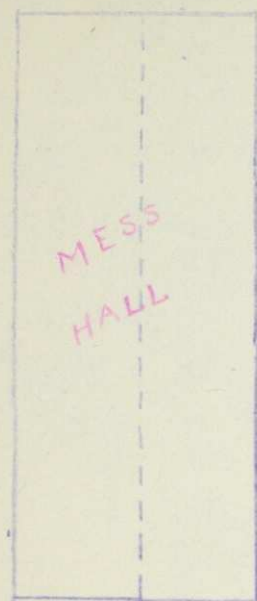
Much was made by the War Relocation Authority of the recent military registration and enlistment program. What were the block attitudes relative to this. What percentage of negative answers to questions 27 and 28 are to be found in the block. What are block attitudes toward enlistment. The recent trend in the community has been all-out for resettlement and discussion of this is going on from time to time, the pro's and con's of resettlement being seriously concerned by Issei and Nisei alike. What are block attitudes, therefore, in regard to resettlement.

As is stated above, these statements are to be considered merely as suggestions for block studies. It would be desirable if a complete picture embodying these ideas could be presented. It will be understood of course that if every case it will be impossible to present such a complete analysis. Suggestions for further subjects to be discussed in regard to block developments will also be in order and will be appreciated.

It should be kept in mind that in the study of this kind, we are trying to compare the various groups manifest in the community, and we are trying, above all, to obtain as normal a picture as possible of such adjustments. This project will entail considerable time and effort, and the cooperation of each field worker in eliciting this type of information will be appreciated.

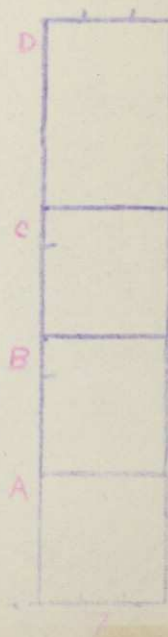
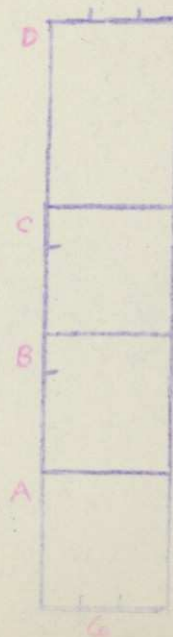
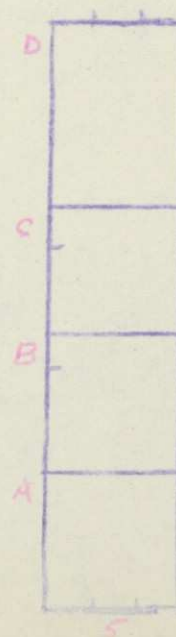
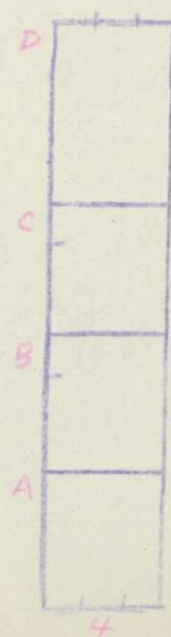
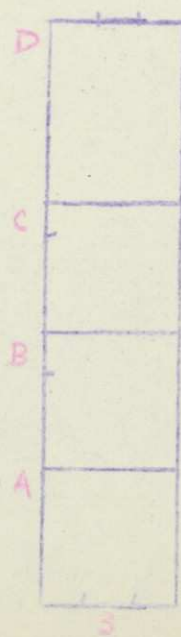
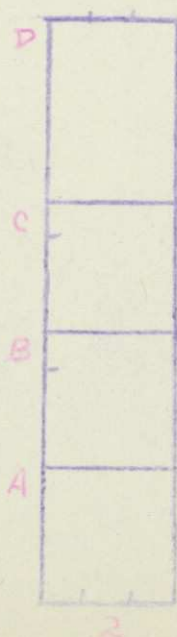
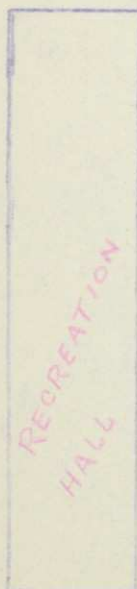
Robert F. Spencer

RFS:mc



TYPICAL
BLOCK

GILA
RELOCATION
CENTER



NO. OF REPATRIATES BY AGE GRADE

<u>MEN</u>		<u>WOMEN</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
0-5	1	0	0-5	1
6-10	3	12	6-10	15
11-15	6	1	11-15	7
16-20	22	14	16-20	36
21-25	59	42	21-25	101
26-30	58	30	26-30	88
31-35	21	3	31-35	24
36-40	10	11	36-40	21
41-45	8	10	41-45	18
46-50	9	13	46-50	22
51-55	4	10	51-55	14
56-60	8	7	56-60	15
61-65	10	1	61-65	11
66-70	7	1	66-70	8
71-75	2	1	71-75	3
	<u>228</u>	<u>156</u>		<u>384</u>

Useless because age not stated on so many applications

YEARS SPENT IN JAPAN

	MALE	FEMALE
1 yr. or less	6	7
2 yrs.	2	2
3 yrs.	5	
4 yrs.	5	1
5 yrs.	4	1
6 yrs.	6	4
7 yrs.	5	5
8 yrs.	5	4
9 yrs.	8	2
10 yrs.	11	3
11 yrs.	11	2
12 yrs.	16	2
13 yrs.	7	3
14 yrs.	2	2
15 yrs.	9	5
16 yrs.	4	2
17 yrs.	4	5
18 yrs.	12	13
20 yrs.	1	1
21 yrs.	1	
22 yrs.	1	
23 yrs.	1	
24 yrs.	1	

Useless - some reason

Also pointed out to Brown we should have list of those who never have been to Japan.

