

NOTE: During my stay at Gila I was very frequently asked just what the approach of our study was, just what we were trying to do. While I could outline generally the plan of my own endeavor it was often difficult to answer ~~the~~ many of the questions which were directed to me. For example I was asked the stock sociological question, "Can you predict trends?" Possibly if I had given that matter any thought I could, to some extent, have predicted certain trends in camp organization and attitudes, but I was not at Gila in the capacity of prophet. My point has been to do an entirely descriptive job. It is still too early to arrive at any conclusions which might indicate the results of mass migration whether of the Japanese or of any other people in similar circumstances. The material that I present, therefore, is all descriptive. I have been watching the community growth, watching the various phases which it undergoes in its development and I do not attempt to offer any theoretical explanation as to its growth, except possibly from the point of view of the cultural factor. Given an understanding of Japanese culture, it is possible to offer descriptions based on knowledge of that culture and to interpret, rather than predict, the cultural phenomena which arise. The material to be presented here will be entirely of a descriptive nature.

A certain amount of comparative analysis will naturally enter in. There is a three fold phase of Japanese life in America today, the first of these is dependant on the cultural factors which were imposed by immigrants from Japan, the second pertains to the social and cultural development as manifested in an ideal American environment being subject to western culture, and the third is the cultural development as it takes place following evacuation.

Naturally the first two factors are going to influence the third and it will be necessary continually to refer back to the Japanese way of life as ideally manifested in Japan with regard to such matters as family organization, kin groups, religious organization and the like. The conflicts which have occurred as a result of life in America, political organizations such as the J.A.C.L. and groups patterned after American stereotypes, are indicative of the second phase of life in America. Let it be understood that the developments that have occurred in the Relocation Centers following evacuation are dependant on the cultural history of Japan and upon the Japanese developments in America, the latter being largely overlaid with American patterns. With such a basis of comparison in mind the following report was written. In this report I shall

follow partially the proposed outline worked up by Shibutani, Miyamoto, and Sakoda at Tule Lake. However I prefer to work over some of the material and physical side of life in the community to the non-material social and religious. For this reason I shall consider some of the physical aspects first, such as food, housing, clothing, ~~and~~ arts and crafts, and physical environment.

FOOD

In a previous report I described the physical setting at Gila, the housing arrangements, and touched only briefly on some of the social developments which occurred. It will probably be well to begin again with the treatment and elaboration of the material side of life in the Center. After the evacuated have been housed, however inadequately, having made a certain adjustment with regard to their environment, having become accustomed to the heat, the various attacks of colds and dysentary to which nearly everyone was subjected, the attention, being more or less settled, turns to food. Food is set up for the evacuees on an Army basis, allowing 40 or 43¢ per day for feeding of each member of the community. I mentioned that Mr. Harding had no choice in the matter of selecting food which was sent to him but that he left the preparation of it up to his mess

hall chiefs. The mess halls at Gila are arranged to seat every member of a given block at one time. There are mess tables with built in benches at which ten persons may sit. Three meals are served per day and in general they have been satisfactory to the evacuees. Certain foods, such as rutabagas, are unpopular and if served too frequently, a general feeling among the evacuees will prevent this food from being eaten and by common consent it will be left untouched on the plates. Some of the older Japanese have missed the diets to which they were used in pre-evacuation days. But there is generally some adherence to the Japanese way of eating because some of the Japanese cooks are eager to prepare food in the Japanese way. The farm management has agreed that in planting vegetables for camp use they will put special stress on things which might lend themselves to Japanese dishes, such as onions, radishes and cabbages. In the main the Japanese in the camp have been content to eat the food served to them, if they can have rice. Rice has been demanded for every meal and in some mess halls this pattern is followed. Two or three helpings of rice per meal are now made available to everyone. Naturally there is conflict as to

