

The Archaeology of Social Ties and Community Formation
in a World War II Japanese American Incarceration Center

by

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ABSTRACT

People come together and form communities in cities across the world but the processes behind community formation are not well understood. Some researchers theorize that having populations with similar characteristics is important; others argue that the existence of public spaces for interaction is key. I use archaeological data collected over six seasons of field work and archival data from The Granada Relocation Center (Amache) National Historic Landmark, a World War II (WWII) Japanese American incarceration center in Southeastern Colorado, to demonstrate the role that participation in previous social communities has on the formation of new social networks. The concept of social cohesion acts as a framework for understanding how access to public spaces and participation in different types of social activities creates a sense of neighborhood community among a dislocated population.

During WWII Japanese Americans were forcibly removed from their homes on the West Coast to ten incarceration centers, disrupting existing communities and forcing the formation of new ones. Amache is one of ten incarceration centers which housed families and individuals. The site resembled an urban center with public facilities and residential areas that functioned as neighborhoods. Archival and archaeological data indicate that residents developed socially defined neighborhoods. Internees modified each neighborhood through the creation of landscape features and development of social activity which provided a venue for residents to interact and form a sense of community identity.

Neighborhood residents clustered based on their affiliation to previous communities both in California and in the temporary detention centers. Clustering in demographically similar neighborhoods facilitated the development of new social interactions and led to the proliferation of landscape features and social events seen in the archaeological and archival record. I identify patterns of neighborhood interaction through an examination of the archaeological record and social network analysis using archival newspapers. Applying archaeological data in partnership with social network data illustrates the range of strategies used by incarcerated individuals to create new communities and problematizes working with a single data source when attempting to identify socially defined neighborhoods.

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CHAPTER 1

AMACHE AND THE FORMATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITIES

Every year since 1979 people travel by bus and car to Amache, a WWII Japanese American incarceration center in southeastern Colorado, and gather in the cemetery on the 3rd Saturday of May. Together they stand in a small spot of green amidst the sage brush to remember those who came before, who died at Amache, or fighting in WWII while their families remained imprisoned due to their ethnic background (Figure 1.1). During the 2019 invocation the priest of the Tri-State/Denver Buddhist temple conducted a Shinto Ceremony. As I stood there surrounded by a community of people connected by the act of attending the pilgrimage (some people have come every year for decades) she spoke about the truth of interdependence, the idea that nothing is independent but rather that all states arise from other pre-existing ones and in turn lead to the next in a continuing cycle of interconnection. As an archaeologist studying communities this simple truth struck a chord.

We are connected past to present by actions and experiences, both our own and of others. This concept is central to understanding communities and considering how they form, are maintained, and what their impact is moving past – present – future. Previous community membership and experiences drive our engagement with new communities and existing social norms influence ideas of appropriate interactions and spaces to have within a community. The diverse crowd of people around me were all part of one community gathered here to recognize this period in history. Some had a personal connection to the site and event, having been incarcerated themselves or through having family members who were held at one of the ten incarceration centers. Others were

members of the Denver Buddhist Temple or individuals, like myself, who had come to pray and memorialize an important history. Others were from the local community who work actively to protect this historical site and recognize its role in their own community's past. Regardless, we were all there because of a community that was formed during and before World War II at the site of Amache, a National Historic Landmark.



Figure 1.1 Memorial to fallen soldiers at the Amache cemetery with flowers around the base during the 2019 pilgrimage. Photograph by the author.

So, what is a community? There are two general ways to think about community. One is a concrete physical place or thing like a settlement or a group of people. The other is an abstract concept that researchers' study as a social phenomenon. In the previous section I used both terms. I referenced Amache, the place, as a community and the group of people who preserve it as another type of community. Finally, I talked about the sense of community – the abstract bonds that draw this group together. It is the connection between these two components that this dissertation explores. How through interactions and cultural or personal similarities a set of social ties or shared identities are developed to create a sense of “community.” These interactions are often rooted in a physical place and/or community. So how do we define and identify the connections between these two forms of community? A challenge for archaeologists is finding the fit between definitions of community and the physical remains of past societies to determine if the physical entity we identify as a community would have been considered one by its past residents (Marcus, 2000).

As our society becomes mobile and diverse it is increasingly important to understand how communities form and what encourages residents of a neighborhood to socialize. A simple definition of a community is a group of people who live together or are drawn together by shared interests or characteristics. Archaeologically, evidence of communities is in the existence of shared behavioral patterns and organizations of space. This definition prioritizes social reproduction, population size, subsistence production, and social recognition as key elements (Kolb & Snead, 1997). Communities can be defined as bounded areas with patterns of clustering and relatively dense areas of habitation (Chambers and Young 1979). While these definitions have utility for

identifying communities based on spatial attributes they do not account for issues of human agency or social transformation (Knapp, 2003).

In contrast, socially defined communities have evidence of shared behavioral practices and identities between members (Varien & Potter, 2008). Here the emphasis is placed on connections between people and things. This allows us to consider the relationship between human actors, places they inhabit, and material objects they interact with (Harris, 2014). Creating space for human agency in the definition of community allows for change in how a community is defined and behaves (Gerritsen, 2004). It is this definition of community that I will be drawing on more heavily. Since the physical space of Amache is clearly defined and bounded what is of interest is the creation of community as a social construct and means of self-identification.

Neighborhoods are residential units defined either by spatial boundaries or shared characteristics and associations between their residents. Identification of neighborhoods can be organized in a similar manner to communities, either by finding bounded units or by identifying patterns of behaviors in the material culture of residents. Neighborhoods can be thought of as locally based communities in an urban setting. At Amache neighborhoods are spatially defined by the structured layout of the incarceration center and socially defined through bonds between residents. Researchers studying the development of communities have theorized that members of neighborhoods with homogeneous populations are more likely to engage in social interactions while others argue that the existence of public social spaces is key. Here I use archaeological and archival data from the Granada Relocation Center, also known as Amache, a World War

II (WWII) Japanese American Incarceration Center, to see how membership in communities prior to their forced relocation impacted the development of new communities at a neighborhood scale.

During WWII Japanese Americans along the West Coast of the United States were forcibly removed from their homes to ten different incarceration centers. These incarceration centers followed a standard design with large residential blocks, or neighborhoods. Each neighborhood had 12 barracks (with a total of 72 units), a communal bathhouse, and a mess hall. Within neighborhoods internees developed their own social life, organizing events and constructing public spaces such as sports fields or playgrounds. Internees attempted to recreate normalcy and mimic life outside of the incarceration center, potentially helping to mitigate the negative impact of internment. New social groups were formed, and existing friendships maintained, all within the span of three years (1942-1945).

I use the concept of social cohesion (defined as how peoples' beliefs, characteristics, or interactions draw them together to create a sense of shared identity and belonging (Forrest & Kearns, 2001)) as a framework for understanding how access to public spaces for social activities and participation in different types of activities creates a sense of community among neighbors. By studying where people were engaging in social activities and who they were socializing with I can test theories about how existing social ties impacted community formation and the development of new social ties.

Internment Centers as Communities

WWII Japanese American internment centers provide a unique opportunity to study the processes of community cohesion. Incarceration centers are large-scale, rapidly settled communities that housed a population that was dominantly of Japanese ancestry making them homogeneous, yet still heterogeneous due to variations in individual demographics and social backgrounds. The physical structure and temporal span of the centers makes them ideal for a constrained study on community formation.

Internment camps followed a regimented design with large residential blocks that functioned as administrative neighborhoods. Over time they became socially defined neighborhoods as internees developed their own community structures, including organized events and the construction of physical facilities. Previous research has indicated that, unsure of the length of their occupation, internees formed an internal social structure that mirrored the world outside of the incarceration center, potentially helping to mitigate the negative impact of internment. Studying social interaction at a neighborhood scale in the more controlled environment of incarceration centers allows me to test theories about the processes behind social cohesion and its role in creating ideas of community that could be applicable to urban development in modern cities.

Internment centers are comparable to modern urban centers with their high population density, residential neighborhoods (Smith, et al. 2015), diversity of services, and tiered system of internal governance. Population density at Amache was similar to many modern cities with between 7,000-8,000 people confined to 1 square mile, a density of 27-31 people per ha. Residents at Amache were organized into neighborhoods, each

with their own services and clearly defined area (Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019a). Although Amache seems insular, residents were participating in national economic activities and external organizations including industries directed at the war effort, food production enterprises, external employment, and social groups with national ties such as the Boy Scouts of America. Finally, the administrative organization of Amache reflects that of contemporary communities with a top down administration focused on the management of overarching urban functions, coupled with bottom up neighborhood and community governance. A series of government sponsored ethnographers working to document internment camps noted that observed social organization patterns resembled those of other non-internment communities (Arensberg, 1942).

Amache and other incarceration centers are notably different in several key aspects from most urban centers. The initial layout was completely pre-planned and major buildings and road systems built in a single episode spanning several months. Settlement of Amache occurred rapidly and led to the almost complete occupation of the urban area in a matter of months. Since Amache was in essence a concentration center, residential turnover was low and the freedom to move into and out of internment camps restricted. The demographic make-up of the site also differs since residents were almost exclusively Japanese American, creating a racially homogenous population. Yet residents' cultural background created small yet significant differences in the way they interacted with their environment and with others.

General attitudes towards internment ranged between anger and acceptance of something that residents could not change (Dusselier, 2008). Attitudes of acceptance combined with the existing tendency of Japanese Americans to work together in

community organization and planning (Kitano, 1976) may have created an environment where residents interacted more frequently than in most urban neighborhoods. Finally, the overall period of occupation was short, as internment camps were established, fully settled, and abandoned within 3 years.

While these differences set Amache and other incarceration centers apart from modern and historic urban centers they also make them an ideal candidate for understanding processes of community formation. A challenge for any study is finding or creating a bounded study site – both temporally and physically. At Amache the study area is physically small – only 1 mile – and temporally limited to three years. The site was built and occupied rapidly, and social activities formed within the first few months. In its construction the government used a template for every neighborhood which provided basic resources and nothing more. Most modifications to the site are the result of residents working to augment this physical environment. The historical record is detailed, allowing researchers to see the who, what, and where of activities and interactions among people. This creates a record where we can see social networks forming and places on the landscape becoming central points for activities. Suddenly, where there was barren land and disconnected individuals a community comes into focus.

Communities Defined

Communities are complicated and writing about them even more so. Imagine one of those art pieces made of many different photographs connected into a single new image. Each photograph can stand alone as a representation of an individual, place, or event. When combined carefully these photographs are still visible but they are also

changed to be a piece of a larger more complex image. Communities are similar. Each of us is part of a multitude of communities – so many we probably cannot even count them all. Every day we engage in a series of interactions with other people, members of these communities. The daily interactions reinforce our shared membership in a community (a single picture). These interactions compound to create many ties within and across these communities. But how do communities form? Are they natural, spontaneous, and organic or is there a set of component pieces or criteria that aids in their development?

Social scientists have long been interested in understanding how communities form. They are core units of social function and organization. However, defining and identifying communities is difficult as is a careful study of the mechanisms that allow for their formation. Research on modern and historic urban communities spans almost every field in the social sciences and has focused on how cities form (Lefebvre, 2003; Lynch, 1960; Purser & Shaver, 2008), the impact of changing populations and social compositions (Hunter, 1979; Sampson et al., 2002), and how social ideas impact urban life (Cuthbert, 2006; Fox, 1977).

Two approaches are commonly used in research on urban community formation – an examination of a city’s social organization or of its spatial organization (Low, 1996). Studies of spatial organization focus on measuring or quantifying how space is organized and constructed, including issues such as access, and developing principles to both guide new development and explain the success or failure of existing spatial layouts (Buscaglia, 2008; Cutting, 2003; Hillier, 2002; Lilley, 2000; T. Murray & Crook, 2005; Siksna, 1997). Socially oriented approaches quantify characteristics of the population of urban

centers and look at issues surrounding the role and impact of social institutions, such as the role of safe neighborhoods in reducing poverty (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Gotham, 2000; Jacobs, 1992; Sampson, 2013).

Although both approaches recognize the intrinsic interconnectedness of social and spatial aspects, they frequently focus on one component to the exclusion of the other. However, both components are necessary to understand community formation. The social or demographic composition of a community is going to impact how it approaches the organization of space. At the same time the spatial organization of a community will impact how residents can and do interact with each other.

Community formation is an act of social agreement, as residents of a space agree on how it should be used and organized (M. L. Smith, 2016). The interactions that occur during a space's use produce social cohesion. Social cohesion is defined as a shared objective or common purpose, a sense of place attachment, or the level of social interaction within communities or families (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Letki, 2008). Smith (1975) identifies four indicators of social cohesion at a neighborhood scale - the shared use of physical facilities, social interaction between neighbors in either casual or more organized settings, personal identification where residents feel they belong and identify with their neighbors, and value consensus or agreement among neighbors about social norms or behaviors.

As members of a community interact, they become a more cohesive unit engaging in discussions and interactions that foster a sense of belonging and membership. To begin these interactions, and the development of social cohesion, there needs to be a spark or

seed, some component of the community or environment that encourages the initial interactions. Researchers have proposed a range of different theories on what might be driving this initial interaction. Is it the relative homogeneity of a community's population? Or is it that there are physical spaces or an environment that draws residents into interacting with each other? To see how a community becomes cohesive we need to understand what fosters these initial social interactions.

Social cohesion and communities

Academic and policy-oriented discourse feed the development of research on social cohesion. Academic research focuses on broader questions of integration and stability, while policy research seeks to measure and solve issues of social cohesion (Chan et al., 2006). Both fields have identified drivers that lead to increased social cohesion, including the existence of integrative spaces, social homogeneity, proximity, and social capital (Lipe & Hegmon, 1989; Putnam, 1995; Talen, 1999; Witten et al., 2001). Despite extensive research on social cohesion, there remains debate along several lines (Friedkin, 2004). The value or benefit of social cohesion is difficult to quantify or assess and arguments exist in both directions - that too much cohesion can negatively impact an area or conversely that cohesion improves urban life by creating a sense of security and community (Beumer, 2010; Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Drivers of cohesion are also challenging to identify. Extensive work has focused on both the role of integrative spaces (Fisher, 2009; Longacre, 1966; Talen, 2006) and neighborhood composition (Akerlof, 1997; A. M. York et al., 2011). One unifying aspect is the role of social interaction in creating and increasing cohesion.

Social bonds developed through interaction can generate social cohesion (Marschall & Stolle, 2004; Meegan & Mitchell, 2001). The greater the interaction within a community the higher the potential level of cohesion. Aspects of social organization associated with social cohesion can be grouped into two categories – perceived and objective (Chan et al., 2006). Perceived indicators refer to group members' perceptions based on their experiences, which provide qualitative measures, including a sense of identity or belonging. Objective indicators are quantitative and refer to attributes of the group, including participation in activities, use of spaces, and the extent of social networks. Social cohesion at the neighborhood level is generated through the repeated interactions of residents through varied activities (Amin, 2002; Ferman & Kaylor, 2001). Participation of residents in shared activities generates two types of outcomes identifiable in past communities - events and community-generated physical facilities.

Events are the social interactions that link individuals or places together. Events may or may not leave a strong physical trace and are not necessarily rooted to a single location but are composed of both informal and formal activities that bring individuals into direct contact with each other, thereby facilitating social interaction. These can include participation in classes, parties, employment, and local governance (Wasserman and Faust 1994). Referring to them as events recognizes the singular and recurring nature of these interactions. An activity, such as participation in a play, can be composed of multiple events while attending a play is a singular event.

I define **community-generated physical facilities** as permanent or semi-permanent features created by neighborhood residents. This definition excludes facilities

created by government, or outside organizations, and centrally constructed features not serving an individual neighborhood. Community-generated physical facilities promote interaction either through the cooperation and community consensus needed in their initial construction or by acting as locations where interactions occur in a neighborhood (Skjaeveland & Garling, 1997; R. A. Smith, 1975). Community-generated physical facilities may include; gardens, playgrounds, temporary structures for events and festivals, and sports fields. Use of these physical facilities increases identification with ideas of neighborliness and belonging to a bounded community (Skjaeveland & Garling, 1997).

The repeated interaction of residents through participation in activities creates a feedback loop – more interaction spurs the development of more activities and as more activities develop, neighbors interact more frequently. This, in turn, can lead to an intensified development of events and facilities, which, as indirect indicators of social cohesion, represent the relative prevalence of different types of social interactions (Figure 1.2). Conversely, a neighborhood with fewer indicators of interaction would mean that there were fewer activities to serve as opportunities for interaction, reducing the overall social cohesion among residents.

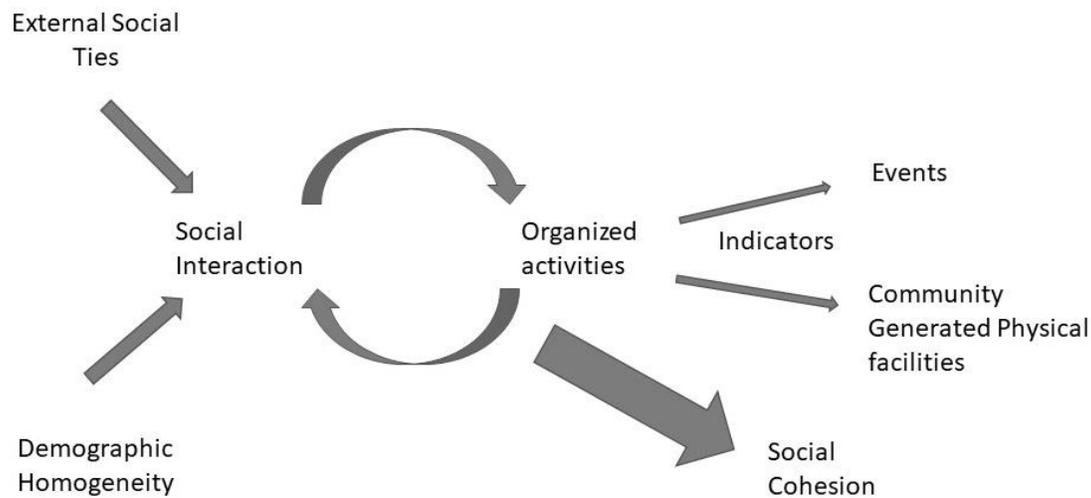


Figure 1.2. The feedback loop between social interaction and organized activities generates social cohesion. Levels of social interaction may be impacted by the independent variables - external ties and demographic homogeneity. Events and community-generated physical facilities are indicators of activities which can be used to measure the level of social cohesion in a neighborhood.

I approach the existence of community-generated physical facilities and events as indicators of larger processes of social interaction. In this model social activities act as products and producers of social interaction leading to the creation of social cohesion. By seeing social cohesion as an outcome of interaction, independent variables and outside forces that might impact cohesion at a neighborhood level can be quantified.

The role of homogeneity in facilitating or deterring social interaction has been a subject of discussion in the social sciences since Durkheim. More demographically homogeneous communities are seen as likely to be more socially cohesive, since similarities between residents foster interaction (Cassiers & Kesteloot, 2012; Leach, 1965). A sense of belonging and self-identification with the group are important to the formation of social cohesion (Oxoby, 2009). In homogeneous neighborhoods residents

connect based on shared characteristics (McPherson et al., 2001) while in heterogeneous areas this sense of belonging is harder to develop since shared characteristics can be missing or less apparent (Hipp & Perrin, 2009). As such, residents of homogeneous neighborhoods are more likely to frequently socialize with each other than those in more heterogeneous ones, facilitating increased cohesion (Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008). Neighborhoods with greater levels of homogeneity also appear to have more capacity for self-organization and ability to affect change at a neighborhood scale (Marcuse, 1997; Sampson et al., 1997) so neighborhood homogeneity may impact the number and diversity of indicators – both the facilities constructed and activities occurring in a neighborhood.

Demographic homogeneity among residents of a neighborhood can be examined along a number of demographic lines, including age, community of origin, gender, generation, and urban or rural context. At Amache, issues of racial or ethnic identity are less central to ideas of homogeneity since, with a few exceptions, the residents were Japanese American. In the context of this dissertation I will be focusing on the communities of origin as a source of homogeneity within neighborhoods at Amache. As residents of Amache went through the process of forced removal and relocation they carried with them ties to previous communities they had been part of (Figure 1.3). Incarcerates were often first relocated along with other members of their community of origin to a detention center, then residents of that detention center were sent to the same incarceration center. This process created some homogeneity along the lines of home community, detention center, and urban or rural source community. Looking at membership in previous communities allows me to consider both the role of external ties

and one component of demographic homogeneity in the development of organized activities and social cohesion.