REPATRIATION

SPAN OF YEARS

0-4	63
5-8	118
9-12	158
13-16	168
17-20	117
21-24	39
25-28	16
29-32	4
33-36	1
37-40	
41-44	1
53-56	1

Duplication 476

No. of cases 212

Useless - data not complete

APPLICANTS FOR REPATRIATION

No. of men born 1924 or before

Butte	123
Canal	89
	<u>212</u>

Pre-evacuation Occupations of Heads of Families

Farmers and Farm Laborers	106
Gardeners	12
Florists	7
Salesclerks	7
Produce Owners	6
Laundry Owners	4
Students	4
Mechanics	4
Grocery Store	2
Novelty Shop Proprietor	1
Pool Hall Owner	1
Hotel Owner	1
Produce Buyer	1
Fisherman	1
Merchant	1
Janitor	1
Pharmacist	1
Engineer Draftsman	1
Machinist	1
Painter	1
Designer	1
Missionary	1
Shipping Clerk	1

This is fairly significant.

OCCUPATIONS IN JAPAN

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
STUDENT	101	40	141
VISITOR	21	12	33
MERCHANT	1		1
FARMER	4	1	5
SALESMAN	1		1
HOUSEWIFE	0	1	1
CONFECTIONARY	1		1

CITIZENSHIP
of REPATRIATES

MALE

50 Japanese
181 American or Dual

FEMALE

52 Japanese
91 American or Dual

TOTAL

Japanese Citizenship
102

American or Dual
272

Robert Spencer
Preliminary Analysis of Block 61.

NOTE: The following information was obtained through contact with residents of Block 61 in the Butte Camp of the Gila Relocation Center. Field Assistant, Mr. Y. Okuno, supplied the bulk of the information in conversations with the writer. Material was also obtained from the following persons in Block 61: Albert Toshiko Ikeda; Mr. and Mrs. Satow; Mrs. Okuno; her brother, Mr. Usami; and Mrs. Cherry Sato.

Physical Description.

Block 61 is located at the western end of Butte Camp on the northern side of the Butte on which the water tower is situated, and directly bordering on the now abandoned camouflage net project. Like the other blocks in Butte, 61 is oriented east and west, the barracks being arranged to ~~face~~ run north and south. This block was one of the last to be settled by people from the Tulare group, with the result that improvements were late in coming. At the present writing, however, as in the other blocks, 61 has done much to make a successful adjustment to relocation center conditions, with the result that the gardens, lawns, and greenery, have given the block a pleasing setting. Nestling as it does in the foot of the farther butte, bordering on the camp, this block occupies one of the most pleasing situations of all the blocks in the Center. To the east, it is bordered by a large playing field, or fire break, and to the west, by the center boundary on the other side of which has now been built the camouflage project. Although no longer in operation, the buildings remain, and the

Block 61 - 2.

fence succeeds in cutting off the western end of the block from the open desert. To the south and north, 61 is flanked by 60 and 72, respectively. On the whole, the situation of this block is such that it is comparatively free of encroachment by other blocks, and as the result of the improvements that have been made upon it, it is one of the more comfortable blocks in the Center. In keeping with the plan at Gila, all of the structures in the block are made of asbestos board, painted in cream color, and have red shingled roofs. Reference is made to the plan of block construction described elsewhere. Suffice it to say that there are fourteen residence barracks originally divided into four apartments each, a messhall, a recreation hall, an ironing room, a laundry room, and wash rooms for men and women. The arrangement of these various buildings may be ascertained on examining a map of any of the block plans for the Relocation Center.

History of Settlement within the Block.

On August 28, 1942, a contingent of 500 people, most of whom came from "L" section of the Tulare Assembly Center, but a few of whom came from "K", arrived by bus at the Gila Relocation Center, after being deposited at the train side at Casa Grande. Although the Project had been officially opened on the 20th of July of that year, the Canal Camp was the first to be settled. The result was that at the time these settlers from Tulare were admitted to the Center, Butte had been open only for two weeks, or less. The incoming evacuees faced virtually the same conditions as have been described for Canal. The lack of administra-

Block 61 - 3.

tive personnel and their inability to cope with the new series of problems did nothing to alleviate living conditions for any of the incoming groups of evacuees. The Tulare group, destined to occupy Block 61, met with considerable disappointment on viewing the conditions of their new life. Plumbing and sewage disposal mains were only being installed, the open ditches around the barracks, mentioned as occurring elsewhere, also are noteworthy in Block 61. Not only were the new residents confronted with these hazards, but also no lighting was provided for them. The electric lines, although installed, had as yet not been connected by the Project electrician. In the course of the construction of the Center, difficulties were met by contractors in obtaining lumber for flooring. The result was that green lumber had to be used for the flooring in the blocks to the far west, which were the last to be constructed. In the heat and dryness of the desert, these boards warped quickly, and in shrinking left large gaps between themselves. It is said that these spaces became so large that small articles, such as pencils, kitchen utensils and the like, were continually dropping down between them, and being lost under the house. The settlers, while they could appreciate the difficulties facing the contractors and the construction workers in the matter of rushing the barracks to completion, did not raise so strenuous an objection to the matter of temporary inconveniences, but they did regard the uncomfortable flooring as a permanent feature which they would find difficulty in improving. As a result, they raised strong protest at this condition moreso than against any other.