the matter of meals which people want served. The population at Gila is predominantly rural with the result that in pre-evacuation days many of the Japanese now at Gila followed fairly closely a Japanese diet pattern. Certain of the urban Nisei, who are opposed to Japanese conformations have been very anxious that only strictly American foods be served and are against the eating of rice and other Japanese staples or delicacies. They, however, are in the minority, with the result that most of the food served has a Japanese flavor. The most common complaint has been directed against breakfasts and it ^{was} ~~is~~ felt that not enough food was being served. Toast, perhaps one egg, milk for children and coffee for adults, was the rule for a time. It was possible to have dry cereal if desired. Now, however, most of the mess halls/ serve rice in addition to this menu. The other meals, although generally westernized in style, usually have one or more Japanese dishes. There is always rice for those who want it and such things as tsukemono, takuan (pickled vegetables) are served. Occassionally a tempura dinner is served. Sometimes there are Japanese soups, such as misoshiru (bean curd soup) and there may be daikon (radishes) either

plain or pickled and soy sauce on the table. Many of the evacuees, Issei and Nisei alike, yearn for meat in greater quantities, especially steaks and I have very frequently bought steaks on the outside for preparation over the forbidden electric stoves. At the store various pickled vegetables are sold and are bought with considerable frequency by old and young alike. In general the Center is content with its food but likes to supplement its diet with snacks on the outside. Many of the older people boil their own rice with tea and certain vegetables--ochazuke, Although coffee is served in the mess halls, many of the people prefer tea and some have large stores of tea on hand which they prepare in the evenings. During the day coffee does seem to be more in demand than tea, although some of the older people prefer tea with their meals. Since tea cannot be prepared in the way in which they enjoy it, most of the Issei will ~~just~~ choose to drink coffee or even milk if they can get it. I have no where heard of any prejudice toward milk even though the food pattern at Gila seems more predominately Japanese than at some other centers which I have visited. Coffee and tea are sold at the camp canteens and the Administration turns to look

the other way with regard to the little electric stoves which are owned by nearly every evacuee family. Many of the younger people feel that they do not get enough to eat and like to supplement their diet with cheese and crackers, cans of chille and soup from the canteen. Sode pop, candy and ice cream are eaten in enormous quantities. The Japanese feel very keenly the fact that they are unable to invite their friends over for supper and are very anxious to always have some kind of food in the house which they can offer to the guests. During the day pickled foods or canned foods or ice cream are offered to a guest, while at night ~~they~~ tea and coffee and crackers are the general rule. It is virtually impossible to visit a house with a family of which one is on familiar terms and not be given something to eat. This This expression of hospitality is always pleasing and shows the extent to which hospitality is carried even in trying times such as these.

In the mess halls the people generally eat with knife and fork. Only a very few of the older people use chop sticks. Those who do use chop sticks generally bring bowls of their own in which they ask that their food be served.

I understand that in the first stages of evacuation a good many people brought chop sticks and bowls in with them, all the time, for rice, tsukemono and the like, Because so much of the food meets army specification and is, therefore, western in style there has been an adaptation in the past few months to American foods and knives and forks are gradually replacing chop sticks. Many of the old people have abandoned chop sticks in favor of knives and forks because they think that to some extent it shows that they are loyal to the United States, considering chop sticks to be exemplary of the Japanese way. Food is served on tin army plates, altogether, salad and entre being all on the same plate. The kitchen staff objects to serving food in bowls, even when the evacuees bring in their own bowls, because this necessitates extra time and attention. Many of the Issei are severely criticizing their children for their lack of manners, saying that because of this mass feeding they are loosing all of the good manners they had learned in their own homes. Those used to chop sticks find knives and forks extremely unyieldy. I notes two old women who disregarded their forks, cut meat with their knives and lifted it to their mouths with their fingers. I notices some other old people picking up^a/large pieces

of meat in the hand, biting a chunk of it and then cutting it off from the main piece by drawing the knife in front of the mouth. This interested me particularly as a trait common to some of the tribes of northern Asia and the Eskimos. Also in regard to motor habit I noticed one child eating an apple who consistently cut with the knife drawn toward the body. I noticed several of the older people cutting bread in the same way. Such things, of course, are not too uncommon but do represent a departure from American motor habit. On the mess tables there are placed communal bowls in which rice and walad are put. There are usually second and third helpings of these foods but rarely of meat. I noticed and I heard too that families do not usually eat together. The children of a family will ~~eat~~ eat with other children, their friends, although the mother and father will eat together. This gives rise to a lot of play among the youngsters and is frowned upon by the elders as being conducive to bad manners.