Figure 1.3 Boy Scout Troop 162 parading at Amache. This troop originated in Walnut Grove and was composed predominantly of boys from that part of California. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection.

Existing research from Amache and other incarceration sites has documented that the area individuals were forcibly removed from played a role in the development of social interaction within the incarceration centers (Hamanaka, 1943; McFarling, 1945; Miyamoto, 1942). Residents from the same communities in California preferentially socialized and attempted to live in proximity to each other. Social divisions based on how urban or rural an area of California individuals were from altered patterns of interaction within Amache (Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019b, 2019a).

Clustering in urban contexts can be driven by institutional forces like exclusionary laws (Gotham, 2000; A. York et al., 2014), social forces such as racism and housing costs (Hershberg et al., 1979; Marcuse, 1997), and by residential preferences. Archival data has been used to identify residential clustering along economic and social lines (Drobis, 1976). Similar patterns are seen in contemporary refugee, migrant, and other uprooted communities where residents cluster based on the communities and regions they originated from (Colson, 2003; MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964; Pamuk, 2004), often attempting to reform previous communities (Peteet & Peteet, 2005). Clustering based on demographic similarities and community affiliations appears to facilitate the development of community identity and interaction. Further, having been neighbors for longer periods of time increased ideas of community cohesion and identification with a neighborhood (Ryzewski, 2015; Shechory-Bitton & Soen, 2016).

Within Amache the prevalence of social clusters based on previous community membership potentially facilitated the development of new communal ties and organized activities. Individual neighborhoods formed and residents developed both events and physical facilities to serve those neighborhoods. In this dissertation I initially examine patterns of settlement as a context for understanding how neighborhood identities were formed. The prevalence of events and physical facilities within different neighborhoods is then contextualized within the framework of their relative homogeneity.

Studying community Formation

Amache provides a unique archaeological case for understanding the processes of community formation because the detailed data on everyday social interactions within

neighborhoods is visible archaeologically, in oral historical accounts, and in archival sources. I blend these three sources to examine internee-driven mechanisms for the development of communities which included the construction of physical facilities and the organization of social events both within neighborhoods and for the larger Amache community. Archaeological data create a record of the physical facilities constructed by incarcerated for personal and community use. Historic newspapers provide direct evidence for patterns of interaction not visible in the archaeological record along with the types of activities occurring in archaeological features. These can be contextualized using demographic data collected from a range of archival sources.

Archaeological data has been collected by the University of Denver Amache Project over the course of six field seasons and includes feature and artifact data from intensive pedestrian survey of large segments of the residential areas of the site. Working first as a crew chief and then as Co-director I have participated in four seasons of data collection. For the chapters and articles included in this dissertation, data was used from a sample of 8 different blocks surveyed between 2008 and 2016. Data on artifact distributions and the types and locations of landscape features identified during survey are presented for these blocks (Figure 1.4), although reference is made through out to other features located in blocks not in this sample to contextualize findings and provide additional support. In addition to ongoing research, a previous reconnaissance level CRM survey and National Landmark Nomination created a broad record of the physical condition of the site and overview of its social history (Carillo & Killam, 2003; Simmons & Simmons, 1994, 2004). Extensive oral histories document the lived experiences of former incarcerated and survivors and contextualize both documentary and archaeological

data (Figure 1.5). The archival record for Amache is extensive and this dissertation draws on several discrete sources created both by the United States government and by the incarcerated community.

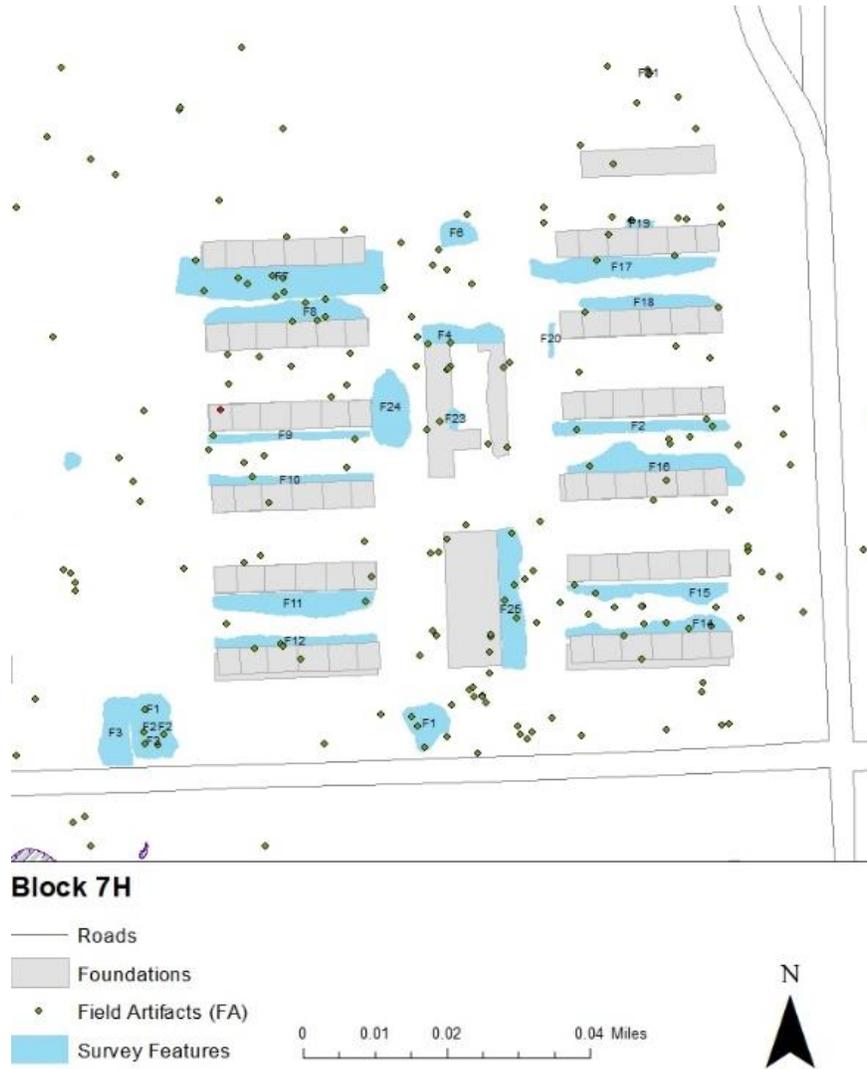


Figure 1.4. Map of a residential block (7H) showing the location of historic landscape features mapped during survey and diagnostic artifacts. Historic building outlines and roads are visible. Map by the author.



Figure 1.5. Historic photograph of a garden feature in front of a residential barrack. This garden was recorded as Feature 7 in the map shown in Figure 1.4. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection.

Amache was managed by the War Relocation Authority which collected detailed demographic data on all individuals who were removed to the incarceration centers.

There are three large bodies of information represented here. WRA Form 26 was collected as internees arrived and generated a broad background set of data on residents.

The Final Accountability Roster (FAR) recorded the closure of each camp and documented residents as they left. Additionally, many of the incarceration centers had embedded anthropologists or sociologists who collected data on residents' responses to incarceration (Price, 2008). One goal of these programs was to understand community structure in preparation for the resettlement of Japanese Americans. This program used a

mixture of Caucasian anthropologists and embedded members of the Nikkei community who were themselves incarcerated (Ichioka, 1989). At Amache this was part of the WRA's Community Analysis Section whose reports detail both center administration and the activities of incarcerated. Members of the Community Analysis Section submitted written reports to the administrative personnel to help provide a social and psychological context for issues that arose and internee reactions (McFarling, 1945).

Incarcerated at Amache created their own documentary record through the publication of a community newspaper, *The Granada Pioneer*. The paper was published from 1942 to 1945 and documented daily life at Amache. Internee reporters ran the newspaper under the oversight of a WRA employee and the paper had both English and Japanese language sections. Additionally, two city directories (1943 and 1945) were created documenting family members and their block and apartment at Amache. These directories later served as a source for the development of block maps for the 1976 reunion. Block maps and ongoing efforts by the survivor and descendent community continue to collect new data on who lived at Amache (See Appendix A: Demographic and Network Data Sources for a more complete discussion of these archival sources).

Articles from the *Granada Pioneer* were sampled and used to create a database of social interactions occurring at Amache. Each individual listed in the newspaper articles was approached as a node and the social activity they were participating in as the tie. Demographic data on each individual/node –the town they lived in prior to forced removal, temporary detention center, gender, generation, and place of residence at Amache, were available from a series of historic censuses and community directories.

These attributes were used to code the nodes allowing for analyses of ties between places at Amache and residents connection to previous communities (Figure 1.6). Compiling these resources created an archaeological record of the physical remains of community activities, a database of residents and their demographic characteristics, and network data set showing interactions between groups and individuals during Amache's occupation.

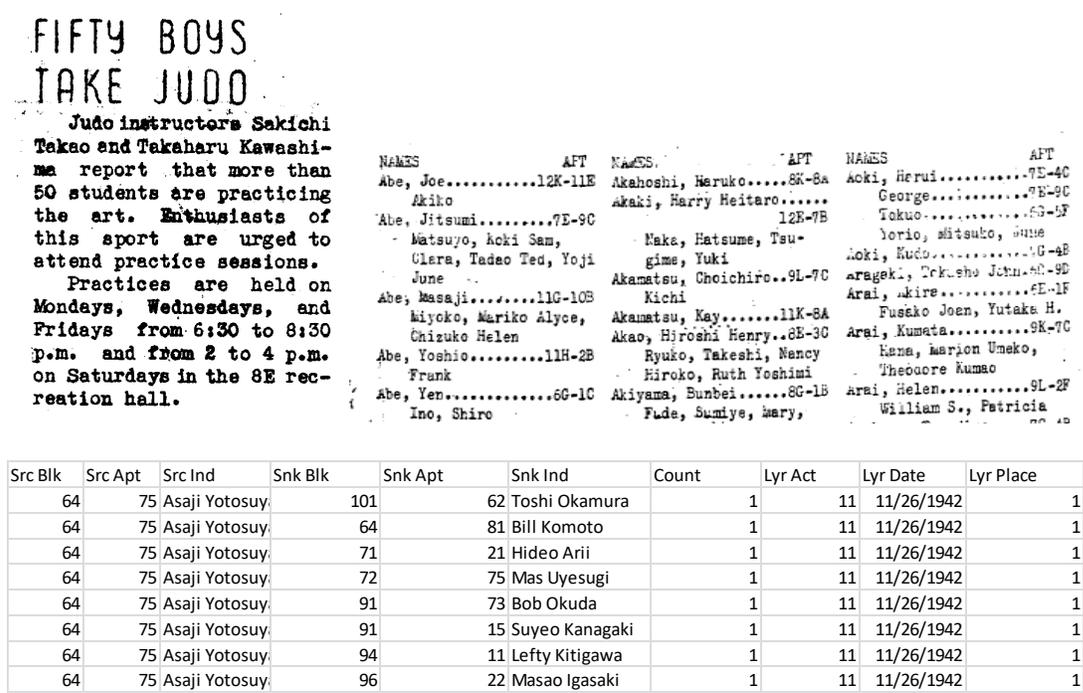


Figure 1.6. Examples of newspaper article and historic city directory used to generate social network data and resulting edge list.

Research Questions

This dissertation expands on existing work on the development of social cohesion in urban settings. I ask how social cohesion develops in a community and whether access to physical facilities or social homogeneity are more important in increasing social interaction and fostering social cohesion. This dissertation is composed of three discrete research papers that have been previously published as book chapters in an edited volume or as journal articles. These chapters test the role of social homogeneity and the

importance of previous community affiliation on the development of neighborhood level community at Amache based on a synthesis of social network analysis and archaeological evidence. Each article or book chapter asks a set of nested research questions building towards a more detailed understanding of the central research objective.

Chapter 3, “Creating a Community in Confinement: The Development of Neighborhoods in Amache, a World War II Japanese American Internment Camp” (Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019a), establishes the basis for Amache to be approached as an urban landscape, or city, and defines the idea of neighborhoods within this context. In this chapter my co-author and I look at the composition of different neighborhoods. Is it possible to identify socially defined neighborhoods in Amache’s archaeological record? If so, do we see patterns of residential clustering based on the community of origin prior to an individual’s forced removal?

Chapter 4, “Social Networks and the Development of Neighborhood Identities in Amache, a WWII Japanese American Internment Camp” (Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019b), expands on the findings of the previous paper. Here my co-author and I use social network data to begin exploring why some neighborhoods have more physical evidence of social interaction (in the form of artifact frequencies and communal landscape features) by comparing two set of neighborhoods. This article asks whether social network data can identify intangible aspects of social interactions not visible in the archaeological record. Do more communal features and artifact similarities actually represent more socially cohesive neighborhoods? Four neighborhoods were selected that have similar urban or rural compositions and source communities to test this question.

Chapter 5, “Diaspora and Social Networks in a WWII Japanese American Incarceration Center” (Kamp-Whittaker, In Press), begins a more detailed analysis of how internees began to develop socially cohesive neighborhoods and uses social network and archaeological data on sports to explore the role that social homogeneity along the categories of hometown and assembly center played as a key catalyst for increasing interaction at a neighborhood scale. This article asks whether we can see continued participation in previous social groups and whether they appear to be driving the development of new interactions within Amache.

Key Terms

Before proceeding further, I present several specific terms that will be used in the remainder of this dissertation. Many of these relate to the discussion of Japanese American history and identity, and others to broader historical or social ideas.

Japanese American

The first set of terms are all related to identifying a specific cultural or ethnic group, that of Japanese Americans or individuals of Japanese descent/ancestry or Nikkei. All of these terms will be used interchangeably and reflect the complex nature of identifying an ethnic or social group. “Individual of Japanese descent/ancestry” is a term that appears in many historical documents related to the incarceration of Japanese Americans. The laws and executive orders that called for their exclusion from this nation, and later from the West Coast utilize “individual of Japanese ancestry”. It is broadly correct since it recognized the diversity of the community by focusing on a point of common ancestry but cumbersome to apply. Japanese American is a more commonly

used term and one employed by the community itself (Japanese American Citizens League and DENSHO). This term is sometimes criticized and seen as excluding foreign nationals especially members of the Issei generation who were prohibited from legally becoming citizens. As such they are not captured in the term Japanese American since they were not technically “Americans.” However, the term reflects Japanese migrants’ determination to make America home regardless of citizenship (Camp, 2016).

Increasingly the term Nikkei or Nikkeijin is being used to describe individuals of Japanese ancestry living in the United States. This term technically includes all Japanese immigrants permanently living overseas along with their descendants. Although the term was in use by the late 1920’s it was not widely used until the 1950s when it began appearing in publications (Kojima, 2017). Nikkei has some issues that need to be acknowledged. It is not always consistently applied and many members of the Issei did and do not consider themselves Nikkei since they remained Japanese nationals. This means that sometimes the first generation Issei are included in the use of Nikkei while other times they are excluded. The application of the Nikkei has also changed over time reflecting changes in ideas of what it means to be Japanese (Kojima, 2017).

Generational Terms

One component of Nikkei community structure that is frequently highlighted is generational differences between Japanese born Issei and US-born Nisei and successive generations. These terms are relatively new, being generally adopted in the mid 1920’s. The use of generational signifiers appears to be related to the growth of a US-born population and the passing of national laws limiting immigration from Japan (Leong,

2018). Different generations among the Japanese American population are assigned specific terms based on whether they were born in a country, immigrated to that country, or were born elsewhere and educated in Japan. These terms will appear frequently since they are central to understanding the differing experiences of residents at Amache and the Japanese American community in general. Members of the first immigrant generation are referred to as Issei. These are individuals who immigrated to the country between the 1850s and 1924. They are followed by the Nisei or first generation born in this country. Nisei encompassed a wide range of ages during WWII with the oldest being in their 40s and youngest still small children. The Kibei are of a similar age to the Nisei and were also born in the United States; however, they were sent back to Japan for their education or part of their childhood and so were raised in two nations much like the Issei generation. The final group are the Sansei or third generation of immigrants.

WWII and incarceration specific terminology

While much of the archaeology and discussion of Japanese incarceration is centered around the existence of large family internment camps (such as this work) the sites related to incarceration are much more diverse. A discussion of site types is also an opening to discuss the terminology surrounding the history and archaeology of Japanese American incarceration. This is a complex topic on which there is a diverse range of opinions and terms (Daniels, 2005; Himel, 2015; Hirabayashi, 1994; Okamura, 1982). I will break these down in the context of each site type and also cover some of the issues surrounding language and its changing usage.

The history of Amache following its closure relates directly to the terminology used throughout this dissertation. The terms used to describe WWII Japanese American incarceration have changed over time and vary depending on multiple factors. The original historic terms were highly euphemistic and obfuscate the true nature of the government's actions (A. Y. Murray, 2008; Okamura, 1982). Phrases like "voluntary relocation" or "evacuation" made the mandatory removal of individuals from their home, sometimes by military or police, seem voluntary or for the public good. Terms such as "assembly" or "relocation" conceal the prison like aspects of detention and incarceration or concentration centers. The word "camp" which is commonly used creates an illusion of a happy, voluntary environment.

Within the Nikkei community there is discussion about which of the contemporary terms is most appropriate to describe different aspects of the Japanese American experience. This is an ongoing discussion and the terms used vary depending on the individuals involved, site referenced, and experiences of internees. At Amache we have chosen to use a moderate set of terms, ones that do not conform to the original but are also not as confrontational as some such as concentration camp. The terms I use throughout were established to respect and moderate between all the constituent groups the Amache Project engages with.

Forced Removal: Initially called voluntary evacuation, then mandatory evacuation. The forced removal and incarceration of the Japanese American population along the West Coast began on February 19, 1942 when President Roosevelt signed executive order 9066. On December 7, 1941 Pearl Harbor was bombed by Japan

triggering a national hysteria. The signing of Executive Order 9066 officially began the wholesale removal of Japanese Americans from along the West Coast by allowing the exclusion of any and all persons from designated areas for the purposes of national security (Burton et al., 1999; W. Ng, 2002), thereby creating a framework for Japanese Americans to either “voluntarily” relocate outside of the exclusion zone or be forcibly relocated. Initially residents were encouraged to voluntarily move to other communities outside of the immediate coastal areas. Soon mandatory evacuation was begun to remove all individuals of Japanese ancestry from the evacuation zone. Community notices were posted with instructions on what to bring and assembly dates and locations. Although couched as an evacuation, this was in fact a forced removal of a segment of the population based on racial and ethnic characteristics. The term forced removal is a more appropriate representation of the experiences of the Japanese American community.

Temporary detention centers: Initially called assembly centers. Immediately following their forced removal members of the Japanese American community were removed to regionally located holding facilities. These were established close to where communities were being forcibly removed and were designed as temporary housing until more permanent facilities could be built. Historically these facilities were called assembly centers since they were where the Japanese American community was being “assembled” following their forced removal. The more accurate term currently in use is temporary detention centers. This reflects the involuntary nature of individuals’ confinement, and prison-like atmosphere of guards and surveillance.

Internees/ Incarcerees/ Survivors: Initially called evacuees. Terms used to refer to members of the Japanese American community who were unjustly incarcerated have also varied over time and still do within different bodies of literature, contexts, and communities. Government and period documents broadly apply the term evacuees, a reference to the concept of mandatory or voluntary evacuation discussed earlier. Clearly this is an inexact and inaccurate term. The term internee is more common and relates to the use of the term internment to refer to the process of incarceration experienced by the Nikkei community. Increasingly internee is being replaced by the term incarcerated to better reflect the lived experience and actual conditions under which community members were held. The final term, survivors, is used primarily in reference to former incarcerated and for the current population who were held in incarceration centers.

Incarceration Centers: Initially called relocation centers. Large family camps such as Amache were initially called Resettlement Centers then Relocation Centers. They also are frequently referred to by the more vernacular term of camp, as in Camp Amache. All of these terms conceal the reality – that these relocation centers met the Geneva Convention definition of a concentration camp (Hirabayashi, 1994). The United States government also avoided the use of the term concentration camp because of its association with the extermination of Europe's Jewish and other populations (Schiffman, 2001). Beginning in the 1970s there has been an increasing push to recognize and name the relocation centers for what they are – concentration camps.

This movement has met with both broad acceptance and resistance. Many members of the survivor and descendant community are accepting of this term and it is

used by the Japanese American National Museum and the Japanese American Citizens League. However, some members of the survivor community are hesitant about this term because of how it represents their lived experiences. Although Amache was a prison it was also the place where many life experiences occurred – graduations, birthdays, births, and friendships – it is hard to contextualize these happy memories into the context of a concentration camp. While the term concentration camp is correct in its definition it carries heavy cultural connotation frequently associated with the WWII experience of the Jewish community in Europe and in the public conscience is more easily connected to this event and death camps.