Provision for feeding the newly arrived evacuees had been made through the central office of the Project Steward, and the messhall had been turned over to an advance group of Turlock workers from the "M" section of the Turlock Assembly Center, who took the messhall in charge. The fact that Butte Camp had been open, relieved the necessity for such intense overcrowding as took place in Canal. The result was that only 230 people were assigned at first. Unfortunately, some rearrangements had to be made and the Housing department finally deemed it necessary to fill in certain vacancies with the result that a few days after settlement 270 people were to be found in the block, a total number of population which has remained virtually constant since the inception of the Project. Messhall workers, assigned from Tulare's "M" section of experienced kitchen help, made up this difference. Cooking facilities were available, however, and it happened that gas was ready at once following the inception of the block as a residence unit. Unlike the rest of the Center, it was not necessary to serve the first meals over open fires, and the result was that the messhall accommodated and served the incoming residents the first day. While the water pressure was not sufficient to provide water at all times, and the cesspool had not as yet been constructed, nor the water tank, the washrooms functioned at times, but there was usually not enough pressure to successfully flush the toilets, much to the residents' disgust.

Block 61 - 5.

It was not until in January of 1943 that oil stoves were made available through the housing department for Block 61. By this time, the bitterest weather of the winter had expended itself. Other blocks it is true had received their stoves somewhat earlier, beginning in the latter part of November, 1942. Most of the western section of Butte camp, however, did not get stoves until quite late, a fact which resulted in a host of protests from that section of the community. The difficulties over the matter of stoves have been described elsewhere, and it was pointed out that stoves were late in being received inasmuch as original plans were laid to provide gas heat, a feature which late in 1942 was deemed impractical. The Project engineers were then confronted with the necessity of making a substitution and providing oil stoves. The difficulty of obtaining such stoves, and the consequent negotiations with contractors and priorities boards, seriously endangered the health of the community. Many of the very old and the very young suffered exceedingly in the winter over the failure of the WRA to meet this contingency. In Block 61, many people stayed in bed for most of the day in order to keep warm. At last when the stoves were provided they were found to be not altogether satisfactory. In spite of the condition of the floor boards, described above, it was necessary for the evacuees to put up with these conditions for many months. The unpleasant arrangement of the floor boards was particularly noticeable during the winter months when continued draughts swept in underneath the houses. The difficulties of finding a floor covering, suitable for the ^{needs} ~~needs~~ of the community arose also in

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regard to this feature. The Project administration was confronted with the problem of finding a staff who could be charged with the laying of the brown ~~linoleum~~^{linoleum} floor covering which was finally selected. Here, again, it was necessary to overcome priorities. It was finally agreed that linoleum should be passed out to those who volunteered to lay their own flooring. Block 61, at the far end of the community, was one of the last to be accorded the work of those who had been assigned by the housing department the job of laying the linoleum. A further delay occurred in that it was impossible to obtain a sufficient amount of paste to spread under the linoleum. In those blocks which had good flooring, the linoleum would be laid directly against the wood. However, in such a block as 61, where the floor boards were warped, it was necessary to lay a base of floss, or kapok material, over the boards before applying the linoleum. This necessitated extra work and further delay. Since Block 61 was one of the last to be attended, flooring was not laid until May. So few were the workers allotted to the housing department to perform this task, that any house in which there were able-bodied men was required to lay its own linoleum. A special crew was sent to each house to measure and cut the linoleum, while the men of the family were expected to lay it themselves. This was done in most cases, although prior to this, sufficient crews had been found to nail the base material on to the floor boards. The base material wore through quickly, and it was often several months after it had been laid that the linoleum was applied. Wherever there were closets constructed by the evacuees out of scrap material, flooring was laid around this object, An

administrative edict which demanded, in order to save time, that the evacuees pull up such permanent features as closets, raised such protest that it was rescinded.

At the time of the entrance of the evacuees to Block 61, there was a tremendous feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction. Many of the residents met in the messhalls from time to time in informal gatherings to protest against the living conditions to which they were subjected. Canal Camp, composed of rural people, did not protest the new conditions so vigorously as did the semi-urban groups in Butte. As the result of these meetings and protests, a number of political groups had their inception at the very beginning of the settlement in Butte. Canal, in spite of perhaps more unbearable conditions, showed a more complacent attitude. In tracing the history of settlement in Block 61, it may easily be seen that 61 has ever been a seat of discontent, and a source from which dissatisfied factions emanated. The general conditions confronting the settlers in the block aroused a storm of protest and a group composed of Issei met in the block and determined to bring about an organization designed to register protest with the administration. It is noteworthy, however, that in other blocks similar organizations were cropping up, and within a month after the people had moved in, it was decided that a formal political organization should be effected, composed mainly of Issei. For some months, this organization did not get under way, but at last, under the guidance of a number of Issei whose activities were later termed subversive, the meetings of this organization, now camp-wide, and organized without the sanction of the administration, took place.

Block 61 - 8.