CLOTHING

When the evacuees came in on the trains they were generally dressed in the best clothes that they owned. In most cases this clothing was new and had obviously been bought just prior to evacuation.

Most of the boys and men wore suits and the girls and women wore dresses, coats and hats and generally silk stockings and pumps. These clothes were all put away upon arrival at the Center. The evacuees then changed their clothes and because of the dust and heat only comfortable clothing was worn which would withstand the wear~~x~~ and be sufficiently cool. Boys and men usually wear jeans or old trousers of some kind and simply sports shirt or T-shirt. Girls customs varied and it is rather interesting to note that the type of costume which a girl may wear usually depends upon her degree of Americanization and education. Many girls have worn shorts and slacks. The idea of trousers on women is exceedingly repellant to many of the older men and they absolutely do not permit their daughters to effect these costumes. Girls who wear slacks and shorts also usually wear makeup, nail polish and have permanent waves. Nisei girls with stricter parents generally wear simply wear dresses of cotton and do not effect makeup. Women do not wear hats as a rule but generally carry parasols or umbrellas, nearly all men and boys wear hats. The older women generally wear dresses and stockings. Up until now there has been no laundry in the project although the cooperative department hopes

to arrange for one. Down the center of each block there are laundry and ironing rooms and most of the women of the project are obliged to do their own laundry and that for the men of their family as well.

Foot gear is fully western for everyday wear. When going about the showers and about household tasks all sexes and all ages wear geta, the typical Japanese wooden clogs. Some straw sandals are worn. Although all evacuees were originally and, I would suppose, still are entitled to a clothes allowance, provision has been made for allotment of clothing only to laborers and to those desperately in need. To the people of the Tulare Center was contributed a number of items of clothing which have been distributed among the needy through the Director of the Department of Community Welfare. In the camp itself there is very little manifestation of Japanese clothing. The house dress of many of the evacuees does follow the Japanese pattern to some extent. There is to be seen generally in the late~~x~~ evening a number of people wearing Japanese kimono and sometimes an obi is seen on the women's everyday kimono. Some older Japanese wear western dress when they walk or visit but

change immediately upon returning home to kimono. I have seen some who continually sat around their houses in Japanese dress. Many people on entering their homes will persist in the Japanese custom of leaving geta or shoes on the door sill. Some houses which could obtain sufficient scrap lumber have built porches on the outside in which people change to kimono and on which they can leave their shoes.

HOUSING

In a previous report a certain amount of space was devoted to the subject of housing. The size of the houses was described and some of the problems which faced the evacuees as they entered the quarters assigned to them. A typical block now consists of 16 barracklike dwellings, two of which are devoted to mess hall and recreation hall, respectively. The remainder are living quarters. I had mentioned that the barracks for these quarters are divided into four apartments, 3 of them of equal size and designed to hold from 5 to 6 persons and the fourth slightly larger and believed to accommodate one other person. The mess hall is a double barrack and as I mentioned above, is designed to serve the needs of the entire

block and to have sufficient space so as to seat all of the inhabitants of that block at one time. I mentioned that outwardly the barracks themselves are rather attractive being made of white beaver-board with red composition roofs. In order to provide insulation from the heat ~~the~~ a roof cover has been constructed on every barack which is set about 18 inches above the roof proper. The barracks face each other while down the center of the block there are 4 smaller buildings, wash rooms for men and women, ironing room and laundry room. In Camp I there are 26 blocks, one of which has been devoted to schools and another of which has been turned over to the Community Services Department for stores, shops of various kinds and also as living quarters for the caucasian staff. Thus in Camp I there are 24 inhabited blocks. In Camp II the block setup is identical but of course the camp is double in size, containing 50 blocks two of which are devoted to schools and one of which is to be used again by the Community Services Division.