At Amache the generally agreed upon terms are incarceration center or internment camp. The use of these terms' deviates from the choices at some other sites and the recommendations of the Japanese American National Museum which prefers the term concentration camp but reflects the nature of the community dedicated to preserving and interpreting the site. The complex entanglement of the town of Granada, Colorado with Amache has created a unique relationship between locally based preservation organizations, the residents of Granada and Prowers county, the former internees, and descendent communities (Otto, 2010). These groups have recognized the shared benefit in the ongoing preservation of the site and have negotiated a set of terminologies that balance reflecting the experiences of internees while not alienating the local mainly Caucasian and Hispanic populations. Members of the Granada community are integral to the preservation of the site and they are hesitant to use terms such as concentration camp. We also work with descendants whose families were employed at Amache.

The University of Denver Amache Project and the researchers who work at the site attempt to honor the experience of internees while also reflecting historical and contemporary political reality among the Japanese American community. This means that for this dissertation the term concentration camp will not be employed and instead terms like incarceration and internment will be used interchangeably. This represents a complex negotiation between multiple communities and a reflection of the tension that lies between local and national memories and interpretations (Hayashi, 2003). These terms capture the involuntary and prison like aspects of Amache while still respecting the experiences and values of all our constituent communities.

CHAPTER 2

SOURCES OF COMMUNITY

Japanese American Communities

The history of Japanese Americans in this country is dominated by narratives of the internment experience; however this event did not happen in isolation and the actions of the Nikkei community cannot be removed from the context of their earlier history (Hayashi, 2003). For this reason, I begin this work by considering where the families and individuals who resided at Amache began their journey and the nature of pre-war communities as a foundation point for considering the creation and continuation of community within the confines of Amache. The communities you are part of now reflect those you engaged with in the past. As people move from place to place, they carry pieces of these communities with them, ties to individuals or places, and also seek out familiar communities.

To understand how new communities were formed at Amache and old ones retained you need a picture of what communities in California were like and how social ties functioned and formed in these previous settings. Japanese Americans along the West Coast resided in both larger urban areas and more rural and agrarian communities. Within these urban and rural population centers there existed a further divide. Some communities housed large Japanese American populations with numerous social institutions while others had smaller populations or even individual families. The experiences of individuals both prior to and during internment varied based on which type of community they originated from (Embree, 1945; Miyamoto, 1942). This impacted how they

experienced incarceration and the types of new social networks in which they became participants.

Early Immigration

Immigration from Japan to the continental US began in the 1850's following the rise of the Meiji government which relaxed restrictions on immigration. Many early immigrants traveled first to Hawaii before arriving on the West Coast. The influx of immigrants from Japan was met by racism and hostility which can be seen in the early, and continuing passage, of laws and regulations attempting to limit both the power and size of the Nikkei community. By 1870 the United States government passed a naturalization statute stating that only those of Anglo or African descent could be naturalized; however, the passage of this law did little to reduce immigration from Japan. In 1908 a Gentleman's Agreement was reached with Japan that limited immigration to the wives and relatives of those already here (Higgs, 1978). Despite these early regulations the Nikkei community grew and gained increasing economic and social influence.

The first waves of immigrants found employment in the railroad and lumber sectors, often replacing earlier Chinese immigrant laborers (Ichioka, 1988). By 1900-1907 there was an increase in immigrants with a background in agriculture coming from rural and agrarian prefectures in Japan (Administration, 1957). These immigrants began to concentrate in areas where labor intensive agricultural crops were being grown, often in the central valley and Los Angeles areas in California (Higgs, 1978). This marks the beginning of a shift in the Nikkei community from manual to agricultural labor. Initially,

Nikkei working in the agricultural industry were migrant labor moving to fields and orchards on a seasonal and as needed basis (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985) which limited their ability to form cohesive communities or families.

The social structure of early Nikkei groups resembled that of many immigrant communities, especially the Chinese-American community (Lyman, 1986). The initial immigrants were dominantly male and young. Much like earlier Chinese immigrants they faced significant hostility and racial discrimination from the broader Anglo-American community. Japanese culture was organized around the family or kinship group and many Nikkei came alone or with limited support from relatives. This meant that Nikkei needed to establish new ties and social structures. One way this was done was through the creation of group and communal activities such as sports teams, religious organizations, and worker cooperatives. By 1909 the Japanese Association of America was founded to promote the interests of the growing community. This was followed by the formation of religious organizations that created young men's groups and educational societies like the *Gakuen* and Kendo Club (Regalado, 1992). These groups provided emotional support and maintained cultural heritage while also creating social ties and community among the recently immigrated Issei population (V. J. Matsumoto, 1986).

Urban communities which often came to be known as *Nihonmachi* began as "Japanese Camps" or collections of boarding houses and businesses that provided services to Nikkei workers. Initially these were simple bunk houses that acted to segregate different racial and ethnic groups within work camps. While the workers may have been migratory, leaving the *Nihonmachi* to complete farming jobs in the

surrounding region, these structures were permanent. Over time, the bunk houses transitioned to boarding houses. Around these residential structures a series of businesses catering to the needs of migrant laborers were established including bathhouse, pool halls, food purveyors, and houses of prostitution (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985). *Nihonmachi* segregated the growing Japanese American community from the rest of the town and created ethnically oriented enclaves.

Many rural communities formed in response to land laws, nativism that led to racial discrimination, and the opportunities offered to immigrants in the agricultural sector. In Japan farming and other agricultural pursuits were a respected occupational field, so the industry was seen as one of potential social advancement. As the number of immigrants from rural prefectures increased, they were able to form cooperatives and leverage their collective power to secure jobs and higher wages than other groups working in the agricultural industry in California. As the Nikkei community gained financial resources, they began to transition from migrant labor to tenant farming positions. This transition is correlated with an increase in the number of women in the community and the development of Japanese American farming communities.

Later Immigration and the Development of Communities

The 1908 Gentleman's Agreement had restricted immigration from Japan to the relatives and families of those already in residence (Daniels, 2004). Increasingly as Issei immigrants found economic stability they began to send for relatives and arrange marriages. This created an industry for picture brides and by around 1910 a number of women began to immigrate to join husbands. Communities with concentrated populations

of Japanese Americans were forming. These communities can be defined by the growing presence of permanent settlers rather than migrant labor and the growth of family units that included women and children. Women provided an additional labor source and as families formed or grew migrant labor populations began to settle and establish community networks and resources.

Racial discrimination was common and initially forced the Issei into ethnic clusters and specific fields of employment like the agricultural industry, the service industry, and running small businesses. However, within these niches the Issei were highly successful and built up a strong economic base. Part of the success of Nikkei businesses, and ultimately the community, lay in Meiji-era Japanese social norms which emphasized group and organizational responses to everyday events (Fugita & Fernandez, 2004, p. 10). Common-interest associations are an ancient form of social organization in Japan and are one social concept employed by Issei in the development of new communities in the United States. Example types of common-interest associations included guilds, religious groups, consumer cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives, and young peoples' groups (Norbeck, 1972). Initially, locally based associations ran a variety of community activities including language schools and festivals and most Issei were a member of at least one association (Spickard, 2009). Over time, the power of these organizations began to wane, and their social role was replaced by temples and churches, until by the end of WWII most associations were dissolved.

Economic support for fellow Nikkei aided the development of communities. Members of the Japanese American community would patronize each other's

establishments, providing a customer base. As the Nikkei community was often excluded from normal channels of credit and property ownership, locally based Japanese American civic groups were formed to provide loans, facilitate the development of corporations, and help find employees for business ventures (Ling & Austin, 2015). Some of the Issei community's success in agriculture is attributable to their ability to organize into agricultural cooperatives that helped in the organization of labor, distribution of materials, and selling of crops. The communal mentality combined with ethnic isolation and racial exclusion fostered the development of a wide range of social and economic networks in the Nikkei community. These preexisting networks would come into play later once the community was incarcerated.

Along the West Coast the Nikkei population settled into regions with populations of other Japanese Americans both in rural communities, like farming colonies or simply areas with high agricultural productivity, and also within some urban centers where *Nihonmachi* were forming. While these larger clusters have been the subject of more research and represent a significant portion of the incarcerated at Amache, a portion of the Nikkei population was also living in areas with little or no Japanese American community. The experiences of these individuals and families was drastically different in their access to social organizations and ties within the Japanese American community but less literature exists on their social organization.

Politically, Japan and the United States were engaged in an escalating and tense relationship (Fugita & Fernandez, 2004) that impacted the development of Japanese American communities. A series of laws were passed in the 1910s and 1920s designed to

stem immigration and limit the rights of Japanese immigrants. In 1913 the Alien Land Law was passed which barred aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning land and limited leases to three years (Ichioka, 1988). The Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited individual's ineligible for citizenship from entering the United States, and the National Origins Act curbed immigration from each country to 2 percent of the number of that country's citizens residing in the United States based on the 1890 census (Daniels, 2004). The Act also barred the Issei from obtaining citizenship. Political tensions became mirrored in a general anti-Japanese sentiment that contributed towards Americans' willingness to incarcerate individuals of Japanese descent during WWII. The passage of these two laws also greatly reduced the flow of new immigrants from Japan to relatives of those already here.

These laws were aimed at limiting the economic power of the Japanese American community by restricting their ability to buy and control land which altered patterns of settlement (Administration, 1957). These laws were spurred by concern in the Anglo community along the West Coast that Nikkei were becoming too powerful and dominating much of the agricultural market. Local communities and job associations formed anti-Japanese campaigns and associations that lobbied for restrictions and new laws. The effect of these efforts was complicated by the agricultural industries' reliance on the Nikkei community (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993).

Although laws were aimed at restricting Nikkei power, the Japanese American community quickly found ways to circumnavigate these laws by buying or leasing lands under their children's names or through the formation of corporations which could legally

own and control property. Nisei, as citizens, could not be barred from owning or renting land. Issei parents would purchase or lease land under their children's names and adult Nisei would rent from Caucasian landowners and then sublet the land to individual Issei farmers (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985). This process of subdividing created clusters of Japanese run farms and allowed for cooperative farming practices that further increased the success of the Nikkei farming community.

Many Japanese American communities developed in the agricultural areas of California, which were heavily settled by Japanese Americans who worked as agricultural labor, leased, or owned land where they operated farms. Areas like the Sacramento Valley, where a number of towns such as Colusa, Yolo, and Yuba City (all represented by internees at Amache) or farming colonies like Livingston near Merced were known for their Japanese American populations and agricultural produce (Administration, 1957; V. J. Matsumoto, 1993). Areas with multiple Nikkei families often became self-contained social groups where daily activities and social interaction took place within a set group of people associated with that community. This pattern of behavior is especially true of the early farming communities where people self-identified as members of a regional community (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985, p. 63). Residents of rural communities predominantly maintained friendships with other farming families and only rarely visited larger communities.

Finally, there were Japanese American families who worked or lived in urban and rural areas of the West Coast with small dispersed populations of Japanese Americans. Residents of these communities lacked social venues for establishing ties with the local

Japanese American community (Miyamoto, 1942). They were also more likely to attend Buddhist temples or cultural events in neighboring communities (Neiwert, 2015). As a result, the social ties they had within the Japanese American community were less likely to have been relocated with them during the forced diaspora. One impact of internment was the dissolution of many close-knit ethnic communities as residents moved to new locations after the war, reducing the geographic concentration of many Japanese American populations (Nagata, Cheng, and Nguyen 2012).

In most areas social organizations formed around issues of labor and leisure reflecting the domestic, economic, political, social, and religious needs of the community (Deguzman, 2014). Larger communities had cultural instruction classes and dedicated clubs and sports teams (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985). Religious centers like Buddhist temples or Christian churches formed and frequently had associated social organizations like the YWCA or YMCA. Branches of national social organizations were established, like the Walnut Grove or Los Angeles Boy Scouts of America. Japanese cultural activities and organizations also flourished, and we see the development of sumo, judo, and kendo clubs and schools. For some communities with less dense populations or more rural areas, Japanese Language schools acted as a social center and a way of connecting the communities' youth to a shared cultural heritage (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985).

Sport was part of the social life of the Nikkei community connecting residents and different communities through games. By 1938 there were 400 Nisei baseball clubs in California and the sport acted both to assimilate Nikkei players but also as a common connector between generations. These baseball leagues were segregated and so Japanese

American teams from other communities would play with each other creating social bonds between youth in different neighboring towns (Niiya, 2000). Economic and leisure activities run by the Nikkei community fostered dense social ties both within a small community and within geographic regions.

Urban and Rural Difference

The distinction between urban and rural residents was part of the community dynamics that developed at Amache and former incarcerated reference it as determining certain types of social interactions, especially among teenagers and younger children (Harvey, 2004; Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019a; Rademaker, 1945). Around 70% of the population was from communities designated as urban in the 1940 census and 30% from rural communities; however, some of these urban communities are small cities in dominantly rural areas. Both oral histories and archival documents record the existence of youth gangs whose membership was based on the urban/rural community divide (Embree, 1945; T. Nakahira, personal communication, 2008). Who you attended a dance with, socialized with, and even lived near was in part dictated by the community you originated from. This evidence indicates both the continuation of existing social ties into the daily activities of Amache's residents but also the role that previous community membership had on the social life in the center.

Rural and urban communities were characterized by strong social ties and dense multiplex relationships with significant levels of mutual assistance (Fugita & Fernandez, 2004, p. 15). Residents at Amache who came from areas with large or concentrated Japanese American populations had access to multiple social institutions within their

Participation in shared community events or organizations fostered the development of social ties among community members (Fugita & OBrien, 2011) and were important in creating and maintaining cultural and social identities (Regalado, 2013). These communities were often incarcerated at the same detention center, and then moved to the same internment center, allowing for the retention of community ties and organizations (Spicer, Luomala and Opler 1969). By understanding the structure of the communities people at Amache had come from we create an understanding of the types of social interactions and networks of support that were transported to the incarceration centers and that people would expect to be participants in.

Rural and Agricultural Communities

Many Japanese American communities developed in the agricultural areas of California and there are several distinct patterns of settlement types. The first are regions heavily settled by Japanese Americans who worked as agricultural labor, leased, or owned land where they operated farms. Areas like the Sacramento Valley where a number of towns such as Colusa, Yolo, and Yuba City (all represented by internees at Amache) were known for their Japanese American populations and agricultural produce (Administration 1957) represent this first example. A number of incarcerated at Amache came from the Santa Clara Valley and resided in farming communities such as Mountain View, Cupertino, Alviso, and Santa Clara (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985). Next were Japanese farming colonies such as Livingston near Merced. Farming colonies were built by and for members of the Nikkei community. Finally, there were Japanese American families who worked or lived in agrarian areas of California where there were not large populations of Japanese Americans.

While some members of the Nikkei community owned their farms, a majority rented. Patterns of rental vs ownership appear regionally associated, based on the types of crops that could be grown, with land owning more common in areas dominated by orchards and other perennial crops and tenant farming more common in truck and field-crop producing regions (Iwata, 1962). Patterns of ownership and tenancy would have impacted the formation of community organizations and social ties due to differences in the permanency of residents. Internees at Amache who came from these predominantly agricultural areas were thought of as rural in contrast to residents coming from larger urban centers, and these differences created a social divide within Amache.

Japanese American farmers excelled at purchasing land not suitable for the farming practices traditionally used in California and transforming it into lush agricultural land. Through a combination of irrigation, land drainage, intensive manual farming practices, and the implementation of new crop varieties (like celery and asparagus) Nikkei farmers transformed the agricultural industry in California (Iwata, 1962). Many family farms planted extensive orchards or began growing truck crops like strawberries and delicate fruits. Beginning in the 1920s and 30s agricultural cooperatives began forming which advocated for the economic benefit of their members; however, these organizations were rooted in concepts of collectivity found in Japan. Cooperatives coordinated the marketing of produce, bulk purchasing of supplies and equipment, and transportation of products to markets. In return members paid dues or a percentage of their sales back to the association (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985).

Clusters of Japanese farms formed around agricultural cooperatives and social institutions and activities were developed by these residents. One of the first community services developed was often a Japanese Language School for the community's youth. These schools served a dual purpose to connect the Nisei generation to Japanese culture and language and to mediate issues of racism experienced by Nikkei youth in the local schools. Religious organizations often followed as did social events, especially sports. In rural areas sports teams helped connect neighboring communities as nearby towns played against each other. This created social bonds both within and between communities (Regalado, 2013). By the 1940s smaller urban communities also formed to serve rural residents of the farming colonies (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985). These contained businesses and social organizations targeted at the Nikkei community much like their larger counterparts found within cities. For rural communities with a concentrated Nikkei population social ties and networks of support were central to the community's success. Most residents knew each other to varying degrees and interacted through shared social ties.

Livingston, Cortez, and Cressey, California. This grouping represents a set of agricultural communities in the central valley of California formed by Nikkei who were later incarcerated at Amache. All three towns were located in Merced County and share similarities in their formation, although there are differences in economics and social background especially among the Issei. Livingston and Cortez remained linked by a shared regional and ethnic identity while separated by perceived differences between community residents. This group of communities represent a large segment of the

population at Amache. They are an example of agricultural colonies formed during different periods by Japanese Americans.

Cortez, Livingston, and Cressey were founded by Abiko Kyutaro who immigrated in 1885 as part of a *Fukuinkai*, a US based Japanese Christian organization. Livingston, which also became known as the Yamato Colony was founded first in 1907 followed by Cressey in 1918 and Cortez in 1919 (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993). All three were intended to be Christian farming communities but Cortez also had a Buddhist congregation (V. J. Matsumoto, 1986). Cressey was established in 1918 and formed a close affiliation with neighboring Livingston. The Yamato colonies and were created through the purchase of large tracts of land that were then subdivided and resold to Nikkei families under the names of their children who had citizenship (Ichioka, 1988; V. J. Matsumoto, 1993). The soil in Merced county around the settlement is light and sandy and was not seen as profitable agricultural land. As such the Nikkei community was able to purchase or lease tracts. By installing irrigation systems and growing truck crops like berries they made the land highly productive. By 1920 the community had grown to cultivate around 4,000 continuous acres and a farming cooperative had been formed (Administration 1957). The cooperative acted as a packing house and increased the community's ability to market produce or purchase supplies for its members. The cooperative nature of the colonies allowed them to pool economic resources and become highly successful.

The farming colonies became tight knit social units that provided both economic and social resources to their residents. Japanese language schools were formed for younger residents. A church was established for religious services and sports activities

flourished (Ego, 2017). Local sports teams like the Livingston Peppers and then the Livingston Dodgers played neighboring communities and acted to mediate between generations and created social events as local residents attended games (Regalado, 1992). Sports teams were an essential component to the social networks of young men in Livingston and Cortez with the team members working and playing alongside each other. Local chapters of the Japanese American Citizens league, the Young People's Club, and the Boy Scouts of America were formed in these rural colonies (V. J. Matsumoto, 1986). Livingston had a small newspaper which published local information and covered community events. The concentration and social power of the Japanese American communities in rural farming colonies gave them access to resources and social organizations comparable to Nikkei living in larger urban centers.

Urban Communities

As the number of Nikkei increased and they began to aggregate in urban centers a series of *Nihonmachi*, or Japantowns began to form across the West Coast. These areas provided a hub for the Nikkei community providing both material and cultural resources such as social and religious organizations. In urban centers the Nikkei community found employment in the service sector acting as gardeners, landscapers, and domestics and through the ownership of their own businesses (Mason & McKinstry, 1969). These urban centers created a space for Japanese Americans to live in familiar cultural settings relatively free from racism.

Nihonmachi became bustling centers of industry and commerce with shops, services, and cultural institutions. A wide variety of retail shops provided for the needs of

the Nikkei community. They also provided spaces for services like barber shops, hotels, boarding houses, and physicians' offices from which Nikkei felt excluded in other settings. Japanese language newspapers also formed in many *Nihonmachi* to provide national and community level stories in English and Japanese. On the weekends rural residents would arrive for supplies and recreation (Fugita & Fernandez, 2004) making these urban centers a hub for Japanese Americans in the surrounding areas.