The aim of the organization was the improvement of living conditions, protests against crowded quarters, against the lack of stoves and linoleum, and other features which caused unrest in the community. Each block in the community sent two representatives, nearly all Issei. This organization called itself The Meeting of Representatives, or Daihyo Shakai. This organization did not last very long. The administration discouraged its existence. Out of it, however, two distinct features grew, which resulted in a split in the Issei factions of the community. We must refer again to the subversive organization known as the Issei Vigilante Committee, or Peace Committee, the Kyowakai. This, as has been pointed out, was made up of a number of the more dissatisfied Issei spirits in the Camp, whose aim continually directed itself against the administration. The other Issei faction, on perceiving the rather subversive aims of the leaders, withdrew to cooperate with the WRA. Not only did this organization aim at an amelioration of living conditions, it furthermore set itself up to demand office holding for Issei. A peculiar feature of the Daihyo Shakai lay in the fact that the organization itself was not unified, so far as its aims were concerned. The result was that in the larger circle a number of small groups developed, each intent upon pressing the administration for the granting of a single point. Mention has been made elsewhere of the development of a petition directed to Dillon Myer, requesting Issei office holders. This petition was signed by a few, most of whom were residents of Block 61. The principal informant for this paper, Yataro Okuno, was one of those who signed this petition. He did so at the instigation of Otajiro

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Yamamoto, a resident of Block 61, who was ever thought to be a subversive leader. It may be added, parenthetically, that Yamamoto's anti-Americanism will be shown to be open to some doubt. The petition directed to Myer did, however, arise from Yamamoto, and centered itself in Block 61. This was just one of the features that arose through the representative committee. It became apparent that in this over-all Issei group, numerous subcommittees evolved on a kind of self-appointed basis. The organization did not last very long. Most Nisei, on becoming aware of administrative disapproval of the organization, withdrew, while the others, less concerned with approval from the Project Director, went ahead to organize the strong Issei Peace Committee. Only two meetings of the Daihyo Shakai were held with camp-wide representation. Yamamoto and Okuno were elected from among the Issei of Block 61 by a raised hand vote. The second meeting then took place in the first week of December, 1942, while the first meeting had taken place in the middle of November. The representatives elected as their chairman, Mr. Shotaro Hikida, a puerile and liberal Issei interested in furthering the best relationship between evacuees and administration. Hikida withdrew at the end of the second meeting on finding that so many uncooperative spirits existed. With his resignation, the group did not, as ~~such~~ such, meet again. The November meeting, in the opinion of the representatives, accomplished one thing. An appeal was made to the Spanish Consul in view of the fact that the Issei considered themselves interned prisoners of war. The result of this appeal, which enumerated the various unpleasant conditions, such as those described above,

Block 61 - 10.

was an immediate visit by Francisco de Amat, Consul General of San Francisco for Spain, conceived to be the arbitrating neutral power. It is significant that the petition which was drawn up and submitted to Mr. de Amat was initiated in Block 61 by Yamamoto, Okuno, and the now acting block manager, Ozawa. Shortly thereafter, de Amat paid a visit to the center, and met with members of the Daihyo Shikai, and submitted a report to the Spanish Ambassador in Washington. This meeting is described elsewhere. It is of significance to note here, relative to the study of Block 61, that the camp-wide Issei representative committee seemed to derive its impetus from the leadership of Yamamoto. Yamamoto's interest lay chiefly in Issei representation on the community council, and the organization of an Issei representative group which would shut out the Nisei. In spite of this, a few Nisei were accepted. Ernest Iwasaki, an older Hawaiian Nisei attorney, and George Yamashiro, together with some of his Kibei cohorts and supporters were admitted to the meeting and allowed to have a voice. Through Yamashiro, support of the entire Kibei organization was given to Yamamoto and Okuno in their efforts to further the Issei representative committee. The names of many of the Issei leaders who were later interned, and who provided the basis for the Vigilante Committee, should be included here. Such individuals from blocks, other than 61, as Dyo, H. Fujishige, Ogasawara, etc., were all active in this representative committee, and stayed with the new organization when the original one broke up. Attempts were made on the part of the membership to prove or disprove the basis for the various fears which at that time were rampant in the community.

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The fears which at that time were extant in the community were many, and concerned a good many reasonable and unreasonable features of camp life, all of which were backed up by rumor and which spread throughout the community. Block 61, because of its rather peculiar organization which exemplifies so well the continued conflict for supremacy between Issei and Nisei, was fertile ground for rumors, particularly among the Issei, who stubbornly refused to accept any denial of these matters on parts of Nisei. One of the most important rumors that circulated, not only in the Gila community, but in many other Relocation Centers as well, was the one which led people to believe that the government had brought the Japanese to the isolated Relocation Centers in order to starve them out and so to rid itself of the Japanese minority problem. Food shortages, and the prospect of food shortages, prompted a scandal in Block 61 during the Fryer administration. The result was that the messhall workers, together with the block manager in 61, thought it was a good idea to store up some of the food, such as rice and sugar, against emergencies and mismanagement on the part of the WRA stewards' office. More food than necessary was ordered, and a reserve store of several 100-lb. sacks of rice and some bags of sugar were hidden in the block manager's office. Someone, whether evacuee or Caucasian staff member, reported the matter to the internal security, and an investigation was ordered immediately, with the result that the cached food was found. A hearing of the case was held in Mr. Fryer's office with a number of the leaders of block 61 present. The result was that the supervisor

Block 61 - 12.

of the messhall and the block manager were summarily dismissed. An attempt was made by the Issei of the block to prevent this, and to reinstate the ousted officers. Okuno set up a petition and circulated it among the block residents. It was willingly signed by all the Issei, but the Nisei did not sign it. About 100 Issei signatures were obtained and submitted to Fryer. Fryer felt that the men involved had learned a lesson and so permitted their reinstatement. This incident seemingly arose from a certain rumor that Japanese aeroplanes were going to bomb the Pacific Coast. In case of such a bombing, it was thought that transportation facilities would no longer be available, and that the Center residents, because they were Japanese, would not be given adequate food because transportation facilities would be directed to other uses. It was, therefore, thought advisable to keep something in case of emergency of this kind. Many of the rumors circulated throughout the blocks in the community but nowhere was action taken on them as in this case in Block 61.