In a previous report I went into some detail on the subject of crowded conditions, mentioning the fact that it was necessary to crowd the Japanese into quarters far in excess of the number stipulated for these quarters. With the opening of Camp II many of

the settlers were moved there and there has been a certain amount of resettlement regarding housing that renders living conditions more congenial, even though the over crowded condition still exists. The desire for alleviation of housing conditions on the part of the Japanese and their subsequent petitions to the administration have already been mentioned to some extent. Hot and cold running water is supposed to have been always available ^{for} ~~but~~ mess halls, laundry rooms and lav^oatories but the difficulties of connections of utilities persisted for several weeks. In fact a break in the gas line at one time necessitated that could be used only ~~by~~ the mess halls and none could be made available for heading the water in the lavatories. This condition persisted for two weeks, during which time Mr. Smith mentioned that although it was unfortunate, the evacuees must, for the time being consider hot water a luxury. The ^{hue} ~~how~~ and cry which followed this statement was most remarkable. It was ^{mis} ~~was~~ construed by the settlers in general and the understanding was that Mr. Smith was attempting to deny the colonists the necessities of life and termed them luxuries. This was definitely instrumental in contributing to Mr. Smith's unpopularity. This general situation confronted all of the evacuees upon their entrance in the Gila Center.

Army cots, mattresses and blankets, together with houses which had not been finished on the interior at all were the only facilities placed at the disposal of the new settlers. Although many of the Japanese brought in with them items of furniture collapsible chairs, their own beds, card tables and the like, most of them depended on scrap lumber for the making of furniture and for general improvements of their quarters. Scrap lumber piles were maintained at the edge of both camps. Naturally the first settlers were able to obtain the better pieces of lumber and those who came last were either deprived of scrap lumber altogether or had to be content with cast off pieces. The usual problems that have arisen around the scrap lumber pile in other centers have also occurred at Gila. For a time the military police demanded that passes be issued to all of those who sought to make use of the scrap lumber pile. Because construction is still going on in Camp II and because a ~~XXXXXX~~ camouflage net project is being built there as well, a guard must be kept continually by both contractors men and the civilian employees of the Army generally who are building the camouflage net factory, lest the lumber to be

used for construction of the factory is stolen by the evacuees. Of course, many of the evacuees have been successful in stealing some of the contractors lumber. When they do so they generally make quite a joke of it. There is no sense of wrong-doing in taking this lumber although there is a definite feeling against stealing lumber from other evacuees.

With the lumber problem in mind we might turn to the subject of furnishings for the houses. Unfortunately most of the lumber is green or knotty, warping easily in the desert heat. There has been sufficient for people to make tables, chairs, and even beds. Bookshelves and shelves of all kinds exist in nearly every house but because of the quality of the wood, only a few of these items show very much ingenuity or are finely done. Those who have been able to obtain sufficient lumber have made large low tables which they keep outside of the doors of their houses/^{and} on which during cool of the day many members of the family will lie, some even sleeping on them during the night. These are generally kept just outside of the door of the house and sometimes are actually built on to the steps leading up to the door sill. When in use they are generally

covered with blankets because ~~of~~ the rough quality of the lumber rather defied planing. In only a few cases have I seen any of the intricate work of scrolling or screening which is so dear to many of the Japanese. With regard to furniture, many of the evacuees have ordered tables, chairs and beds through Montgomery, Ward and Sears, Roebuck and Company. The desire for partitions has, as I mentioned been very great, in order to make a division of quarters and to alleviate the over crowded conditions. There has not been enough lumber to build actual partitions. There are no ceilings on the houses with the result that each room is covered only by the roof at considerable height from the floor. It would be impossible to build a wall all the way up to the ceiling, the result is that blankets are used as partitions and many have built screen frames and covered them over with blankets. These screens may then be moved about to suit the individual needs. Usually, however, blankets are simply strung up on ropes to make a division between families who are obliged to live together. When I left no provision had been made for heating the houses although none was as yet necessary. The nights are growing chilly and it is hoped that something