The concentrated population of Japanese Americans in *Nihonmachi* allowed for the creation of a wider range of social and cultural activities that catered to the diverse interests of the local residents. Branches of national clubs whose membership was solely or dominantly Nikkei were formed; including the Boy Scouts of America, YWCA Girl Reserves, and Girl Scouts. Many Nikkei in smaller communities hesitated to join such organizations because of the discrimination and hostility they faced from other members. The cultural and social institutions that developed in *Nihonmachi* also reflect the cultural and religious diversity of the Nikkei community. Religious organizations, Buddhist, Shinto, and Christian flourished and provided social activities, job placement assistance, and classes. Japanese language schools created cultural continuity between generations while festivals and events like the annual *Obon* and dances like the *ondo* continued cultural traditions from Japan (Kurashige, 2002). However, the florescence of Nikkei culture and social life within these urban centers was also criticized as an example of the community's lack of assimilation and willingness to self-segregate.

Los Angeles. Los Angeles was one of the largest urban centers with a concentrated Japanese American population on the West Coast, including a *Nihonmachi*

or Japantown that acted as a cultural and economic hub (Modell, 1977), and the home of a significant portion of Amache's residents. The *Nihonmachi* in Los Angeles formed around the turn of the last century. The main business area was located between Temple and Fourth Streets and extended from the Los Angeles River to City Hall. This area was referred to as Little Tokyo or "Li'l Tokio" (V. J. Matsumoto, 2014). A residential neighborhood called *Seinan* formed in southwest Los Angeles as the Japanese American community grew and searched for areas to expend within the city's restrictive residential covenants (Uchima & Shinmoto, 2010).

The Little Tokyo district catered to most of the business and commercial needs of the Nikkei community, providing both specialty shops like a tea store, kimono shop, and import-export businesses as well as more general retailers like a bicycle, second hand, and dry goods shops (Mason & McKinstry, 1969). Services like a hotel, physician, and barber also catered to the Nikkei community (Jenks, 2011; Kurashige, 2002). Most of the businesses in the district were owned by Japanese Americans which created a neighborhood where members of the Nikkei community could shop in comfortable surroundings. These districts were a retreat from housing discrimination and assaults on the Nikkei population of Los Angeles that occurred in other areas of the city (Ling & Austin, 2015).

The social life in Little Tokyo and Seinan was dense and complex. As the largest concentrated population of Japanese Americans in the continental United States (35,000 in 1935 based on Census Bureau data (V. J. Matsumoto, 2014)) LA represented both the most diverse population and the most diverse range of social and cultural activities.

Branches of most popular social clubs and organizations formed, there were Nikkei churches representing the Methodists, Catholics, and Baptists, Buddhist temples existed, and teams of Japanese and American sports were formed (Uchima & Shinmoto, 2010). Over 300 Nisei youth clubs were listed in the 1937 *Rafu Shimpō* (LA's Japanese language newspaper) (V. J. Matsumoto, 2014). In 1934 the Nisei Week summer festival was formed to highlight Japanese heritage and featured traditional dancing and sports tournaments (Ling & Austin, 2015). The population of the LA Japanese American community was large, and while a wide diversity of social and economic institutions created venues for interaction and the development of social ties between community members, many residents did not personally know each other, but connected through a shared regional residence.

During WWII the Little Tokyo and Seinan neighborhoods were emptied of Japanese Americans and many of the businesses temporarily or permanently shuttered. While the neighborhoods were empty many of the residents were transported first to the same temporary detention center and then to one of several incarceration centers, including Amache, which eventually had large populations from LA. Much like for the agricultural colonies highlighted earlier, the process of removal allowed for some social ties and affiliations to remain intact.

General Background on Japanese American Incarceration

This is not intended to be an exhaustive overview of the history of internment, but rather a concise synthesis to provide the framework for contextualizing the governmental and social actions that led to the unjust incarceration of tens of thousands of citizens.

Many authors have provided complete and detailed overviews with careful analyses of the events and their causes and effects (Daniels et al., 2013; W. Ng, 2002). Here I provide a general overview and then focus on how forced removal impacted individual communities, especially those incarcerated at Amache. Forced removal impacted communities and individuals differently depending on where on the West Coast they were located and based on the demographics of the groups.

The forced removal and incarceration of the Japanese American population along the West Coast began on February 19, 1942 with the signing of Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt but this act was set in a complex political and social context. Racist sentiment towards the Japanese American community had been building for years, especially along the West Coast. The economic success of Nikkei farmers combined with a perceived lack of integration into larger American culture led many political and economic leaders to push for government regulations that would begin to reduce the Nikkei community's local influence (Nagata, 1993).

On December 7, 1941 Pearl Harbor was bombed by Japan, triggering a national hysteria. Central members of the Japanese American community were quickly rounded up. The FBI arrived at homes and businesses of political, religious, and economic leaders in the Japanese American community and they were arrested summarily and taken to a series of detention facilities and work camps (A. Y. Murray & Daniels, 2000). Many of the men arrested had some form of contact with Japan or jobs and social positions that marked them as different – such as leaders of the Buddhist churches or owners of import-export businesses. These arrests were the first steps in the dismantling of the Japanese

American community along the West Coast since many of the arrested men did not rejoin their families until years later. One of the first communities raided by the FBI was Terminal Island where the local Japanese American community was central to the fishing and canning industry. Issei fishermen were arrested for the possession of radios, cameras, and handguns. Following the raid, the remaining community was given 48 hours to “voluntarily relocate” inland (Harvey, 2004, p. 21).

On February 19, 1942 President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 which officially began the wholesale removal of Japanese Americans from along the West Coast. Executive Order 9066 allowed the exclusion of any and all persons from designated areas for the purposes of national security (Burton et al., 1999; W. Ng, 2002), thereby creating a framework for Japanese Americans to either “voluntarily” relocate outside of the exclusion zone or be forcibly relocated.

Initially Public Proclamation No. 1 was issued, and the West Coast was divided into two zones. Military Zone 1 encompassed areas determined to be most vulnerable to attack and was created along the western edge of California, Oregon, and Washington along with the southern portion of Arizona. Any part of those states not included in Zone 1 was classified as Zone 2, initially a less restricted designation (W. Ng, 2002). Mention was made of the potential for a large-scale mandatory evacuation and the Japanese American population was encouraged to move to more inland areas out of Zone 1, the “prohibited zone” (Harvey, 2004, p. 30). In an effort to avoid being removed from the state, approximately 9,000 individuals who had the ability to move did so (Burton et al. 1999:32). This began the disruption of community ties as people began relocating to

other communities, although these were often areas where other social ties (especially extended family) existed.

Movement into the less restricted Zone 2 proved to be only a temporary solution, although it did serve to unite extended families and allow them to be transferred together to temporary detention centers. Many members of the Nikkei community were unable or unwilling to relocate. The distance many needed to move was prohibitively expensive and if you owned land, a business, or home it was difficult to secure or sell these assets. Finally, movement to new areas required a network of support both financially and socially. The bank accounts of many members of the Issei community had been frozen following Pearl Harbor and community members feared the racism they would encounter moving to new areas of the West Coast or further inland (Harvey, 2004, p. 29).

By March of 1942 Public Proclamation No. 3 was issued which implemented a curfew for individuals of Japanese ancestry along with resident aliens from Japan, Italy, and Germany (Tateishi, 1984). Enemy aliens and citizens of Japanese ancestry were also not permitted to own firearms, ammunition, short-wave radios, cameras, and other signaling devices within the military zones (Harvey, 2004). These restrictions would continue following the Japanese American community's forced removal to incarceration centers. At Amache, Nisei could possess cameras but not Issei (Peterson, 2018). Incarcerates could also apply for the return of confiscated cameras and short-wave radios (Lindley, James G., 1945). This series of orders began the process of stripping American citizens of their constitutional rights and establishing a path towards their detention.

On March 27th Public Proclamation No. 4 was issued which prohibited the voluntary movement of citizens of Japanese heritage from Military Zone 1 and authorized their forced military removal. Mandatory “evacuation” began on March 29th, 1942 and encompassed an area extending from Washington State through parts of southern Arizona. By April, evacuation notices were posted in neighborhoods and communities telling people when and where to assemble and what to bring (Burton et al., 1999). You were only allowed to bring what you could carry with a limit of 100lb and no provisions were provided for the handling of other possessions or property. With only a few days to a few weeks the Nikkei community scrambled to sell or store homes, businesses, vehicles, personal belongings, and pets.

Little information was given on the length of time or location where evacuees were going to be sent. This made planning difficult and people tried to pack appropriate clothing, household essentials, and any valuables that could be easily transported. Some belongings could be stored and sent for later. Evacuees then went to the nearest civilian control center where they were assigned an identification number which was attached to their lapels and any luggage. By August 7th, 1942 most people were forced to either relocate or to assemble and be transferred to temporary detention centers (Daniels, 1981) (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2. The Santa Rosa Railroad Station. May 15, 1942 “Evacuation Day.” Image courtesy of the Anthropological Studies Center Amache Digitization Project Archives, Sugiyama Collection

Temporary Detention centers

The first stage in the forced removal of individuals of Japanese descent from the West Coast was relocation into government-run assembly centers, more accurately termed temporary detention centers. These centers were established by the military to house evacuees until more permanent incarceration centers could be established (Ng 2002:31). Public facilities with large open spaces and buildings that could be quickly modified, such as the Santa Anita Racetrack, were hastily converted to create living units. The temporary and rapidly modified structures created inhospitable living conditions which lacked all but the most basic necessities (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1997; Hosokawa, 1969). Centers often lacked proper living accommodations including dividers in the bathrooms. Apartments at the Santa Anita racetrack were adapted from horse stalls. Residents complained of noise, sanitation, and health issues created by such living conditions.

Each center served a designated geographic area, meaning that individuals living in one town were normally evacuated at the same time and sent to the same center (Daniels, 2004; V. J. Matsumoto, 1993). For example, residents of Livingston, California were relocated to the Merced Assembly center (Figure 2.3). This mass removal to the same assembly center means that although social networks that extended outside of the immediate geographic area were disrupted, many community-based networks remained roughly intact (Fugita & Fernandez, 2004). However, these community networks became disassociated from their points of reference, such as the social organizations or locations where these interactions took place. Evacuees from large urban centers or areas with concentrated populations of Japanese Americans often found their whole neighborhood or community being transported to the same center, easing the process of forced removal (Harvey, 2004, p. 41).

Most residents of Amache were initially removed to the Santa Anita or Merced temporary detention centers. The Santa Anita center housed 18,593 people and Merced 4,500. The arrival of groups at Santa Anita reflects the geographically focused process of removal with a group from the harbor area of Los Angeles being first followed by later groups from San Francisco and San Diego, Downey and Lawndale, and then Beverly Hills, Hollywood, Westwood, and western areas of Los Angeles (Shimano, 1942). The residents of Santa Anita were dominated by different neighborhoods around Los Angeles and while they arrived in neighborhood specific groupings their place of origin is generally only recorded as LA. In contrast, communities forcibly relocated to Merced were predominantly from rural and agricultural areas around the Central Valley and San Francisco Bay areas (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993). Patterns of forced removal to detention

centers and how communities are recorded represent both the continuation and fragmentation of communities that existed prior to WWII.



Figure 2.3. Map showing the exclusion zone and all temporary detention centers. Highlighted areas show zones that incarcerated at Amache were forcibly removed from.

Detention centers were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by military personnel. Communal mess halls provided food for residents, serving several shifts for each meal. The food was edible but unpalatable. Toilets were multi-person latrines lacking individual dividers, essentially a flume with a board over it that water

periodically ran through. Temporary schools were established to keep younger residents occupied. Accommodations were either made by modifying existing structures or in hastily constructed barracks. Families were crammed into small quarters and began to find alternative activities to avoid spending time in the cramped living quarters.

Each temporary detention center was unique in its layout and the ability of incarcerated to self-organize. However, at many of the detention centers incarcerated attempted to improve living conditions both through physical modifications to the environment, such as planting gardens or modifying living quarters, and through the development of social organizations or activities (Burton et al., 1999; Harvey, 2004, p. 44; Regalado, 2013). In the closing edition of the Santa Anita Pacemaker the Center Manager wrote: “Remember the Anita Funita? Saturday night dances in front of the Grandstand? Baseball games, sumo and other sports at the Anita Chiquita practice track? The camouflage project in full sway? There was lots of Activity during those summer days” (Wilbur, 1942). This was followed by an article on the recreation department recording both the existence of clubs sponsored by national organizations and activities developed by the recreation department and its volunteers that ranged from marble contests to community sings.

Not all community organizations formed only within the detention centers. Some groups reformed or managed to move from their communities into the detention centers. This appears to be especially true for some sports teams and branches of national clubs where a majority of members were removed to the same detention center. Sports teams and clubs were sometimes transported both into the detention centers and then on to the

same incarceration centers. When evacuation notices were posted in the Yamato Colonies the coach of the Livingston Dodgers told players to bring their uniforms and equipment, allowing the team to continue playing at Merced and later Amache (Regalado, 1992). Some of these clubs and teams were then able to reorganize following their removal to the incarceration centers.

Although intended as impermanent housing, internees resided in these temporary detention centers for up to 4 months while they awaited removal to more permanent incarceration centers. The self-organization that occurred within the temporary detention centers speaks to the abilities of the Japanese American community to mobilize existing social ties and provides insight into how new ties may have developed as community members were forced to cooperate and share communal facilities.

Incarceration Centers

To transfer management of the internee population away from the military, the federal government formed the War Relocation Authority (WRA), a civilian agency. The WRA was created to design and implement a program for the removal of Japanese Americans under Executive Order 9066. The WRA managed the relocation effort and coordinated the construction and oversight of Amache and most other relocation centers (Daniels, 2004). Creating relocation centers was not part of the initial plan. Instead the WRA hoped that they could use existing Civilian Conservation Corps camps and that by providing housing and financial assistance individuals would voluntarily relocate to other areas of the country. This plan changed after Proclamation No. 4 was issued and was shifted to the creation of larger family “evacuation centers”.

Locations for the incarceration centers were selected based on a series of criteria. For each site the WRA assessed the availability of agricultural land, work opportunities, and access to railroads and other public facilities (roads, power, and water). It was determined that these were important to make the centers semi self-sufficient and help the local economy. The sites also needed to be secure and so were selected for relative remoteness and distance from key infrastructure or war industries like dams and military bases. These requirements balanced the need for a large semi-urban settlement with public and governmental concerns about national security. Most states resisted the transfer of the Japanese American community. Governors did not want their state to become “a dumping ground for the problem” and many proclaimed that their citizens would not be willing to work with Japanese Americans. Citizens organized to create human roadblocks and slogans like “Japs out of Colorado” (Harvey, 2004).

Local resistance to the presence of Japanese Americans created a problem for the WRA as they looked for locations to construct the incarceration centers. Colorado had a history of acceptance among the Japanese community and Ralph Carr, as governor, continued that record by welcoming Japanese Americans both during voluntary relocation and then as the WRA searched for locations to construct centers. He viewed welcoming Japanese Americans into Colorado as part of the state’s patriotic duty and believed in full cooperation with the government (Schrager, 2008). In the end, six inland states were identified and construction of the incarceration centers begun.

To build Amache the WRA used a list of potential sites in Colorado provided by the governor and state officials and selected the one that best met the requirements. Once

a final site had been determined the land was purchased by condemning the property and forcing its sale at discounted prices. Two larger ranches, XY Ranch and Koen Ranch, along with 12 smaller parcels were secured in this manner. The sale of large tracts of productive land to the government just as the depression was ending angered members of the local community (Harvey, 2004, p. 62). The future site of Amache was also only one and a half miles from the town of Granada, a location that WRA officials hoped would be advantageous for the local farming industry by allowing internees to act as labor. Once the site for an internment center had been identified the Army Corps of Engineers in coordination with the WRA began construction.

The WRA hired local contractors to construct the centers using plans created by the Army Corps of Engineers. The buildings were modified from the standard military theater of war style and were essentially uniform within each site. The use of multiple contractors and the range of environmental conditions that centers were constructed in means that a variety of designs were used, but all follow the basic format of residential blocks separated from military and administrative sections. Each incarceration center was designed as a semi-sufficient city with some public services including schools, police and fire stations, hospitals, and limited commercial activity.

While administrative and military areas were constructed, the goal was for internees to run as much of the center as possible. Residential areas were divided into blocks which acted as de facto neighborhoods (Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019a). Each block contained a range of communal facilities and apartment buildings with each family assigned a single room with cots, a stove, and light source. Privacy was almost nonexistent between the cramped confines and shared communal facilities like showers,

public bathrooms, and mess halls. The standardized layout and military design was not intended for families or the basic activities of civilian life (Dusselier, 2008) but instead to be rapidly and cheaply constructed in preparation for a large influx of people.

Movement into and between centers

Internees were moved by train to one of the ten incarceration centers where they left military custody and entered the custody of the War Relocation Authority (WRA)(Figure 2.4). At Amache the first groups to arrive were from the Merced temporary detention center followed by evacuees from Santa Anita. A majority of Amache's residents had been housed in either the Merced or Santa Anita detention centers meaning that they came from a relatively circumscribed set of communities and regions in California. Exceptions to this come from two later influxes of internees moved from the incarceration centers of Jerome in Arkansas and Tule Lake in California (Table 2.1). Incarcerates from these centers were initially sent to the Fresno, Pinedale, Marysville or Sacramento temporary detention centers.

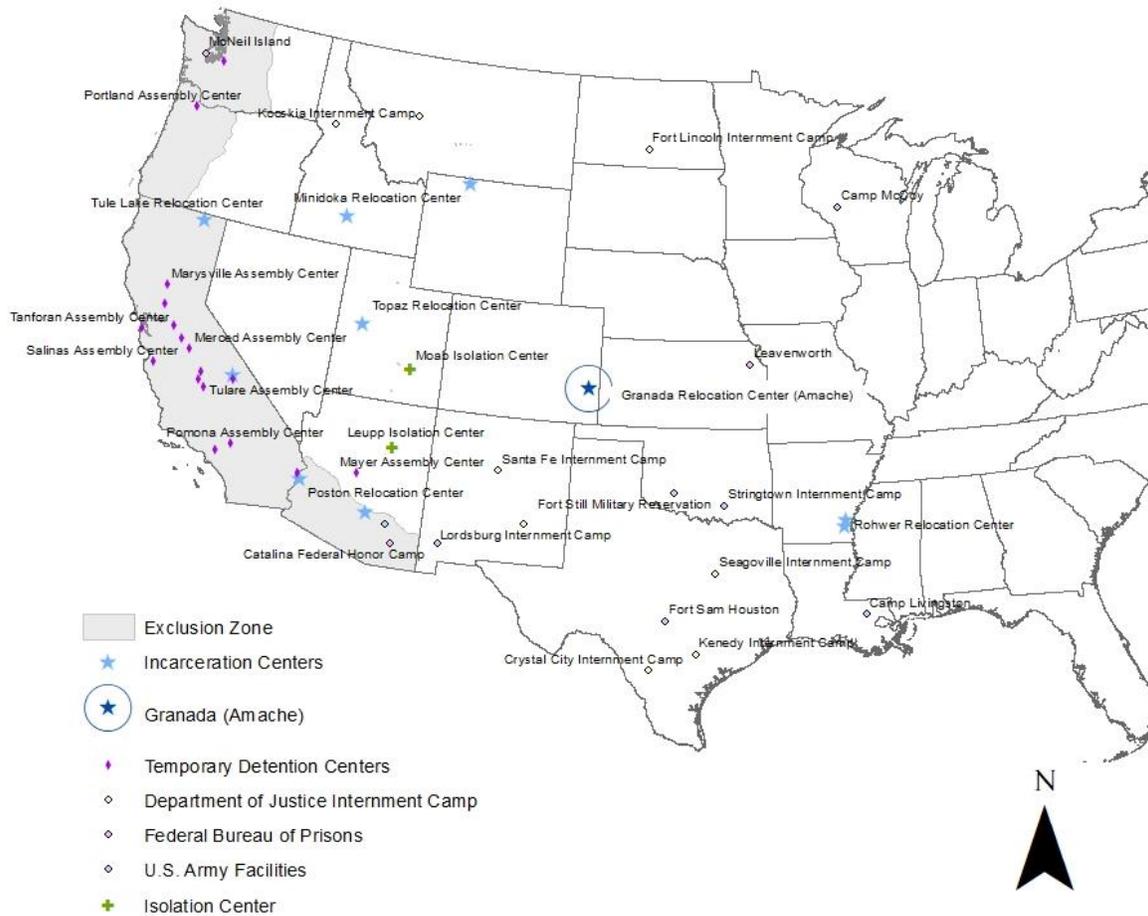


Figure 2.4. Map of the contiguous 48 states showing the location of sites related to the WWII incarceration of Japanese Americans. Map by author.