The history of the settlement of Block 61 parallels the history of the settlement of the community. Once the people were moved in, they began to identify themselves with their block, and a certain amount of block partisanship arose. In the months following the initial stages of settlement, all of the features surrounding a typical block began to be apparent in 61. The semi-urban group shows evidence that more Nisei, who follow more distinctly American patterns of thought, reside here. The result is that conflicts between Issei and Nisei arise more markedly in

Block 61 - 13.

Block 61 than in many other of the blocks in the Center in which Nisei leadership is not so pronounced. The Japanese of the Pacific Coast were not yet at a stage in their development where Nisei authority and the Nisei voice could truly assert itself. The result is that the Gila community, with its predominantly rural background and its emphasis on the family and the maintenance of the filial tie prescribed by Japanese usage, shows the Issei as the dominant factor. In Block 61, however, where there is a good deal of Nisei self-assertion, conflicts have arisen from time to time. These conflicts and struggles between the two generations will be brought out with some clarity in the discussion of the block as it is today, which follows.

Block Personnel

The block manager was selected by the housing office to act as representative for the block when the first residents moved in to occupy that section. Until very recently, this block manager was active in his position, but resigned in the early part of the 1943 summer to take a position in Montana in the sugar-beet fields. This manager, who was active throughout the period of settlement, was Toshio Sugano. Sugano is one of several brothers who range in age from 25 to about 36, all are Kibei, and all of them had lived long in Japan. They speak little English, and are Kibei in the truest sense of the word. Sugano is said to have worked conscientiously for the interests

Block 61 - 14.

of the community, and to have been accepted as block manager by nearly all the residents. He is not however a block leader, and is not recognized as such. His function is primarily to handle the business of the block, and to act as a kind of handy-man for the block at large. As far as the facilities of the block, itself, are concerned, certain marked improvements were made under Sugano's direction. The latrines and washrooms were ever well kept, and the improvements in landscaping and design were done largely under Sugano's direction. At his instigation, a trellis for an arbor was erected around the messhall by members of the block, and he is regarded to do such things for the block well. In no sense is he a leader, however. He has not emerged as an important figure in the block manager's meetings, held through the central block manager's office. His ~~major~~ votes have ever followed the majority. He is described as lacking initiative in protecting the people of the block, but is commended for his interest and efforts. Some block managers, in order to secure partitions, stoves and linoleum, ceaselessly ~~played~~^{plagued} the office of the Project engineer. Sugano, not speaking English very well, and being somewhat retiring, did not fight for the interests of his block with the Project officials as so many other block managers have. The assistant block manager was Sugano's brother, Tomio. Like his elder brother, Tomio is somewhat retiring. He, although a young man, was in Japan a very bright student, and was admitted to the Bar after graduation from Waseda University. He came to this country to escape conscription in Japan, and served

as assistant block manager to his brother until the latter's resignation to go out on seasonal leave. The younger Sugano, Tomio, is now employed like Tuttle in the social service department. Both the Sugano brothers are the very reserved type, of the somewhat aristocratic Japanese. The fact that they have money and position in Japan is clearly shown in Tomio's attendance at Waseta, the most exclusive of the Japanese universities which retains a military tradition, even today, and which opens its doors principally to those of a wealthy and somewhat military background. Tomio has been doing well in the social service department in handling Issei cases. Both brothers, because of their deferential manner, are admired by Issei, but they cannot be said to be leaders. With the resignation of the Sugano brothers in May, Kaname Ozawa, aged 46, was selected to fill in the vacant block manager's post, and his wife to act as assistant block manager. Ozawa was the former owner of a laundry in Pasadena. He is more of a leader than Sugano and, although Issei, is better equipped to deal with the administration. He came to the United States as a very young man and speaks English very well. He shows more aggressiveness and a greater ability to get things done for the block residents. On the whole, Block 61 is much better satisfied with his administration than with Sugano's. He is able to deal with the administration, and to derive a greater degree of respect from the other block managers. At the time of this writing, he had just come into his position with the result that his activities as block manager may not yet be fully described.

Block 61 - 16.

As for block janitorial personnel, the plan follows that other for/blocks. Mr. Moroka, one of the Christian leaders in the community, attends both to the men's washroom and cares for the Christian Chapel in block 58. He also helps with the gardening in the public areas of the block. The women's washrooms are cared for by Mrs. Nakajima. Both of these Issei people have done this work since the inception of the project. Eager to be busy, they have shown their willingness to take any job, even the most menial; a situation which prevails among many Issei in the community.

On the whole, the messhall is run to the satisfaction of the block, in spite of the fact that a somewhat peculiar arrangement exists. The majority of workers in the block messhall is Kibei, and 61 has long been regarded as a focal point for Kibei difficulties and political strife and turmoil. It is in this block that the rumor of food shortage gained such hold, and there have been on many occasions other rumors which, particularly, moved the Kibei and Issei messhall workers. With the inception of the camouflage net project, strong objection began to appear in messhall 61. There was a threatened strike since it was said that citizen evacuees would be removed from their posts in messhalls and forced to work in the net factory. The Kibei of the messhall, under instructions from the G.Y.P.A., refused to have anything to do with the net project which "aids in the killing of our brothers in Japan," and so refused to relinquish their positions. While it was not true that people would be forced into service in the net factory,

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the employment division did, nevertheless, tactlessly suggest a curtailment of mess operations employees. This, at the time the net project was opened, was a source of great contention and debate, and centered itself in block 61.