can be done soon to arrange for heat. Each apartment has been provided with a gas main ostensibly for a gas stove. The stoves have not as yet arrived, however, and it will undoubtedly take time to install them. Heat, therefore, will be entirely by gas. The outside buildings, the wash rooms and the like, are supposedly restricted only to residents of the block. It usually happens, however, that women will go to the laundry room with friends so that all may do their washing together irregardless of the block in which they live. The lavatories are divided into three parts, a small room to the side holds a large boiler and a gas heater which provides the hot water. There are 8 toilets in two rows of 4, the rows being separated by a partition. The toilets, however are not separated from each other by partitions nor are the showers which occupy another section of the wash room. Along one wall, by the door, are trough-like sinks for washing. Men's and women's wash rooms are identical in every respect except that a urinal is provided in the men's wash room. There is also a bench and hooks so that people can undress before taking showers. Naturally with the showers the only means of bathing, it is impossible for

the Japanese to continue with their custom of taking hot baths. In order to alleviate this, many of the older people, and even a few of the Nisei, bring with them large metal tubs which they fill with hot water from the shower to sit in and soak. This is not altogether satisfactory and because of the continual stream of traffic in and out of the wash rooms, the time of the bath cannot become a period of relaxation and of pleasant conversation as it does in Japan. It is true, however, that I have seen a group of old men wait for their turn to sit in one of these tubs and squatting in the shower room, talking as they wait. The older women, I have heard, also do this to some extent, but the younger people, never. The Nisei girls, in fact, and even some of the younger Issei women, are very much opposed to the present system of wash rooms and have demanded partitions, although without success. Considerable modesty is manifested by all of the younger women in all of their wash room habits. Sometimes groups of younger women will wait until mid-afternoon before bathing, thus avoiding the wash room rush. One will go in and bathe while others will stand outside the door to keep other women from entering. They will each have a turn then at taking

a shower in private. Exhibitions of this sort in the matter of modesty are quite common among the Japanese women. It is only the the older women whose ideas are very much Japanese and who have passed an age where modesty is no longer incumbent upon them, who show no concern in appearing in the shower rooms with other women. The men in general are not concerned with modesty.

The use of the recreation hall in each block will be touched upon shortly in the section recreation and entertainment. I have also gone into a little detail in a previous report on the physical side of the camp and the fact that the ditches carrying water, sewer and gas pipes were not filled in for some time after the blocks were inhabited. In Camp I they are all filled in but there are large sections of Camp II which still have open ditches not yet covered. Planks span the ditches and are used as foot bridges. The Japanese have considered these ditches quite a menace since they are denied flash lights or lanterns, many are afraid to go out in the dark and, indeed, some of the evacuees have been injured by stumbling over piles of earth or falling ~~in~~ into the ditches at night. Some of the housing problems have also been mentioned.

The fact that families did take it upon themselves to move from one quarters to another without notifying the housing department or without proper authorization. This happened particularly in Camp II, where there are still a good many idle blocks to be used for the reception of the last group to enter the camp. a contingent from the Santa Anita Assembly Center. A certain family or group of families would see these idle blocks and simply take their belongings over, then when the houses were assigned to someone else, having been listed as vacant, there would be considerable hard feelings manifested both against the administration and the family who thought to move in. It was difficult to know exactly what to do in these cases, no penalty could be exacted, and although the policy of the housing department was to allow people to move wherever possible, such moves could not be granted in every case.