Detainees at these centers represented different areas in California and Oregon and increased the regional diversity at Amache. Movement to Amache began with an advanced contingent of 212 incarceratedees from Merced that arrived August 27th, 1942 and was followed by an additional 557 on September 3rd. Between September 19 and 28th, 1942, residents of Santa Anita were moved to Amache in six groups (Lindley, James G., 1945). By October of 1942 7,567 people inhabited Amache with 4,492 coming from Merced, 3,062 from Santa Anita, 10 from Fresno (Figure 2.5).

Table 2.1 Composition of Amache’s population based on the original admission location. Data was compiled from The Evacuated People, a Quantitative Description (1946).

Original Admission Location	Count
Assembly Center *	
Fresno	5
	4,50
Merced	0
	3,06
Santa Anita	3
Other Contexts	
Institution	55
Hawaii	2
Department of justice	77
Voluntary	
resettlement	39
Births	415
Other Incarceration Center	
Topaz	19
Poston	71
Gila River	24
Heart Mountain	36
Jerome	587
Manzanar	59
Minidoka	10
Rohwer	51
	1,18
Tule Lake	3

*Assembly centers only records the detention centers originally designated to send individuals to Amache. Incarcerates from other incarceration centers later interned at Amache would have been in other detention centers from those listed.

From Merced Assembly Center	4,492
From Santa Anita Assembly Center	3,062
From Fresno Center	10
From Spokane, a parolee	1
From Prescott, a soldier with medical discharge	1
Birth in Center	1
	<u>7,567</u>

Figure 2.5. Record of Amache’s incarcerated by detention center in 1942 (Lindley, James G., 1945).

A letter written by Mr. Fujita (1942) records his family’s travels as they moved by train from the Merced Temporary Detention Center to Amache and reflects the experiences of many incarcerated. The family boarded a Pullman car and spent 4 days traveling south through California, Arizona, and New Mexico before arriving at the Granada train station. During these trips, internees were generally not permitted to leave the trains and military personnel would patrol the cars at intervals. The trains often arrived at the Granada train station at night and families would either spend the night on the train or be loaded onto buses or trucks and driven approximately 1.5 miles to Amache (Harvey, 2004). Once inside the center they were processed, their family numbers and members recorded, and assigned apartments. Their belongings were then deposited in two locations and incarcerated were responsible for collecting their own luggage and transporting it to their new residences.

While WRA agents helped with registration and site assignment at Amache there is evidence that incarcerated were able to exert some influence over where they were placed on their arrival in the incarceration centers (Harvey, 2004, p. 76). Neighbors were

able to cluster based on their geographic point of origin. There were several blocks at Amache with high levels of regional grouping where households from a single city or geographic area dominated the block (Kamp-Whittaker & Clark, 2019a). Individuals and families also appeared to have exerted some agency over where in a block they lived. Archival documents show groups of households with the same name and community of origin (Figure 2.6).

The WRA was also attempting to place families in proximity to each other. As Sam Kuwahara, an internee who helped assign and move families into apartments recalled “I remember helping arrange the people moving into different barracks. I was all wrong They shifted around quite a bit. We thought relatives would want to stay together – naw, they didn’t want to do that (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993, p. 123).” This reflects the choices families were making in their relative proximity to each other and the ability of incarcerated individuals to change apartments. Changes in internee residence are reflected in the archival record where individuals’ have multiple addresses. Some of this movement reflects the filling and emptying of apartments as the center’s population ebbed and flowed. As time progressed and the center filled, later arrivals had fewer choices, increasing the presence of diverse residential blocks.

Amache’s population during the three years it was in operation was not stagnant. For most of the incarceration centers a majority of the population arrived in 1942 but there was a constant movement of people in and out (Fujita-Rony, 2005). In 1943, the first of two large-scale transfers of internees occurred following one of the most controversial acts of internment, when internees were asked to fill out a misguided and

confusing loyalty questionnaire. The questionnaire was part of a loyalty review program designed to help determine which individuals could reintegrate into larger society and serve in the military. Adult respondents provided demographic information and answered a series of questions including #27 and 28. These two asked if you were willing to serve in the United States armed forces and to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States (W. Ng, 2002). Both were problematic for a population unconstitutionally confined or denied the opportunity to become citizens.

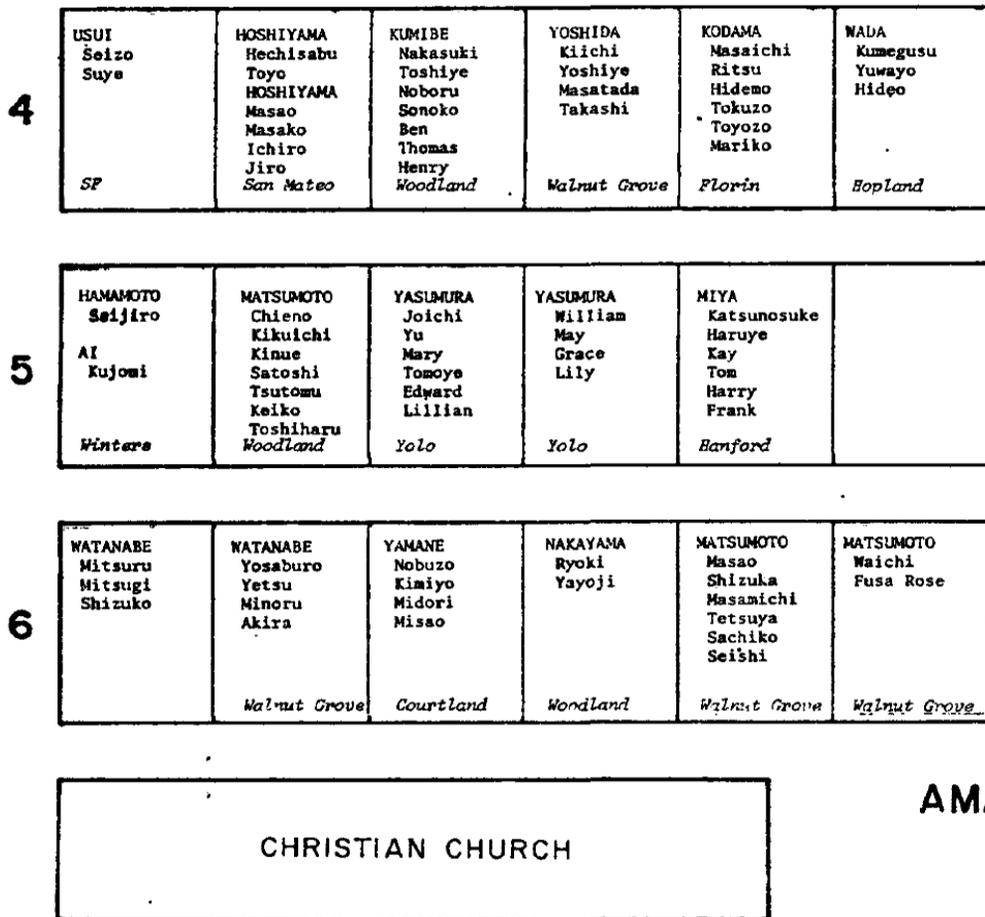


Figure 2.6. Section of a block map created for the 1976 Amache Reunion based on historic city directories. This shows families living in neighboring barracks and clustering of residents based on their community in California.

Individuals who failed to provide the correct answers, as defined by the government, or who intentionally resisted to protest their unconstitutional confinement, were deemed disloyal to the United States and sent to Tule Lake in California. Tule Lake was converted into a maximum-security segregation center. A small number of families and individuals were transferred from Amache to Tule Lake and 993 internees from Tule Lake were moved to Amache (Harvey, 2004) (Figure 2.7). Arrivals at Amache from Tule Lake represented individuals who had “correctly” answered the loyalty questionnaire. Since Tule Lake was being re-designated as higher security some internees needed to be relocated. These new arrivals were integrated into Amache and placed in open barracks.



Figure 2.7. Incarcerees arrive from Tule Lake and are organized by letter before being assigned to barracks and apartments. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

The second transfer occurred when the Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas closed, and 550 internees were transferred to Amache. Jerome and Rohwer, the two centers located in Arkansas, were the last centers to open and closed early as a majority of the population had either been sent to Tule Lake or relocated out of the center. The arrival of this later group, at a high point in Amache's population, created issues of overcrowding. Arrivals from Jerome had limited ability to select their housing and in fact many initially were placed in recreation halls and any available space.

Beginning in 1942 internees could also apply for temporary leave to work outside of Amache and relocate permanently to areas outside of the exclusion zone. WWII created a labor shortage throughout Colorado and the rest of the country. Agricultural jobs were abundant, and many internees left for temporary work as agricultural laborers doing jobs like harvesting sugar beets. For some, these temporary positions became semi-permanent and they left the center either individually or with their families. Others left for educational opportunities like college. As more internees left Amache they began writing back reporting the conditions in different cities and the job opportunities available.

Although Japanese Americans were initially barred from military service, in 1943 the government began implementing a draft. Military officials recruited actively within the incarceration centers. Between 1943 and 1945, 3,600 Japanese Americans volunteered for military service including 953 from Amache, the highest of any incarceration center (Harvey, 2004; Interior, 1946). Increasingly, younger internees left Amache to pursue education and employment opportunities elsewhere. This continued

movement between internment centers and resettlement to other parts of the country meant that the center always had a dynamic population. The center also became a focal point in the region and had a steady flow of visitors; coming to see friends and relatives, press and media recording events at the center, and spectators attending fairs, festivals, and sporting events being held at Amache (Lindley, James G., 1945) (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.8. Check point at entry of Amache manned by military police. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, Harada collection.

Administrators in the WRA assumed that once restrictions on mobility were eased in 1943 people would quickly begin the process of relocation and move to areas outside the restricted zone in the West Coast (McFarling, 1945). However, incarcerated did not rapidly leave the centers to resettle for a number of reasons: lack of financial resources, fears about how new communities would welcome them, and resistance to moving to

areas other than back to their homes (Myer, 1971). Over time the population of Amache began to dwindle as individuals and families slowly relocated. This process was accelerated in 1945 when the center announced that it would be closing, and all residents would need to leave. The dynamic nature of Amache's population is reflective of many urban settings where neighborhood and community composition are frequently in flux.

Amache

Upon arriving at Santa Anita, we saw some of our friends who had come to welcome us. Making new acquaintances, watching the ball games, and the programs and movies at the grandstand helped time slip away. Then came evacuation to the relocation centers. Each day we saw some of our friends off; the finally a notice for us to leave came. Again, the ordeal of saying good-bye, perhaps forever, had to be faced. . .

. . .As the weeks and months went by, some more new friends were made; mess hall parties were held; the thrill of seeing snow for the first time was experienced and the thought of going to Lamar occupied our minds. . .
(Morita, 1943).

This quote from an Amache Senior High student written for the Amache Hi It, the school paper, reflects the effects of forced removal and relocation between communities, detention centers, and finally incarceration centers. As individuals and families were moved from one to another, they saw some familiar faces, made new friendships, and lost many others. Incarcerates were constantly in the process of community formation, working within the confines of the centers and government regulations to adapt to life in

confinement. These processes used the physical environment created by the WRA and supplemented it with physical and social structures developed at least partially by the incarcerated to meet the needs of their community.

The Granada Relocation Center opened in September of 1942 and was the smallest of the 10 centers housing approximately 10,000 individuals during its 3 years of operation. Although officially named Granada, the center was quickly renamed as Amache to distinguish it from the neighboring town of Granada, Colorado. Similarities in the names of both communities created difficulties in mail delivery services and necessitated the name change. Construction of Amache, like many of the incarceration centers, was behind schedule but the West Coast Defense Command refused to alter the departure schedule for evacuees meaning that many arrived to find ongoing construction.

To build Amache the Army engineers graded the ground and attempted to level it, removing plant life. This created a relatively flat but barren landscape prone to dust storms. Roads were gridded and laid out in a system of residential blocks, with an administrative area, space for a hospital, and a separately fenced area for the Military Police assigned to the center. The whole area was surrounded by barbed wire with intermittent guard towers that were manned by armed military police. Roads were graded and covered in a layer of crushed white rock in a soft layer of cement creating a distinctive white road color (Fujita, 1942). In a personal communication one survivor remembered thinking it was snow the first time he saw it as a child. Cement foundations were laid and buildings of 2x4 lumber, tar paper, and plaster board constructed. The

initial residents at Amache were employed completing the site and establishing services for later arrivals.

On arriving at Amache internees met a stark and desolate landscape. Many questioned whether this was really where they were going to live. The scraped landscape and unfinished structures meant that there was little protection from the windy environment of the plains. “The soil is sandy just like Livingston and when the wind blows we have a sand storm. It’s really bad. The sand sifts in from all over and if we’re caught outside in it we’re nearly blinded by the flying sand” (Fujita, 1942).

Initially, water at Amache was non-potable and had to be hauled in on trucks. Toilets were not fully functional and wooden outhouses were constructed (Figure 2.9). In some blocks the mess halls or bath houses were not completed, and residents went to neighboring blocks for food services and bathing (Lindley, James G., 1945). A similar system was implemented in 1945 as Amache was being incrementally shut down. As blocks became depopulated public buildings were shut and services discontinued, and residents began traveling to neighboring blocks for these services or relocating to more populated blocks. Initial living conditions created lasting memories for many incarcerated and set the stage for continuing efforts by internees to improve conditions.

The residential section had been subdivided into thirty residential blocks of which five were set aside for public services like schools, sports fields, and a co-op store. These public blocks created a rudimentary downtown in the center of Amache. East/west running roads were each assigned a number designation running from 6-12 and North/south roads a letter designation between E-H and K-L. Residential blocks were

named based on their Northwest cross street, so a block on the corner of 6 St and G St was called Block 6G.



Figure 2.9. Early shot of residential blocks at Amache. The barren graded landscape is visible along with temporary outhouses. Image courtesy of Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

The layout of each residential block was identical with two rows of 6 barracks running North/south along each side with a single smaller recreation hall at the end of one row of barracks. Down the center of the block were two communal buildings and some open space. A large rectangular building acted as a mess hall with a kitchen and large dining room. Mess halls had the capacity to serve 288 people at a time and so meals were provided in shifts (Fujita, 1942) (Figure 2.10). An H shaped building contained a combination of laundry room, a water heater, public spigot, and gender segregated shower and toilet facilities. Each bathhouse had hot and cold water for 12 shower fixtures located in two little rooms for men and two for women.



Figure 2.10. Interior of a mess hall showing construction of buildings and communal aspects of daily life. Image courtesy of Amache Preservation Society, Namura Collection.

Barracks were generally uniform in their construction with a few specific differences based on block. Color varied between tan and green siding made of asphalt rolled roofing and some barracks had brick rather than concrete floors. Brick floors were less desirable due to the uneven surface and incursions of bugs and dust. However, they also allowed residents to create small subfloor spaces. In 2012 using ground penetrating radar several small sub floor cavities were documented at Amache. These have been associated with a range of activities from manufacturing pickles or sake to forming a small darkroom for photo development (Driver, 2015). Similar sub floor spaces have been documented at other sites. At Manzanar and Gila River these have been much more extensive and included substantial basements (L. Ng & Camp, 2015).

Each barracks was divided into six separate apartments that ranged in size from 20 x 16 to 20 x 24 feet. Sets of apartments shared a door and small vestibule which opened off to the side into the single room of the apartment. Inside the apartment was a small closet, single hanging bulb and electrical socket, a small coal burning stove for heat, and cots for each family member. Apartments had glass windows with sliding panes that allowed for some airflow. Space was assigned based on family size with childless couples assigned the smallest and large families of 4-6 given the larger size. Extremely large families might be given two conjoined apartments. The partition walls were thin plasterboard which, combined with the shared entry, meant there was little privacy between or within apartments.

Life at Amache

Residents' reactions to life at Amache varied widely. Most were horrified at the living conditions. Apartments lacked common amenities like water, kitchens and bathrooms. The communal living divested families of private space and private time. Women found these conditions especially difficult since it eliminated much of their household responsibility and powers related to cooking, cleaning, and purchasing (V. Matsumoto, 1984; Shew, 2010). Parents quickly found that communal and semi-public living conditions reduced their parental authority, and many commented on how children ran wild, influenced more by peers than by family and elders (Kamp-Whittaker, 2010; Tong, 2004).

Food in the mess halls was substandard and unfamiliar, often containing large quantities of dairy products that many residents had an intolerance to. Initially fresh

produce was limited and products like hot dogs and tinned meat common. The government provided meals, clothing allotments, and some necessities. These provisions were necessary for many since wages were low and employment limited. Many families had also lost significant financial resources due to their forced relocation or had bank accounts still frozen by the government. These sets of conditions created a range of negative sentiments around their incarceration especially among the Issei and older Nisei who saw both their civil liberties and the results of years of hard work suddenly stripped away.

However, these reactions were not universal and were partially impacted by previous living conditions and family finances. Living conditions in communities across California varied from urban centers with electrification and interior plumbing to more rural areas where such amenities were not fully guaranteed. The rural electrification act had only been passed in 1936 and so many rural communities were still not fully electrified. These variations in standards of living impacted how residents responded to Amache. One gentleman recalled that for his family, life at Amache was easier since the family was guaranteed food, some clothing, and had access to home electricity and running water in the bath houses. While his experience is certainly not the normal response it does indicate the range of setting that incarcerated were coming from and the diversity of experiences of incarceration. Regardless of their sentiments most incarcerated rapidly began modifying the physical and social landscape of Amache.

Residents began to furnish their apartments creating furnishings to supplement the cots supplied by the government. Scrap lumber and old crates were used to build new

furnishings including dressers, tables, chairs, shelves, and beds (Figure 2.11). Since residents were arriving while sections of the site were still under construction, government supplies of lumber and concrete were pilfered.

We were fortunate to be located next to the future site of the High School lot where a lot of lumber was piled. As at Merced, we all helped ourselves to the lumber. The lumber here is all pine, soft and beautiful stuff and it came planed on all 4 sides and in a wide variety of dimensions. I made Ann a 6 drawer dressing table, for Gary a bed with 2 huge drawers under it, 2 night stands as long as the width of our bed and Gary's which we place at the head of the beds, and shelves and I'm still making other things (Fujita, 1942).



Figure 2.11. Exterior of residential barrack showing initial construction. Window and door awnings are an early alteration made by incarcerated. Pile of lumber was used to both modify accommodations and construct furnishings. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection.

Modifications to the apartments were part of the ongoing efforts made by incarcerated to improve the basic living conditions found at Amache. Efforts were made to increase privacy and improve the soundness of buildings. Awnings were erected over doors and windows, brick entry pads laid to reduce dirt tracked into the homes, cracks were sealed with tar. Inside fabric dividers were hung, curtains covered windows, and pictures hung on walls. Classes and newspaper articles provided advice on how to improve your apartment and modify it into a home. While individuals and families were able to make their homes more aesthetically pleasing spaces, privacy and cleanliness remained a concern (Figure 2.12).



Figure 2.12. Interior of a barrack showing crowded conditions. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, Harada collection.

Internee efforts to improve their living environment extended beyond their apartments into the surrounding landscape. Shortly after their arrival they began to construct gardens and landscaping features (Figure 2.13). These features served multiple purposes – they mitigated the effects of the scraped landscape, created areas for social activity outside of the cramped barracks, and sometimes augmented the food provided by the WRA. Around most barracks small gardens were planted. The rear served as a backyard with clothes lines and household activity areas (Figure 2.14). Vegetable gardens planted between barracks and along the edges of blocks supplemented the food supplied by the mess halls.

Around public buildings like the bathhouse and mess halls landscaping created shaded areas to wait for food or congregate and talk or play. Communal features like playgrounds and gazebos were built in the center of the blocks to serve all residents. In several blocks, traditional Japanese baths or *ofuros* were constructed near the bathhouses. These spaces improved the physical environment while meeting the social needs of neighborhood residents. Neighborhood level landscape modifications were undertaken and coordinated by the residents with little supervision and oversight from the administration.



Figure 2.13. Later overview of site showing the development of landscaping and features around the barracks and internee living spaces. Laundry lines are visible in the backyard and spaces near the barracks. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection



Figure 2.14. Front yard landscaping showing planted trees for shade and a handmade sign naming the barrack. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

The running of Amache was a relatively complex affair with a series of departments created to manage different aspects of administration and center life. Relationships between administrators and members of the incarcerated population were not straight forward. Over time friendships and complex working relationships developed. Employees of the WRA developed friendships with the incarcerated alongside whom they worked. Incarcerated also moved between the residential and administrative areas with some frequency as they were employed in these areas of the site.