The superintendent of the messhall is an old man who, oddly enough, resides in another block. He was a messhall superintendent at Tulare, and a former restaurateur. His name is Yamashita, and he lives in block 59. The reason for this rather peculiar situation in messhall personnel is that when the residents of block 61 moved into Gila, none of them was willing to take on the duties of messhall supervision, and had been necessary to make an appointment from another block in order to receive the incoming block 61 residents. There was, therefore, no change after settlement in the block. Yamashita enjoys a good reputation, that of a "quiet man who says nothing." Oddly enough, he is married to a Caucasian woman, who has a son by him. Neither his wife nor his son were evacuated, and he lives alone in block 59. When he obtained a position in block 61, Mr. Yamashita brought some workers with him from block 59. A sense of rivalry developed a certain amount of discrimination which arose in block 61 against these people from block 59, and, indeed, workers from 61 disliked being associated with those from another block. The head waitress was a Mrs. Matsumoto, while an under-chef was Mr. Matsumoto, her husband. Accusations were leveled against them that, by taking advantage of their position, they were able to steal food from the mouths of the people in block 61 and take it back to their own block. Both Matsumotos were forced to quit, and although there was feeling against Yamashita, he remained.

On the whole, however, it is conceded by nearly everyone in block 61 that Yamashita is a nice old man liked by everyone. Feeling has been directed, not so much against his management, as against the fact that he brought messhall workers from other blocks. Yamashita was the man involved in the hoarding of food, which is mentioned above. Because of his stand on an issue of this kind, it is felt that he has taken the best interests of the block population upon himself. In many blocks it has occurred that because of the lack of qualified individuals it was necessary to hire mess personnel from other blocks. It is peculiar that in the relocation centers the tendency of the individual to identify himself with the other members of his block has brought about a certain block solidarity, block consciousness and block rivalry, which, from the point of view of effecting a unified community, is not altogether desirable. The fact that in many blocks messhall workers may not reside in the blocks in which they work has given rise to some dissatisfaction. In addition to workers from block 59, 61 has cooks from 57, 72 and 60.

Of late, the menu offered in the messhall has been of satisfaction to most of the residents in the block. As has been shown elsewhere, the Nisei favor American types of food, while the Issei much prefer the Japanese. This has given rise to some ill-feeling and argument over the type of menu. Since, for the most part, the cooks and messhall workers themselves have a penchant for preparing Japanese food. Even if American foods are served, the Issei insist on rice with every meal, and protest bitterly if it is not on the

Block 61 - 19.

menu. There have been some protests too against the frequency of dishes on the menu; formerly applebutter was served daily and was not substituted by any other kinds of preserves. Complaints about this and the frequent occurrence of boiled squash were general from both age groups. A favorite Nisei food is meat, in comparison to the Issei preference for fish. Fish is served twice weekly, and the majority of Nisei refuse to eat it, giving their portions to Issei or Kibei table companions.

The procedure of meals is like that in all of the Gila blocks, and is modeled after the procedure in the Tulare Assembly Center. Following the ringing of the dinnerbell, the block residents wait in line and pass before the food servers and finally take their place at one of the crowded tables in the messhall. The protests against this procedure have been recorded elsewhere. Additional space should be given to a report on the political hot-bed which exists in the mess-halls of blocks 60, 61 and 72. Additional reports will be forthcoming on this matter.

Block 61's representative to the Community Council is Kenny Goto, a Kibei of 30 years of age. He was elected in November as temporary community councilman, and has been acting in that capacity up to the present time, when the elections for the permanent council are taking place. Goto had been planning resettlement, and now, September 15, 1943, he has been replaced by a Nisei permanent councilman, Harry Hasegawa. Goto is an extremist Kibei inclining somewhat toward being a spirit of negation. He does not believe that the ~~present~~ council in its temporary form serves the best interests of the community and because of his inability to speak English fluently, he

Block 61-20

hesitates to speak in the Council, and only then to take a negative stand on some issue. He claimed to be most dissatisfied with the work of councilman, saying, and rightly so, that there was nothing a councilman could do for the good of the community. The council in its temporary form served no purpose, and was completely dominated by Hoffman. The result is that Goto has not been in a comfortable position as the result of criticism from block residents. Although he claimed openly that he had nothing to do, people persisted in saying that this was his own fault, and that he should introduce something into the council which would be of benefit to the community at large. In November of 1942, when Goto's election took place, his was a unanimous choice from all the block members. There is one fairly prominent Nisei leader in the block in the person of Albert Ikeda, who was a candidate, but declined the nomination. Insofar as the relationship between the councilman and the block manager has been concerned, no complaints have arisen on either side. Goto attempted to bring successfully before the people the various instructions and edicts arising in the administration, and although he reported each time, following a council meeting, the block people were rather confused as to the understanding of the difference between the office of councilman and block manager. It was sometimes necessary that either the block manager, or the councilman, act for the benefit of the block at large in some matter of administration. In such cases, the block residents were often at a loss to know where to turn, and usually chose the block manager himself because of his