There have been numerous improvements made in the physical landscape by the evacuees. The Japanese fondness for deminutive gardens can easily find expression in the construction of cactus gardens and in little ponds. I think that nearly every apartment has a garden of some kind or other. Fortunately there is a good

deal of cement left over from the construction of the foundations of the houses which the evacuees were able to beg, borrow or steal. With this cement they have built little outdoor pools, surrounded with cactus. The work of this is exceedingly clever and well done. Rock gardens and little islands in the pools have been made. In some cases figures and stone lanterns have been constructed out of cement in a very clever manner. A species of water lilly grows on the banks of the irrigation ditches and in many cases this has been transplanted and placed in the pools which the settlers have built. One group of boys got together and having obtained a great deal of cement, made a very large pool in which they sometimes swim. Nearly all of the settlers brought hoses with them and continually water the area around their dwellings to settle the dust. These hoses are used to fill the pools. An excellent utilitarian reason for the gardens is that they prevent the dust from whipping up around the houses. The recreation department is sponsoring a contest and offering a prize for the most attractive garden and also a prize to the block which has the biggest number of gardens. This has done much to stimulate an interest and in Camp I especially

now that the ditches are filled, the general aspect is quite pleasing. Camp II although more recently opened is ~~xxx~~ in its more settled sections also ~~xxxxxxx~~ beginning to be more attractive. A great deal of fishing has been done in the irrigation ditches and oddly enough the principle fish caught is carp, a fish which has definite connotations of strength, virility and good fortune to the rural Japanese in Japan. Some feeling for this pattern has been transplanted here and the small carp are eagerly sought after. Nearly every pool has its quota of fishes. Naturally with regard to gardens there are certain connotations and expressions of a religious nature which will be brought up in the section on religion. Except for the gardens, not too many improvements have been made on the outsides of houses. Where sufficient lumber was obtained porches were built as mentioned above. Some of these have a definite Japanese aspect being covered over with a wide gable and ~~xxxx~~ ^{having} curved ends in the conventional tarii style. Some of the porches are closed in. When closed in in this way they are called genkan and represent the reception hall ^{which} to the house/in a typical Japanese dwelling is the place where shoes are left before entering the

house proper. Other than this there are few evidences that Japanese are living in these parracks which still present a somewhat military aspect. Perhaps after investigation and inspection by the Army engineers other changes will be made to render the living quarters more homelike. With this general background in mind, touching on only one or two of the physical aspects of the camp and keeping in mind my previous description of the physical landscape we may turn to the more significant aspect of non-material organization. The difficulties of climate and adjustment to a perhaps unfavorable environment, have to be kept in mind in the discussion of social organization and social practices and developments that follow.

POPULATION

A word as to the population breakdown of the Gila Relocation Center will be in order. Some of this material has already been described in a previous report. I mentioned that Camp I was composed principally of evacuees from the Turlock Assembly Center, but that there was also a group of 1,500 odd which had come from the White Zone. If the figures given to me by the Administration are correct, the population of ~~THESE~~ Turlock was around 5,200 and it was this

group that was moved in first. White Zone people followed to the number, as I said, of about 1,500. Camp II had not as yet been opened when the last contingent had been moved in. Camp I was designed to hold about 5,000. Accordingly it is a bit too small to take this whole number and with the adjustments necessary for schools and head-quarters for the various community service groups, its maximum capacity, even when allowing for considerable over crowding, is 4500. As blocks in Camp II were opened up a few from the Turlock Center and most of the people from the White Zone were moved there. Then movement began from the Tulare Center. About 5,000 came in from Tulare and by October first the total population of the Center was, with Tulare, Turlock and White Zone together, about 11,500. At first it was supposed that Camp I hold 5,000 and CampII, 10,000. But it turned out that it would not be necessary to meet this 15,000 quote. When the announcement was made regarding the relocation of all of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast, it happened that two or three thousand were able to relocate themselves in the middle western areas, outside the military areas. Thus the Relocation Centers do not quite meet their prescribed quotas. A contingent of 2500 is coming in from Santa Anita, beginning Oct.17, 1942.

This will make a total population at Gila of around 14,000 --
1,000 less than the quota. Forty-five hundred will be the maximum
number of inhabitants in Camp I, 9500, in Camp II, alleviating to
some extent the crowded housing conditions. Readjustments in hous-
ing have not yet been begun on any large scale, but with the ~~XXX~~
reception of the Santa Anita group, it is very probably that more
satisfactory adjustments can be effected.