Amicable relationships between center administration and incarcerated was not universal and tensions and anger existed between both parties (*Community Analysis Section, Miscellaneous*, 1945; Murray, 2008). At some sites like Tule Lake and Manzanar there were periodic strikes and riots among the incarcerated (Myer, 1971). While the overall tenor at Amache was more peaceful there were tensions and minor altercations between residents and the administration. Relationships between residents and the WRA were partially based on the attitudes of the center administration. At Amache the attitude appears to have been more lenient. This is probably due to several factors, including the nature and personality of James Lindsey the center administrator, Colorado's open acceptance of internees, and the proximity of Amache to the town of Granada.

The WRA established basic community services at Amache including two schools, a fire department, police office, and hospital (Figure 2.15). While these facilities were overseen by the WRA they were heavily staffed by residents of Amache. Employment within Amache was limited primarily to jobs assigned by the WRA and positions working in community services, like at the Cooperative Store (Co-op). WRA

positions included staffing the hospital and other public services, working in the dining facilities, and working in the agricultural sector growing food for Amache's residents. These positions paid a maximum salary of \$19 a month (Myer, 1971). Incarcerees also formed entrepreneurial enterprises to meet the needs of fellow residents. These were less formal but supplemented the services provided by the WRA or Co-op such as barber shops and beauty parlors, furniture making, photography, chiropractors and masseuses (*Community Analysis Section, Miscellaneous, 1945*).

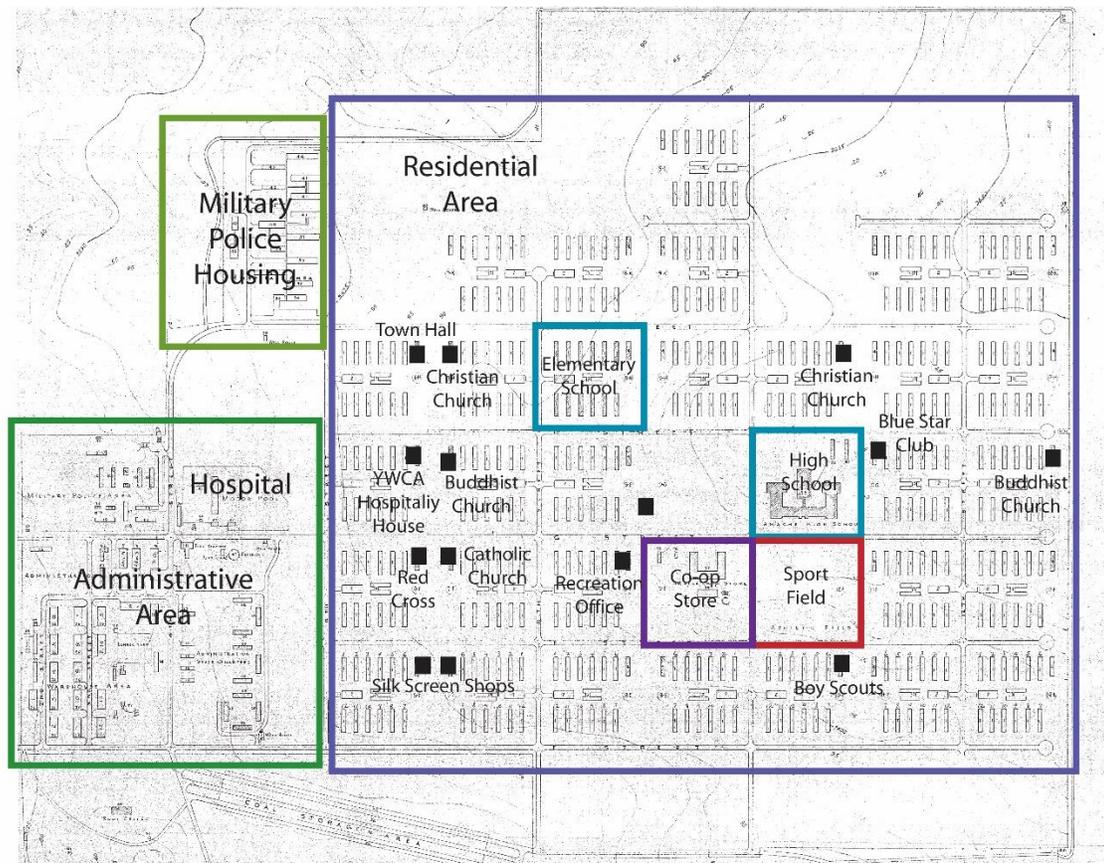


Figure 2.15. Historic map showing the layout of Amache with different zones and key community spaces labeled.

Many incarcerated took temporary leaves to go work agricultural jobs outside of Amache, while others permanently left to find work in areas outside the exclusion zone.

Many of those who left for employment sent money back to families living at Amache. These employment opportunities and any available savings were the primary sources of income for Amache's incarcerated. Recognizing the limited financial resources of the incarcerated Japanese American community the WRA did provide some essential resources. There were clothing and shoe rations, a resource center for mothers with milk and formula, and charity donations.

The internees also worked with the WRA to organize a community cooperative store. This complex, which was located near the center of Amache housed a store, shoe shop, pharmacy, dentist, sewing machine repair, and dry cleaner (Figure 2.16). Montgomery Ward established a mail order branch at Amache by October, 1942 (Lindley, James G., 1945). The co-op and mail order catalogues were internees' primary access to outside material goods. The co-op along with the high school and neighboring sports fields created a central grouping of community features that acted as a downtown area. During archaeological survey, the remains of sidewalks extending the length of the main street through Amache can be seen, indicating the importance of access to these spaces for the site's residents.

Some administrative departments had relatively little interaction with incarcerated while others were intimately involved and partially run by the internees. This is especially true for the recreation department, center activities departments, and block administration. To administer to daily activities a Community Council was formed, and representatives of each block elected. This governing body acted to interface with the center personnel and represent residents wishes and needs. Blocks also had a manager

appointed by residents who managed housing requests, food and supply distributions, and relayed announcements from the administration. Block personnel directors tracked vital statistics and occupations of residents (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993). Creating a tiered system of block management allowed the internees a measure of control over their residential spaces and removed the administration from micromanagement of block decisions.



Figure 2.16. Dry cleaning pick up at the Amache Consumer Co-op. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, Akaki Collection.

A similar system was employed in the management of recreation and social activities, the center newspaper, and the internee run co-op. While the WRA created departments and hired formal administrators, a second tier of organization was formed by the internees that determined which activities should and could be coordinated. Internees were then recruited to run these activities and funds dispersed. This dual system ensured

that the classes, activities, and sports being provided were of interest to the community and would have adequate participants. It also allowed for the creation of a diverse range of activities that represented the generational, regional, and age differences found in the internee population.

Many of the recreation halls and some mess halls were used as open spaces for social activities, classes and formally organized clubs. There were five broad groups of classes: foundational classes for adults that taught English, spelling and geography, vocational or training classes like drafting, typing, or carpentry that worked to teach employable skills, community understanding classes that focused on discussions and forums, homemaking classes such as cooking and sewing, and creative development classes like arts and music (*Final Report - Community Management Division Education Section, 1945; Quarterly Report Adult Education Program, 1943*). Classes were targeted to a range of ages but often catered especially to the Issei generation who were less likely to be employed within the center. Art classes were especially popular at Amache and other incarceration centers but classes on sewing, handicrafts, English language, writing, and a range of other topics were provided (Figure 2.17). Incarcerees taught a majority of the classes and they were designed to both teach skills and provide a way to pass time. For many incarcerated this was the only time in their lives they engaged in these arts and crafts activities and a wide range of exquisite art pieces were produced in all ten of the incarceration centers (Dusselier, 2008; Hirasuna, 2005). These classes and activities became both a coping mechanism and a way to create community structure.



Figure 2.17. Women making flowers as part of an art class. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection.

The younger Nisei generation participated more heavily in social activities like sports, dances, and youth clubs (Figure 2.18). Recreation halls in most blocks held intermittent socials where snacks, dancing, and music drew young incarcerated. Some recreation halls also had games, pool tables, or ping pong tables available (*Community Activities Section, Miscellaneous*, 1945) and archaeological data indicate that others had chalk boards outside to post activities and event announcements. The recreation halls were also used to screen motion pictures on a rotational schedule. Each block's recreation

hall was maintained by the block manager who influenced its use. Some recreation halls also acted as preschools for the neighboring blocks (Figure 2.19).



Figure 2.18. Dance held in a mess hall. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

Internees also formed their own branches of national organizations. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Blue Star Mothers, and Boy Scouts of America all had chapters organized in the center for most of its tenure. Other national organizations like the Girl Scouts of America formed for short periods but had limited participation and rapidly dissolved. The Boy Scouts of America, Blue Star Mothers, and YWCA were the most active of the national social organizations and each maintained space within a recreation hall for their meetings and activities. The Blue Star Mothers operated the Hospitality House which hosted young men visiting from deployment (Figure 2.20). The Hospitality House also acted as a space for dances and meals. The Boy

Scouts had a registration of around 600 boys (Neal, 1945) and maintained several troops from different regions in California. The YWCA had age specific groups that catered from junior high to “matrons” and each age class was then subdivided into smaller clubs. While some internees had been members of these social organizations prior to their incarceration, for some this was the first opportunity to join a social club and membership was high.

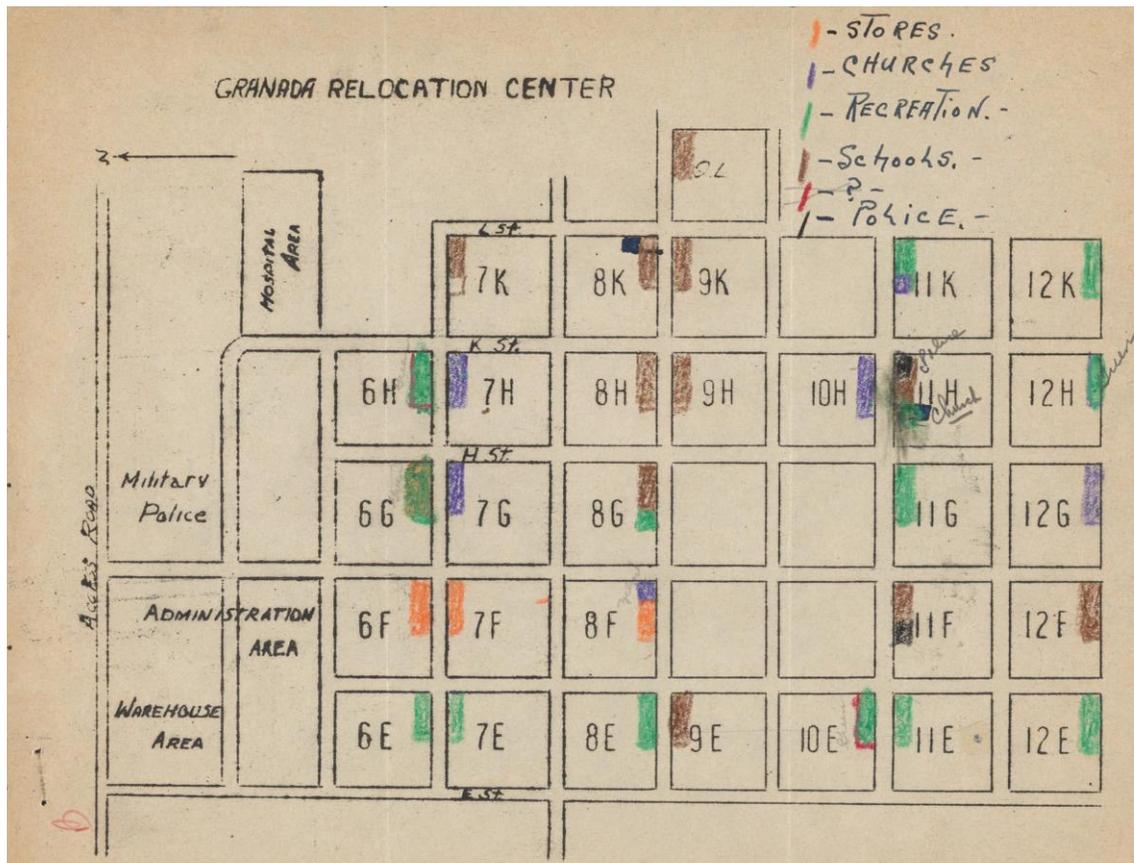


Figure 2.19. Historic map from 1943 with the uses of recreation halls drawn in. As new facilities were constructed the use of recreation halls changed to represent more clubs and social organizations. Image from WRA documents at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California (*Community Activities Section, Miscellaneous, 1945*).



Figure 2.20. Blue star mothers outside the Hospitality House. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

Social activities were organized under the auspices of the Community Activities division of the Community Management arm of the WRA which provided funds. The Recreation Association was soon formed at the instigation of the Community Enterprises and Community Council. Forming the Recreation Association gave incarcerated women increased control over the types of activities offered. For the older Issei Japanese style entertainment and games were offered such as *odori*, *shibai*, *go*, *shogi*, *mah jong*, and *shibai* or dramatic performances. Since the administration frowned on such culturally affiliated activities, they were more limited (Neal, 1945).

While these activities took place in both recreation halls and public facilities like the high school or Terry Hall, an auditorium at the Elementary School, outdoor spaces were also developed for sporting activities. Within residential blocks, space was

relatively limited and the open areas near the mess hall were utilized for outdoor recreation including the installation of basketball hoops and baseball backstops. Additionally, we see the construction of playgrounds in front of barracks and in open spaces along the edges of blocks. These, combined with landscaping around communal buildings and in open spaces behind the bathhouses, provided areas for socialization among block residents.

Sports teams were a central part of the social environment at Amache for both the Issei and Nisei. Sports were organized into three groups – high school teams, recreation teams, and all-star teams. While most blocks had some neighborhood level teams and playing fields there were also several large communal fields. A large baseball diamond and football field dominated the center of Amache across from the high school and co-op buildings. Site wide all-star games and high school games were held here and attended by many of Amache's residents. Next to the Co-op building was a sumo ring and there were also areas for judo. Smaller neighborhood sports fields held recreation team games and pick-up games. Social activities at Amache encouraged participation at a neighborhood and center wide level. The diversity of activity types catered to most of the residents and helped foster the development of interpersonal relationships and a center wide identity.

Between 1942 and 1945 Amache grew from a scattering of barracks to a semi-urban center with a strong community identity. This occurred through the development of social and physical features that facilitated interactions among internees. As the incarcerated community interacted and developed social bonds they developed distinct neighborhood identities and a site wide sense of membership.

In 1945 the WRA announced that it would be closing Amache and began the process of systematically shutting down services to the site and removing the remaining incarcerated. Blocks slowly became depopulated. As the number of residents in a block dipped the mess hall and recreation halls were closed. Garbage pickup was discontinued at the site. Some residents were reluctant to leave. They had formed a community of support at Amache and did not know where to go next. Their livelihoods and homes in the West Coast had been lost, social networks disrupted, they had faced and still feared rampant discrimination, and many lacked the networks or income to facilitate relocation. The government provided limited funds for each family and would relocate your possessions once, limiting families' ability to easily resettle. On October 15, 1945 the last of Amache's incarcerated left and the process of dismantling began (Figure 2.21).



Figure 2.21. Residential block at Amache as residents left and the site was demolished. Furniture and household items litter the ground between apartments. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

Amache Today:

Today when you visit the Granada Relocation Center National Historic Landmark you are greeted by a small pull-off with interpretive signage. To enter the site, you bump over a cattle guard and find yourself on dirt roads with the remnants of white gravel. The landscape has reverted to its natural form, dominated by sage brush, prickly pear, and low grasses. You can see the remains of concrete building foundations poking through the brush along the sides of the road. If you exit your car and walk through the remains of a residential block you can see small artifacts scattered on the ground or partially buried – fragments of glass jars, nails, and scraps of metal all speak to the fact that this was a vibrant community. Near the raised barrack foundations, you can see gardens outlined in limestone or scatters of river cobble. If you were to fly over the site, the neat grid of a military landscape is visible, dotted with scattered trees and small tree lines planted by inhabitants to provide shade (Figure 2.22).

After the US government officially closed Amache and mandated the removal of remaining residents the site was dismantled. Buildings were either bulldozed or sold. Buildings that had been sold were dismantled and removed either by members of the Army Corps or the individuals who had purchased them. Buildings originally from Amache ended up on local farms, in nearby towns, and even on the University of Denver campus. A key landmark, the water tower, was dismantled and sold to a local farmer who kept it on his property until 2015 when it was restored to its original location at the southeast corner of the site. Agricultural land surrounding Amache, which had originally been taken through eminent domain, was sold back to local landowners. The central residential and administrative area was purchased by the town of Granada. The WRA had

drilled four large wells and constructed a pumping station to provide water for the incarceration center. The town wanted access to this resource and continues to use water from the well. The site was fenced and leased as grazing land to local farmers to provide some revenue for the town until 2012 when the lease was not renewed.



Figure 2.22. Block 10E as it looks today. This was once a large limestone garden and stairs at the entrance to the Boy Scouts headquarters. The concrete foundations, indicated by the arrows, of the recreation hall are in the foreground and residential barrack foundations are visible in the background.

While the buildings were removed the layout of the site remained intact with building foundations and landscaping visible. The purchase of Amache by the town of Granada kept the land intact and preserved much of its archaeological integrity. Use of the site as grazing land created some damage as farmers installed watering and fencing

systems and livestock walked over artifacts. Overall, Amache is one of the most complete sites of Japanese incarceration and has an incredibly high level of archaeological integrity.

The nature of the site's history – both the initial creation through eminent domain and its role as an incarceration center – fostered little desire in the local community for protection or commemoration. This attitude was not limited to Amache but can be seen in the histories of other incarceration sites around the country and in the response of the Japanese American community. In the years following their incarceration the Japanese American community worked to rebuild and reestablish itself both along the West Coast and in new areas. Especially for members of the older Issei generation the act of incarceration and the associated losses were associated with feelings of shame and deep emotional scars (Weglyn, 1976). Many members rarely talked about their experiences.

Members of the Nisei and Sansei generations began to be more vocal about their experiences. A growing sentiment developed that these shameful acts by the United States government should not be allowed to quietly subside into the annals of history but rather needed to be commemorated. Efforts to draw awareness were aided by governmental admittance of wrongdoing. In February of 1976 President Gerald Ford issued a formal apology and created a path for redress. Following a report by the Commission of the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), which found that the economic losses of those interned had been staggering and that the losses and suffering could not be fully compensated (Commission on the Wartime Relocation

and Internment of Civilians, 1997), President Ronald Reagan signed a reparations program into law in 1988.

In 1976 the first organized pilgrimage to Amache was made although many informal ones had preceded it and individual survivors had returned periodically (Amache Preservation Society, n.d.). This was the start of more frequent and regularly organized pilgrimages to the site, inspired by the increasing prevalence of pilgrimages at other incarceration centers. A small cemetery in the southwest corner of Amache has been the focal point for pilgrimages. Several small headstones mark the site along with a brick building that historically housed a plaque with painted calligraphy naming all those who had died at Amache. In 1983 the Denver Optimists Club erected a monument honoring the 31 soldiers from Amache who died in WWII (Harvey, 2004). The Denver Optimist Club began organizing an annual pilgrimage the 3rd weekend in May, a tradition that still continues. This was the beginning of the development of a relationship between the Japanese American and local Granada communities. This relationship has been complex but beneficial for both parties and the ongoing preservation of the site.

In 1995 a local history teacher John Hopper took an interest in the site and created the Amache Preservation Society (APS). This non-profit associated with the high school is committed to preserving and talking about the site of Amache. Community and student members actively maintain the site including the cemetery and working with other local preservation agencies and the Japanese American community have successfully garnered grant funds to interpret the site and reconstruct historic buildings. Students have developed a close relationship with survivors and the APS is viewed as a primary

resource for preservation and awareness efforts. To date the APS and constituent community has garnered grant funding to return two historic buildings to Amache, the original water tower and a recreation hall, and reconstruct two others, a guard tower and nearby residential barrack (Figure 2.23).



Figure 2.23. Reconstructed barrack and guard tower. Both buildings utilized the original footings to ensure correct placement. The area was documented with surface survey, ground penetrating radar survey, and test excavations conducted by the 2010 and 2012 University of Denver Amache Project Field school.