Block 61 - 21

greater accessibility. In fact, it becomes quite clear that at no time during the course of the project did the administration make clear the differences between the duties of the block manager and the councilman. Throughout the history of Gila there have been shown to be two bodies, one, the council made up of elected block representatives, and the other the block council functioning through the central block manager, made up of employed representatives appointed by the administration. Both bodies touched the same issues, and both bodies received equal administrative supervision. Of the two, however, the block manager's body was by far the more powerful. An example of this in block 61 is given: A good many people were complaining of food on the ground that there were not sufficiently well-balanced meals. It was felt that more eggs should be given. They asked about the matter through the community council, but the council felt that such a matter was out of its own jurisdiction; it should be directed through the block manager to the messhall superintendent. The failure of the community council to act in such a matter reduced its prestige, with the result that, not only in block 61, but in many other blocks as well, the councilman has come to be regarded as a kind of errand boy for the block manager. The failure of the WRA to grant self government on a permanent and chartered basis is something that few people in the community have been able to understand. The utter ineffectiveness of the community council in its temporary form has withdrawn any faith which the evacuees may have had in their ability ~~of~~ to run themselves. It is quite obvious that they do not want self government, they do not feel that self government

offers them anything, and it would appear from all that has happened that they are perfectly justified in their supposition. At the time when this information was collected, a brief attempt was made to reach community sentiment in block 61 on the matter of self-government. The views are many and varied, but the consensus seems to be that self-government is impossible under the conditions of the relocation center, and that as long as there is a WRA, self-government in a true sense cannot be accomplished. It should be said that this is the consensus of the few who think about the matter at all. The majority simply don't care. There have been a few rabid individuals in block 61 who went all out for Issei control of the community. Reference is made to the ~~par~~ petition sent to Dillon Myer in the winter of 1942, requesting Issei representation in the community government. This letter was instigated by the unfortunate Otajiro Yamamoto. Yamamoto, a resident of block 61, seemed to have the true crusader's spirit. Nonetheless, he fought too soon for an Issei voice in the government, and was sacrificed for his ideas by a suspicious and ruthless administration. At the time of this writing, the order had newly come into effect that Issei might hold office on the same level as Nisei. Of course, at this time, no mention was made of the fact that segregation^{was imminent}, and it was thought that the community council on a permanent basis might be set up with a joint Nisei-Issei representation. If the WRA had been able to act at this time, and to avoid again postponing the creation of the permanent council, a good deal of interest might for a time have existed in self-government, and in the concomitant democratic principle with

which the WRA purportedly attempts to instill in its charges. Block 61 ~~gave rise~~ manifested considerable interest in this matter when it was first announced, but resettlement, segregation, disputes and bickering with the WRA, caused this brief flame of interest to die. At first, the feeling grew that the community was on a permanent basis. Block 61, composed of semi-urban people, showed itself to be extremely politically minded, and willing to take a positive stand in the matter of community politics and leadership. The disappointments following the dissolution of the Daihyo-Shakai, the unsatisfactory visit of the Spanish Consul, the dilatory beginnings of the council, and the many other misfortunes that wracked the community, served to push the political interests of block 61 into the background of pressure groups, and sub rosa political activities. As the emphasis on resettlement grew, the tendency of individuals to identify themselves with the social and political lot of the other evacuees waned. The result was, in block 61 at least, a growing interest in resettlement which surpassed community interest. When the constitution was ratified, and the permanent council brought underway, then, it was predicted, a greater interest in community government would arise in block 61 than had been theretofore seen. It was felt that some Issei would be elected to replace Goto. There, however, the prediction was made without knowledge of the segregation to come, and it appears that it is almost with complete apathy and indifference that Hasagawa has been elected councilman. The pressure in block 61 all along has aimed at Issei representatives, and even the Nisei in this block have been in accord with this project.

Goto, the Kibei, married to another Kibei in Japan, is the man mentioned in a communication from Okuno in which he describes the hesitancy of a Kibei in taking a stand on the registration issue. Like so many Kibei, Goto has been at more of a loss to clarify his thoughts on the matter of registration. Yet, unlike Nisei, once he had clarified them, was able to abide more firmly by his decision. The relation of block 61 to the various pressure groups that have arisen from time to time, may be reserved for later discussion. It in no way affects the formal organization of political units in the block itself.

In addition to the formally organized political bodies whose function it is to operate with permission of the administration, there are also informal political bodies whose existence has been approved by the administration, but whose origin depended on the wishes of evacuees. This is the informal block council made up in each block from representatives elected by the residents of each barrack to represent that barrack. This informal block council exists in every Gila block. There is no set time for meetings, and the body meets only when an event of sufficient importance arises that it concerns every resident. In this case, the barrack representatives meet, so that they may return to clarify administrative instructions for the barrack residents. In such a meeting, any interested person in the block may share in the activities, together with the elected representatives. The representatives themselves have been chosen, not formally, but rather by appointment, the block residents designating some person

believed capable of doing the job and taking an interest in block activities. Some blocks in Canal camp conceived the idea of organizing informal meetings of this kind and, although there has been no administrative instruction creating such a body, the idea took hold and at administrative request the Butte blocks set up their council. The people in 61 took little interest in the matter, and all representatives were either self-appointed or went at the request of one or two of the family heads in the barrack. Most of the councilmen are Issei, a pattern which is in accord with the above mentioned block 61 preference for that generation. As a result, most of the block meetings have taken place in the Japanese language. Occasionally, an interested Nisei might join with the block council, in which case, a kind of mixed English and Japanese, which seems to typify most meetings anyway, was used. In the Canal camp, the failure of the block managers to exert centralized control on the community gave the block councils greater power, but in Butte, the block managers had a tendency to view the growth of the block council as a definite threat to their own authority and prestige, with the result that they preferred to somewhat saddle the block council with decisions of a minor nature, and to reserve major issues for their own discussions and interests in their weekly block managerial meetings. The result was that the block councils in Butte have concerned themselves with such minor points as the use of water, the distribution of lawn seed, the ~~xxxx~~ licensing of pets, and the like. As in the case of the community council, all attempts of block councilmen to assert themselves in this office met with frustration because of the