University of Denver Amache Project

In 2005 University of Denver archaeologist Dr. Bonnie Clark began the process of developing a research project at the site by consulting the survivor, descendant, and local communities. The University of Denver Amache Project held its first field school in 2008 and has continued to do so biannually since. Every other year the project surveys

new areas of the residential section and conducts limited excavations. Fieldwork is driven by the research interests of graduate students working on the project and the preservation needs of the site.

I joined the project in 2008 as a student at the University of Denver and completed my Masters research on the experiences of children in Amache (Kamp-Whittaker, 2010). During this time, I worked with Dr. Bonnie Clark and fellow Masters student Dana Shew to help develop the survey and data collection strategy for the project. In 2014 I rejoined the project as a crew chief and then again in 2016 and 2018 as the co-director. In this capacity I help coordinate the field school and oversee archaeological survey. During the past two field seasons we have expanded the capacity of the field school and adopted digital data collection methods for the survey. This dissertation draws on data collected throughout the course of the project and utilizes primarily survey data.

Since 2008 a total of 25 blocks or 71% of the residential area has been surveyed (Clark, 2011; Haas et al., 2014) (Figure 2.24). Each season a new area is identified for intensive pedestrian survey. Using a transect spacing of 2 meters, artifact and feature locations are collected for each block in the residential area. To preserve the integrity of the site the project utilizes a limited collection policy and relies on onsite analysis of artifacts (Kamp-Whittaker, 2010). Initially paper forms were used to record feature and artifact data but since 2014 the project has been moving to more digital data collection. Artifact data, images, and measurements are all entered into digital database systems, increasing the collection of locational data and detailed information on additional artifacts. Excavations are primarily limited to garden and landscape features with the

exception of areas that might be impacted by ongoing preservation efforts and the return of historic buildings to the site. Prior to any excavation, a ground penetrating radar survey is conducted to locate and identify the cultural resources.

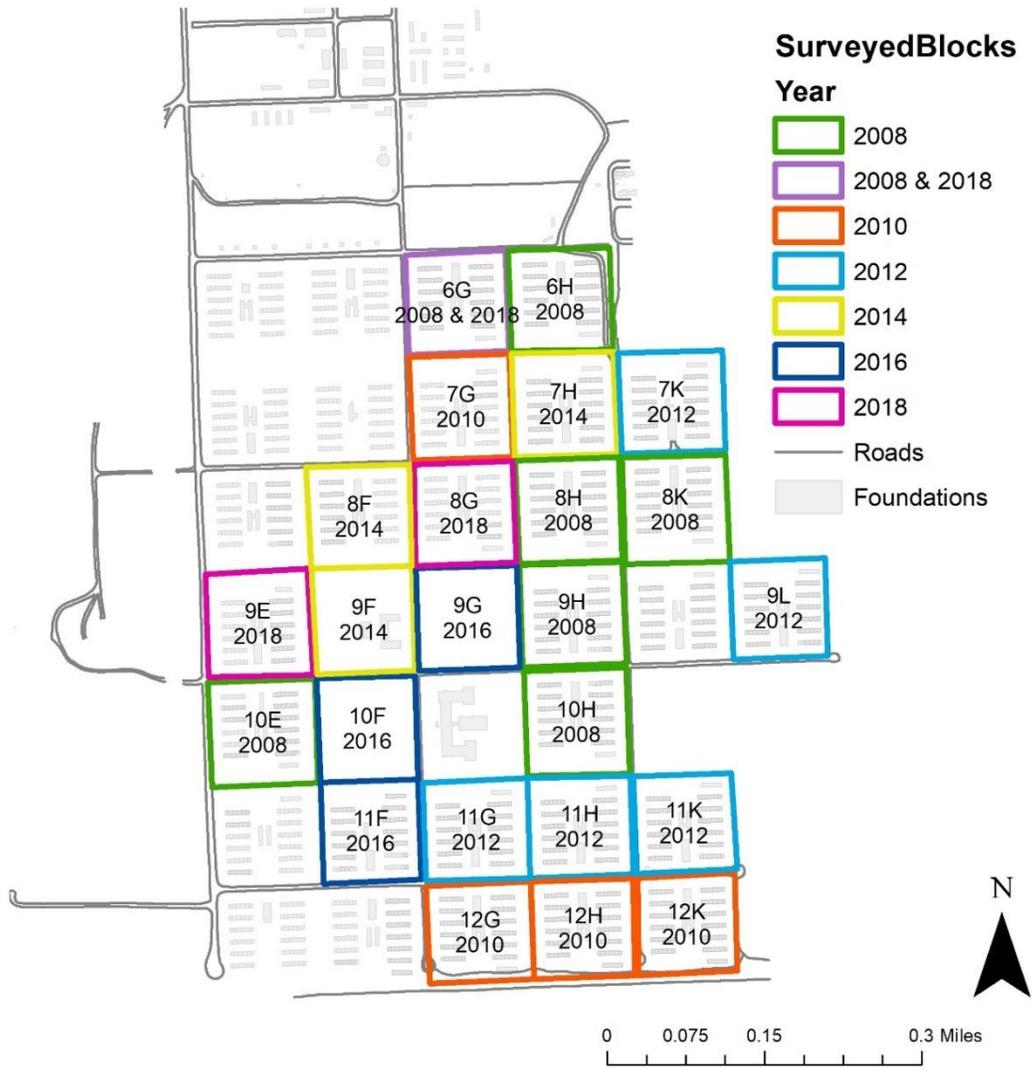


Figure 2. 24. Map showing all surveyed blocks to date color coded by year of survey. Map by author.

Much of our work has been in support of preservation efforts and has included work with the APS in their museum. Our field school has grown from the first year when it consisted of four college students, two members of the APS, and one volunteer who

had been a child at Amache. Now we have numerous college students, at least one intern who is a member of the descendant community, an intern from the APS, and a regular contingent of volunteers who share the knowledge and experiences (Clark, 2019). The research presented in this dissertation is a product of years of work by this diverse and ever-growing cast of preservationists.

The partnerships that have formed to preserve the site and commemorate those who lived there have had an impact on all the parties. Attitudes in the town toward the site have shifted as is visible in the 99 year preservation easement lease signed in 2012 to ensure the site's ongoing preservation. National awareness is increasing which is seen in recent allocations of funds for preservation and a growing interest in the site from visitors and researchers. This abandoned city in the middle of rural Colorado tells a story central to the history of our nation and offers lessons in how a community can grow and form in a matter of years.

Current Research at Sites Related to Japanese American Incarceration

Although this dissertation focuses on Amache, this is just one of many sites related to the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII scattered across the United States, Canada, and South America. The size and types of sites associated with the internment landscape range from large family incarceration centers like Amache, to temporary detention centers, and smaller incarceration centers or prison camps. Research on these sites falls into three broad categories: historical overviews, personal narratives, and archaeological projects. For some sites extensive research has been conducted both archaeologically and through documentation by historians and survivors (Carillo &

Killam, 2003; Chang, 1999; Ellis, 2002; Harvey, 2004; Tamir et al., 1993; Taylor, 1993; Wegars, 2010). For other sites limited information is known and the experiences of incarcerated people poorly documented.

The first major archaeological endeavor was an extensive overview of all ten family internment centers and many of the smaller sites located on the continental United States (Burton et al., 1999). This study compiled overview data on the history and condition of many sites and serves as a broad introduction to the archaeological aspects of Japanese American internment. Initial archaeological work done on sites of Japanese American incarceration was by CRM firms working at non-Federally controlled sites and by the National Park Service at Manzanar (Burton, 1996) and Minidoka (Burton & Farrell, 2001). Growing interest in the archaeology of institutional confinement and Japanese American incarceration has increased research projects (N. L. Branton, 2000; Burton, 2005; Burton & Farrell, 2011; L. Ng & Camp, 2015). Research focuses have been broad but there are several themes that connect these projects – an interest in daily life and experiences of incarcerated people and work on garden or landscape archaeology (Beckwith, 2013; Clark, 2011, 2017b; Fitz-Gerald, 2015; L. W. Ng, 2014; Ozawa, 2016; Tamura, 2004).

Other than the ongoing project at Manzanar, the University of Denver Amache Project has been one of the most prolific and long running. Since 2005 when the project was initiated it has produced twelve Amache related theses. Research from this project has explored the experiences of women and children (Kamp-Whittaker, 2010; Shew, 2010; Shew & Kamp-Whittaker, 2013), the role of surveillance on the structuring of daily

life, and the material culture of the site through issues of artifact production or modification, sake brewing and the use of ceramics manufactured in Japan (Driver, 2015; Garrison, 2015; Skiles & Clark, 2010; Slaughter, 2013; Swader, 2015).

A majority of the current projects have focused on a single site but increasingly efforts are being made to approach the interment landscape as an eventscape where sites are linked by a shared historical moment (N. L. Branton, 2004; Lau-Ozawa, 2019). Eventscapes are thematically connected places associated with a critical cultural event. This approach defines a network of related sites and connects disparate places through a consideration of processes of human interaction, commemoration, and experience (Horlings, 2011; McNeil et al., 2001). This perspective takes into consideration both a physical place and patterns of behavior and cultural transmission across generations (N. Branton, 2009). A common linkage between projects working with the interment landscape is a consideration of the sensitivity of this history and active attempts to consider the interests and viewpoints of the stakeholder community (Camp, 2016; Clark, 2017a; Lau-Ozawa, 2019).

Amache and other incarceration centers are sites of living memory. The presence of an active and engaged community of stakeholders has increasingly led archaeologists to integrate community participation into analysis and curation (Amati & Clark, 2018; Huang, 2019; Peterson, 2018). The voices of survivors and other members of the stakeholder community have become integral to interpretive and preservation efforts. Many of these communities have direct connections to the archaeological sites. Their interest in interpretation and preservation are a result of historical experiences and the communities formed within incarceration centers.

When I began working with Dr. Clark and the DU Amache Project in 2008 I had no idea that I would be spending almost ten years as part of this team. Honestly, I tried to move on to other projects but the community at Amache kept drawing me back. Throughout this dissertation are excerpts from conversations and the whole text is flavored with interactions between archaeologists and the stakeholder community. Survivors and their families share their stories and family photographs, or items made at Amache. The archeological and archival research tries to contextualize their experiences or provide information on aspects no one remembers or thought to write down. The network analysis is drawn from newspapers articles that contain the name and activities of people I know, or their family members. The data reflects real people and their experiences living in an incarceration center.

One of the challenges of working at a site of living memory, like Amache, is that every publication or presentation is trying to represent a diverse body of experiences and memories. During tours of Amache, as I walk with survivors to find their old barrack, they share stories and memories that make archaeology real and meaningful. When members of the local community mow the cemetery or work tirelessly to bring buildings back to Amache they are building on social connections formed in the 1940's when incarcerated were imprisoned at the site. A community was formed through the actions of incarcerated at the site, their interactions with the neighboring town of Granada, and now through the continuing interactions of the stakeholder communities. Although this dissertation focuses on social networks created in the 1940's and earlier, their legacy is visible in modern interactions and preservation efforts.

CHAPTER 3
CREATING A COMMUNITY IN CONFINEMENT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF
NEIGHBORHOODS IN AMACHE, A WWII JAPANESE AMERICAN
INTERNMENT CAMP

April Kamp-Whittaker and Bonnie J. Clark¹

In one of the largest mass relocations of the twentieth century, Japanese Americans were forcibly removed from the West Coast of the United States in 1942 and transferred to ten government-run incarceration centers. While not all Japanese Americans were removed into internal exile (see Starzmann, this volume), internment impacted the vast majority, those living along the West Coast. The process of removal ruptured many social ties, dividing families and communities. Residents of smaller communities were frequently sent to the same relocation centers, although the populations of larger, more urban areas were sent to multiple centers. Families who lived in the same community often were relocated together; however, families spread across greater geographical distances often became separated during removal. During the four years that the internment centers were in operation, residents were sometimes moved from one center to another, further disrupting social ties. The complicated processes of relocation into Japanese internment camps provides an opportunity to see how

¹ Kamp-Whittaker, April, and Bonnie J Clark
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communities navigate and work to mitigate the effects of forced removal even in a situation of confinement.

Research from four years of fieldwork at the Granada Relocation Center National Historic Landmark (better known as Amache) in Colorado can be used to examine how Japanese Americans negotiated removal and incarceration. This chapter examines how relocated communities re-form and individuals negotiate change even in less-than-ideal settings. Data from six residential areas in the Amache internment camp show how these processes can be visible in the archaeological record.

This research links to larger studies on displacement and removal that use the neighborhood as a unit of study. Racial or economic motives are common threads in many studies of removal (Desmond 2015; Sanchez 2010). However, our focus here is not so much on the process of removal or on what was left behind but on the locale where one population was forced to live and how that population responded to forced relocation.

To understand how internees re-created social ties and ideas of community, we have focused on the development of neighborhoods as social units with distinct identities and sets of interactions. Internment camps can be studied as cities with communities that extended across the urban setting and were organized at a district level or at the neighborhood scale. As in contemporary cities, participation in both close-knit local networks of interaction and more widely established networks facilitated the establishment of social groups. Some archaeologists suggest that a focus on the middle, or “mesoscale” is particularly appropriate when studying marginalized groups. At the suprahousehold level is where “social collectives were able to act meaning fully within

and against structural forces such as institutionalized racism” (Voss 2008, 47). Through an examination of Amache’s neighborhood or suprahousehold-level networks, we can understand the social organization of internment. The short time frame and rapid development of internment centers make them strong case studies for understanding the formation of community among relocated populations. In this chapter, we use archaeological, archival, and oral historical data to recover evidence for social organization and identify neighborhoods as nexuses of community.

We draw upon three other bodies of evidence to highlight the role of neighborhoods in the social organization of Amache and demonstrate their role as a coping mechanism. Historical directories document the hometowns of internees and their address at Amache, providing data on the presence of social, economic, or geographic clustering among residents. We also use material culture to define social neighborhoods that were bounded by commonalities of behavior or consumption practices. We examine four artifact classes found at Amache to see if their prevalence can be used to identify neighborhoods. Finally, we examine landscape features as examples of social interaction in the forms of organized planning, social mimicry, or resource sharing. Each line of evidence contributes information about aspects of the social organization of neighborhoods in the camps and how their formation mitigated the effects of forced removal by fostering the development of new communities. The data also reveal how maintaining individual and communal identities can intertwine with strategies for coping with a situation of upheaval.

History of Japanese American Internment

In 1942, approximately 120,000 individuals of Japanese descent were forcibly relocated from the West Coast to incarceration camps located across the interior of the country. Internment was a direct reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and was the culmination of years of racial discrimination. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, allowing the exclusion of any and all persons from designated areas for the purpose of ensuring national security (Burton et al. 1999; Ng 2002).

Originally intended to spur voluntary relocation, the exclusion order soon became enforced through mandatory removal of all individuals of Japanese descent in an area that extended from the state of Washington through parts of Arizona. Systematic mandatory evacuation began on March 29, 1942, with the posting of instructions on where to assemble and what to bring (Burton et al. 1999). Families were forced to make rapid arrangements for their homes, businesses, and pets, and many sold possessions or entrusted them to friends. The United States Army oversaw transfer of evacuees to temporary assembly centers to await permanent relocation (Ng 2002, 31). Evacuees were generally moved to temporary detention centers located near their homes, so most residents from one neighborhood were transferred to the same center. Detention centers were established in public facilities that were quickly converted for residential occupation. The most well known is the Santa Anita Racetrack, where many families lived in converted horse stalls (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997, 137). Despite the difficult conditions, internees established social and public services and worked toward a semblance of normal life. Internees could live in

these temporary detention centers for up to four months before they were transferred to a euphemistically named “relocation center” (Linke 2014).

The War Relocation Authority (WRA), a civilian agency, was formed to manage the relocation and coordinate the construction and management of relocation centers. The WRA established ten relocation centers across the country, most in remote areas (Figure 3.1). Internees were transferred from military custody in the assembly centers and were moved by train or bus to one of the relocation centers, where they entered the custody of the WRA. (Relocation centers are still referred to by a variety of terms, including internment camp and concentration camp [Himmel 2015].) Amache, located in Prowers County, Colorado, was the smallest of the ten camps and housed around 10,000 individuals during its three years of operation. While Amache remained in operation for the duration of internment, its population was not stagnant. In 1943, several new groups of internees were relocated to Amache. For example, when the Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas was closed, some internees there were moved to Amache. In one of the most controversial acts in the management of internment, internees were asked to fill out a loyalty questionnaire. Those who failed to answer the questions correctly were deemed disloyal to the United States and were sent to Tule Lake in California. Following this internal change, a large number of internees from Tule Lake were moved to Amache. This continued forced removal between internment centers along with the ability of internees to leave the centers for employment in the Midwest and on the East Coast meant that the camp always had a dynamic population.



Figure 3.1. Map of all ten War Relocation Authority camps and the zone from which Japanese Americans were removed during World War II. Created by Anne Amati.

The camp officially closed in October 1945, although internees had been leaving both temporarily and permanently for the interior of the United States since it opened (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997). Most left in the summer of 1945, by which time the surrender of Germany made the end of the war appear imminent and the children of the camp had completed their school year. A lucky few were able to return to their homes and farms in California, but many restarted their lives in yet another new locale.

Camp Layout and Function

The ten camps, including Amache, were all built based on specifications provided by the War Department and were constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers. At Amache, internees began arriving before the camp was completed, so internee labor was

used to construct some areas. Each camp had an administrative area for the WRA offices, a hospital, a motor pool, and homes for military police, administrators, and WRA personnel. The second section of the camp contained residential barracks and primary services for the internees. The central areas of each camp were enclosed by barbed wire punctuated by guard towers. The towers, which were manned by armed military police, also had searchlights.

At Amache, the central fenced area was divided into thirty-four blocks separated by a system of streets that were given a letter or a number designation, depending on their direction. Blocks were then assigned a name based on the north and west cross streets (for example, Block 6G was located at the intersection of streets 6 and G) (Simmons and Simmons 2004). The internee area contained twenty-nine residential blocks, a block for the elementary school, two blocks for the high school, an empty block, and a block that served as a commercial and public area.

Each residential block contained twelve barracks, a recreation hall, a mess hall, and a bathhouse. Residential barracks were divided into six living units. Each unit was furnished only with cots, a central light fixture, and a small coal-burning stove. Barracks were placed in two north-south-running rows. The entryways faced each other, separated by a twelve-meter open area. Except for the recreation center, all communal facilities were placed in the center of each block (Figure 3.2; DeWitt 1943). These facilities included a mess hall that provided meals for the block's residents and a bathhouse and laundry facility. Recreation centers, located at one end of a row of barracks, provided a range of community services that varied across the blocks. Some served as preschools, churches, a town hall, or a Boy Scout headquarters (Simmons and Simmons 2004). Each

residential block was designed to contain the essential services needed for residents' daily activities.

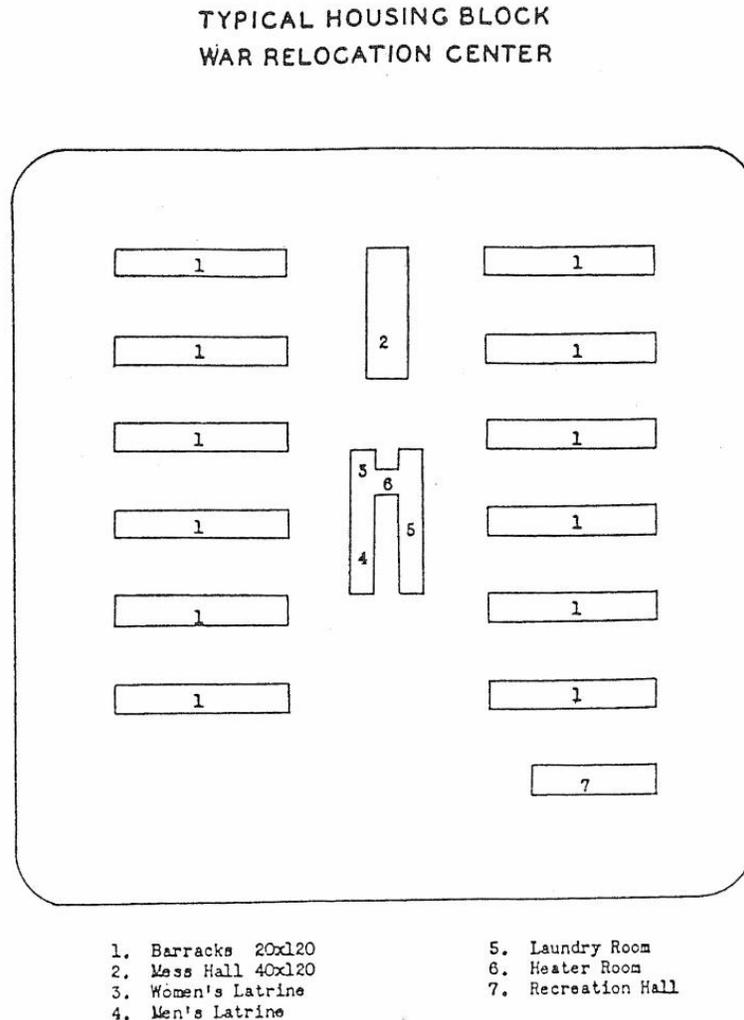


Figure 3.2. Layout of a typical residential block with centrally located facilities and housing along the sides. Originally Figure 23 from DeWitt 1943. This public document is available at: <http://www.mansell.com/eo9066/DeWittFinalReport02.html>

Definition of Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods have long been both a unit of analysis and a topic of study in the social sciences. The general consensus is that they are an almost universal attribute of urban settlement (Smith 2010). Definitions of neighborhoods range widely, but most

include both a social and a spatial element and some include networks of relationships, associations, and patterns of use (Chaskin 1998). Generally, a neighborhood is a subsection of a larger population that can be spatially defined but is also influenced by culture, ecology, or politics (Sampson 2003). Neighborhoods are frequently described as developing through frequent face-to-face interactions among a limited number of people and as natural communities. Smith (2010:139) defines a neighborhood as a “residential zone that has considerable face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics.”