jealousy of the block managers. While in block 61, the block manager lacked the force to carry out this notion, nevertheless the Issei of that block were so interested in building up their own small political interests that there was no attempt to make use of the block council as a means of political prestige. When it came to an important issue, the effectiveness of the block council, like that of the Nisei community council, was powerless. For example, at registration, every block held a meeting, some of them because they felt vitally concerned, but others because it was simply the thing to do. On the evening when block 61 held its meeting to discuss the registration issue, everyone sedulously avoided expressing his opinion in the matter. It was stated that it was up to the Nisei to register, to make their own decision, and any more pointed conversation on the subject was tabled. At the head of the block council is Mr. Ozawa, the man who replaced Sugano as block manager. In a meeting of the block council, following Sugano's resignation, Ozawa suggested that someone else be elected to carry the block council chairmanship. He was asked to continue, since it was rightly felt that a closer relationship between block manager and block council was much to be desired. The block council in 61 lacks the formal organization which is found in other blocks, as, for example, in block 4. On some days, when a meeting is called, it is impossible to get a quorum, and very often the Issei barrack representatives will be found in the recreation hall of the block, which is the Go-Shogi club. If a quorum can be inveigled to come out to hear what the block manager has to say regarding the business of the day, they generally meet on the grass in front of the block manager's office, devote their time briefly to the business at

Block 61 - 27.

hand, but for the most part talk over block affairs and gossip in true Issei fashion. The peculiar situation in block 61 of the rather marked agreement between the Issei and Nisei factions there was remarkable. The block is extremely well unified, and the Nisei leaders in the block, of whom there are several, are understood, and some attention is given to them. No attempt is made to push the Nisei down. This may be the result of the fact that the urbanized Issei have a much wider outlook and are able better to appreciate the Nisei point of view. Differences do occur however, but always of a minor nature. If it should happen that a disagreement does arise, the block council member in the barrack, in which one or both of the aggrieved parties live, attempts to smooth over the difficulty. The block council, if it succeeds in no other aspect, is at least useful in keeping the disagreements in the block open and above-board, with the result that the business of everyone is known. This brings about a curb on the activities of the individual, and prevents any block resident from stepping out of line. The emphasis on the Americanized Issei side gives us in block 61 behavior patterns which conform more closely with Japanese than with American ways. The very effective weapons of gossip and ridicule, which are so typically Japanese, tend to make nearly everyone in block 61 a conformist. This, again, may be a cause of the situation which allows the Issei and Nisei to live in harmony together. It is a feature that is not present in every block. Where there are block factions, it is possible for an individual to mask his actions by hiding behind the protection afforded by internal disagreement.

61 has been effectively able to hold to the idea "we are all Japanese, we are all in the same boat." This has prevented the growth of factions and it makes for a greater degree of conformity on the part of an individual. This notion is enforced, however tacitly, by the Issei leaders of the block, Okuno, Ozawa, Morooka, Matsuzawa, and Watanabe. These five have been successful in diverting the block council's attention to the internal rather than to the external functions of the block.

Religion

Very little attention is paid by block residents to the formal matters of religion in either the Buddhist or Christian congregations. For the most part, the residents are nominally Christian, but only a few attend the regular Christian church services. In keeping with the semi-urbanized group, Buddhism seems to have fallen by the way. The Morooka family in barrack 2 is an outstanding Christian family in the community, however, and Emi Morooka is one of the leaders in the English-speaking Christian church. Residents of block 61 are chiefly from Pasadena, and were under the influence of a certain Reverend Tajima, one of the Christian leaders in the community, long noted for his pro-Americanism. To block 61 he brought with him a number of people from his own Pasadena congregation. Although popular with this group at first, he became almost fanatically pro-American, with the result that he incurred the enmity of many Issei leaders.~~AND XXXXXXXX~~ Certain rumors began to be circulated in the community that he had openly expressed the wish that the defeat of Japan would come as soon as possible and

Block 61 - 29.

that the United Nations would dictate peace terms to the world. In the block it was rumored that he made such statement, but actually he did make them on many occasions to members of the Caucasian staff. In the registration issue he took a firm stand on the loyalty question. He received threatening letters aimed against him and his family, and things were made generally unpleasant for him in block 61. Because of his connection with evacuees from the Santa Anita group, he requested to be moved up among them, and so, early in 1943, took up residence in block 44. The result has been that most of his congregation in block 61 has fallen away from him, and he has devoted most of his time to a new church in the other end of the camp. In block 61, none of the phenomena is to be noted which appeared in block 4 in regard to religious superstition, faith healing or cult practices, or the like. It is true that many of the predominantly Christian families in the block attend church services in a rather desultory typical American way. The Buddhists, too, have fallen into the habit of reserving their church work and attendance for Sunday. It is the women who go chiefly, the men being less concerned with church activities. This is true of most of the camp, the religion being principally followed by women. It is only in the case of rural people, where strict forms of Buddhism are adhered to, that there is any degree of attendance by men. Buddhist attendance in other blocks has been on the upswing. Block 61, however, gives the impression of being somewhat lazy, a bit lax, in every matter. Not only is religion treated in this way, but also the political set-up and other matters. Block 61 tends to be extremely introvert. It avoids all overt resemblances to conformity with specified patterns.