These bodies of research have also identified two broad categories of neighborhoods--administrative and social. Administrative neighborhoods are determined by boundaries established by nonresident organizations such as local municipal governments or planning agencies. These units are established for the purposes of organization, control, and administration. The locations of service facilities such as schools, open areas, or water resources contribute to definitions of administrative neighborhoods. Social neighborhoods are self-defined and may not have firm or visible boundaries; rather, they are identified through patterns of interaction, shared activities, and social behaviors. These two types of neighborhoods are not mutually exclusive, and most neighborhoods are defined by both administrative and social boundaries. In this chapter, we define communities as individuals who share a group identity and often a mutual concept of place. Within communities, neighborhoods provide a physical location for smaller communities to emerge. They also serve as venues for interactions that allow for the development of mutual identities.

Mumford defines neighbors as “people united primarily not by common origins or common purposes but by the proximity of their dwellings in space” (Mumford 1954, 257). Such a definition might seem well suited to the study of places such as internment camps, where residents are forcibly relocated from their communities of origin and are seemingly randomly dispersed into new neighborhoods that are strongly defined administrative units. The use of this understanding of neighborhoods limits the potential agency of residents and in the case of Amache does not seem refined enough to reflect the continuities in neighborhood activities and residents that we found. A more nuanced definition that retains this concept of spatial association but includes more social or cultural components is needed. In their analysis of neighborhood formation processes in semi-urban settlements, Smith and colleagues (2014) note the joint importance of administrative features, surveillance, and control in the initial construction and design of residential blocks in internment camps. They also recognize the role of sociality, defined as social interaction and peer monitoring, as a factor in maintaining successful neighborhoods later in the camps’ use. We will use a definition that recognizes the importance of interaction in the formation of new communities and the continuation of existing behaviors within the boundaries of the camp’s residential blocks.

Methods for Identifying Neighborhoods

For most archaeological studies of neighborhoods, analysis begins with the isolation of spatial zones (Smith 2010). Defining a neighborhood as a spatial or social unit can be challenging, especially in the archaeological record. The definitions of spatial units vary based on the data available but often rely on the presence of visible boundaries, such as the existence of major cross streets, the physical separation of a group of houses,

or the presence of administrative units used by local governments or authorities, as seen in the location of service facilities. Once spatial units are determined, the social characteristics that define neighborhood groups can be identified.

It is important to identify the existence of group behaviors that may indicate the existence of a social neighborhood, defined by interaction or shared traits among residents. Archaeologically this is often done by identifying groups of artifacts that indicate group behaviors or interactions. Similarities in household consumption have been used as an indicator of social cohesion and the presence of neighborhoods (Cheek and Seifert 1994). This is based on the assumption that groups with similar ethnic, economic, or social backgrounds are frequently clustered and that households with similar lifestyles will consume the same types of material goods and engage in similar behaviors (Mazrim 2013; Slaughter 2006). Identifying trends in the presence of material objects should enable an archaeologist to differentiate social groups or neighborhoods. At Amache, an extensive pool of archival and oral historical data and archaeological material enabled us to test for the existence of neighborhoods using several lines of evidence.

During four seasons of fieldwork, seventeen residential blocks have been recorded using intensive pedestrian surveys. The goal of these surveys was to locate artifacts that are potentially diagnostic for specific behaviors, activities, or groups of residents and to document the existence of landscape features (Clark 2017a). For the purposes of this chapter, we examined six residential blocks to look for the existence of neighborhoods, as indicated by similar behaviors (Figure 3.3). We chose these blocks because they had high physical integrity and were the residences of both rural and urban

people. They also vary in the diversity and intensity of visible evidence for social interaction among residents. Our initial step was to use archival residential directories to understand the regional composition of the blocks. We then measured four artifact types that are affiliated with specific consumption patterns and social activities for each of the blocks. Comparing the frequency of the artifacts across the blocks helped us assess differences in behaviors related to the consumption of these classes of artifacts.

Landscape features, which were found almost universally throughout Amache, are the final line of evidence. Variations in the materials used, the locations of these features in the blocks, and the level of community organization required for construction are indicators of interaction among internees and evidence for the development of community in the internment center. A common element of removal of any population is separation from other residents of the same community. We posited that residential blocks with more residents from the same regional areas or cities would have more evidence of social interaction among residents and potentially a greater sense of community.

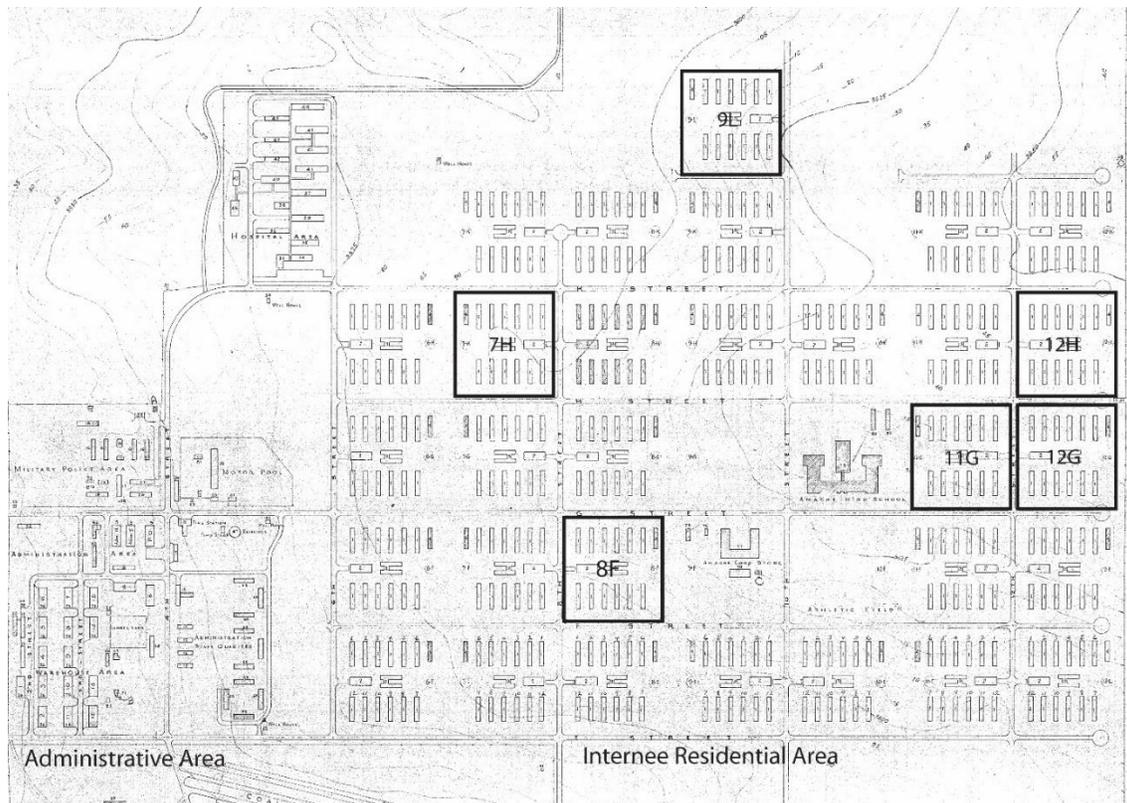


Figure 3.3 Map showing the location of the six blocks discussed in the paper overlaid on the historic camp schematic map. Created by April Kamp-Whittaker.

Spatially Defined Neighborhoods

The first step in analyzing neighborhoods at Amache is defining their spatial extent. The WRA camps with their series of regular blocks and linear arrangement of apartments simplifies the identification of spatial zones. Each block can be easily thought of as a neighborhood and the WRA probably conceptualized each as such. This is indicated by the labeling of each residential unit by a number and letter designation, which created administrative groupings of residents. The central placement of communal services, such as mess halls and bathhouses, reinforced both the WRA's and residents' understanding of neighborhood spatial units. Each resident was assigned to eat at the mess hall in their block and, with a few exceptions, they seem to have generally done so.

While residents could access bathhouses on other blocks, the distance would have been twice as far and oral histories do not suggest that this was a common practice. Each residential block is an administrative neighborhood--residents were united by access to common facilities and by administrative control. The question remains whether these were also social neighborhoods that developed through a bottom-up process of daily interaction.

Socially Defined Neighborhoods

Socially defined neighborhoods developed as soon as internees began to arrive at Amache. Internees were transferred in large groups, and individuals and families moved together from assembly centers to relocation centers. This meant that social units could be transferred to relocation centers intact, a potential that was increased by the way barracks were assigned at Amache. It was essentially a first-come, first-served system, one that people who wanted to live together seem to have used to their advantage.

Camp directories and our discussions with former internees suggest that certain blocks were associated with specific populations that had formed before relocation, such as the three farming colonies of Cressey, Livingston, and Cortez. Many of the residents whom WRA records indicate as residents of Los Angeles were in fact from Seinan, a neighborhood with a high population of Japanese Americans and other ethnic minorities.² Even residents of more dispersed rural areas maintained what connections they could. This was true for some of the residents of one of our study blocks, 8F, as suggested in

² Notes from an Amache Community Meeting, 2011, DU [Denver University] Amache Project, on file at the Department of Anthropology, University of Denver.

one resident's memoir: "When leaving, we three families stood together in the same spot and were pushed as a group with our baggage onto the open truck which had come to take us to the station. . . . All three families were to be placed in the 8F Block" (Hirano 1983, 11). Thus, communities that had formed before relocation or those that developed in the assembly centers might have been reestablished in Amache and other internment camps. This runs counter to many narratives that portray internment as a complete rupture of these networks. At least at Amache, evidence suggests that, while their lives were heavily disrupted, for some internees community and family ties might have remained intact or have been reestablished.

To determine if the settlement of families, friendship groups, or regionally defined social networks as units was common at Amache, we examined the residential data from two directories. In 1943 and again in 1945, residents of Amache organized the publication of a "city" directory that included the name of the head of each household, the name of each resident, the block name and apartment of where each household was located at Amache. In 1945, the directory included information critical for this project--each person's community of origin. This data allows us to see residential patterns and trace the movement of individuals and changes in block composition between the two dates.³ We focused on three tasks: identifying regional groupings of residents, determining if a single community of origin dominated the block, and determining whether home communities were urban or rural in nature. We used 1940 population

³ Data from the residential directories was compiled using heads of household data to identify family units. Any household lacking a community of origin was removed from the data set. Since information from the 1943 directory is less complete this created small disparities in the apparent number of block residents between 1943 and 1945.

census data to determine if a community was urban or rural and relied on the Census Bureau's definition of rural communities as those with populations of less than 2,500 (See Appendix B: Chapter 3, Supplemental Data and Images. for data and additional images).

An examination of the spatial patterning of residents at Amache exhibited a series of trends. Many blocks demonstrate at least some level of regional grouping. Households from one city tended to dominate a block, as in block 12H, where 95 percent of the residents in 1943 and 79 percent in 1945 were from Los Angeles. Some blocks included households from a roughly similar geographical area, such as the households from northern California in block 8F, or households from predominantly urban or rural areas of the state, as in block 7H, which was heavily rural (Table 3.1). The development of these spatial patterns was neither random nor intentionally orchestrated by the WRA. It is probably the result of several factors: movement of internees from regionally established relocation centers in large groups, which made it possible for people to remain with friends or family, and people's intentional selection of residential areas where other households with similar social, economic, or geographic backgrounds were already residing.

Table 3.1. Composition of residential blocks included in this study showing the demographic composition based on the source communities of residents.

Blocks	Year	Number of Source Communities	Dominant Place of Origin	Percent from Dominant Place	Percent Urban	Percent Rural
Walnut						
7H	1943	15	Grove/Woodland	46	50	50
	1945	21	Walnut Grove	35	50	50
	Change	+6		-11	0	0
Colusa/Yuba						
8F	1943	24	City	15	48	52
	1945	34	Colusa	15	59	41
	Change	+10		0	+11	-11
9L	1943	6	Los Angeles	88	98	2
	1945	11	Los Angeles	75	96	4
	Change	+5		-13	-1	+1
11G	1943	4	Los Angeles	94	96	4
	1945	11	Los Angeles	83	98	2
	Change	+7		-11	+2	-2
12G	1943	4	Los Angeles	86	100	0
	1945	11	Los Angeles	66	92	8
	Change	+7		-20	-8	+8
12H	1943	3	Los Angeles	96	100	0
	1945	10	Los Angeles	85	98	2
	Change	+7		-11	-2	+2

Note: The two time periods represent data captured by a residential directory created during the occupation of Amache and show changes in the composition of the blocks over time.

The first groups of internees who arrived at Amache were able to select from the available completed residential units, which enabled them to settle in familiar social groups. As residential units at Amache began to fill, newer arrivals had fewer options

about where to live, which presumably increased the diversity of residential blocks between 1943 and 1945. This change is visible in the increased number of communities of origin represented in all the blocks we sampled. However, this pattern does not fully explain the geographic patterns we see in the data. Two large influxes of internees, first from Jerome in Arkansas and then from Tule Lake in California occurred between 1943 and 1945. These two influxes are partially responsible for some of the shifts in population in some residential blocks. It appears that latter arrivals at Amache were able to remain in family groups and in many cases to retain their geographical affiliations. A comparison of block composition in the 1943 and 1945 directories shows that the geographic origin and overall urban or rural nature of the blocks did not vary greatly. Household groupings remain consistent in the 1943 and 1945 residential surveys, and the overall composition of blocks experienced little change (Figure 3.4). Growth in the population of residents from a particular community seems to be the most common change that occurred during these years. The second change is the development of a new geographical grouping as seen in the case of blocks 11G, 9L, and 12G. In these blocks, which were predominantly populated by residents from the Los Angeles area in 1943, a second group had developed from northern California by 1945, potentially due to clustering from internees who arrived after 1943.

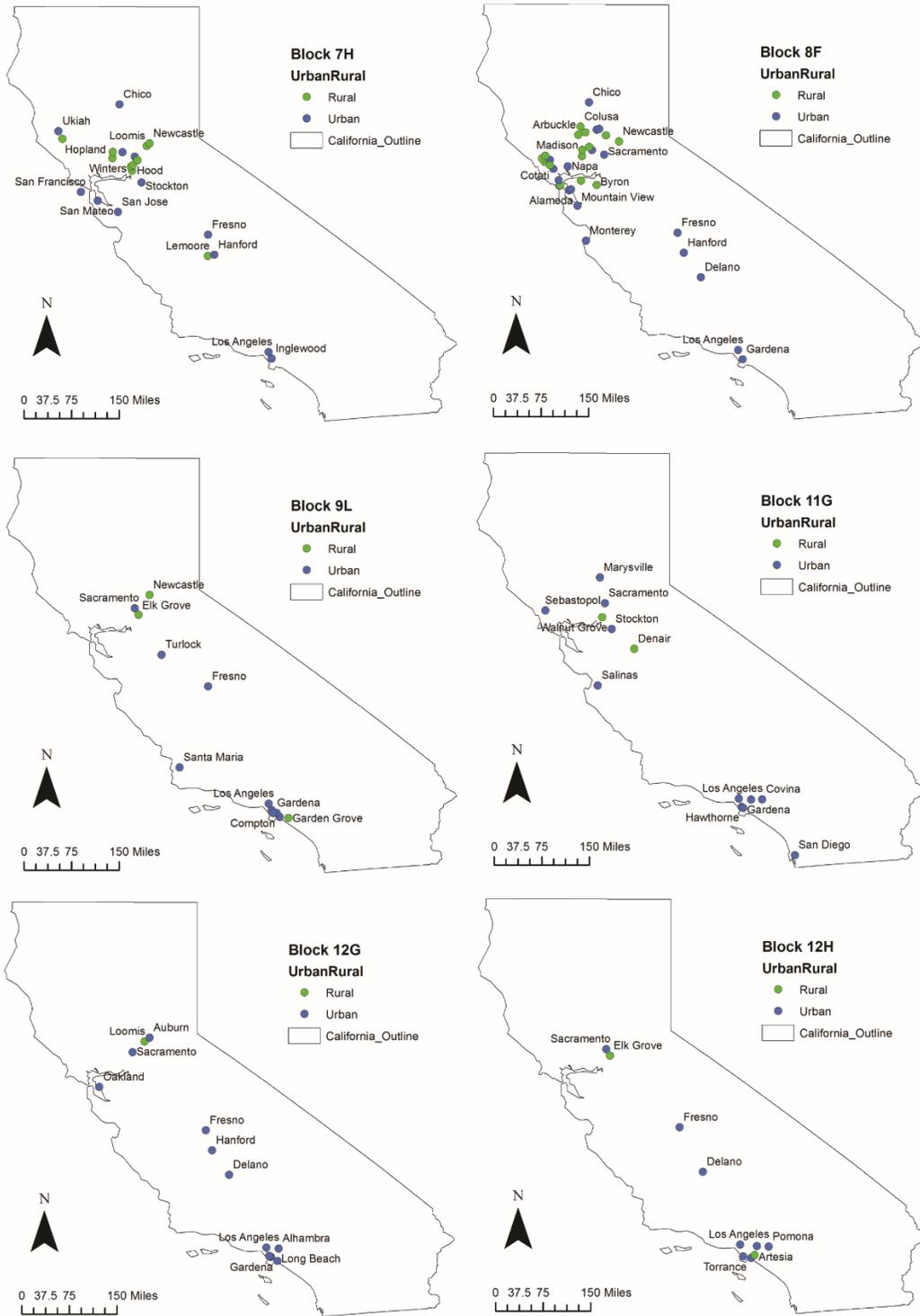


Figure 3.4. Map of block composition at Amache showing communities of origin and their status as urban or rural. The urban/rural designation is based on the U.S. Census definition that communities larger than 2,500 are urban. The maps show distinct regional clustering in most blocks. Created by April Kamp-Whittaker.

Studies have shown that migrants often form groups with residents from their home region or with people who share their ethnicity (Cohen 2011; MacDonald and MacDonald 1964; Pamuk 2004). At Amache, it appears that new arrivals had at least some ability to choose their residential area and these patterns in internee residential choice indicate that they were trying to select residential blocks where the social composition might be familiar or where there were some existing social networks. The choice to settle in blocks that contained individuals from similar regions of California or from familiar urban areas probably relates to economic similarities, differing levels of cultural assimilation, and a social divide between residents from urban and rural communities.⁴ Individuals in urban residential areas frequently form groups based on economic, social, and geographical factors, and scholars use such groups to differentiate and define neighborhoods. Greater homogeneity in neighborhoods is also associated with greater interaction, community longevity, and overall social cohesion (Hipp and Perrin 2009; Letki 2008; Cheung and Leung 2011).

The existence of existing social homogeneity is associated with the development of social services (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997; Cassiers and Kesteloot 2012). At Amache previous networks of interaction may have facilitated the rapid development of social services. The social services established shortly after Amache opened included camp-wide organizations such as Buddhist and Christian churches, nursery schools in several blocks, three community libraries, and branches of service organizations such as the Boy Scouts and the Blue Star Mothers of America. Classes were held in recreation

⁴ Group interviews with former internees at Amache Reunion, 2009, DU Amache Project, notes on file at the Department of Anthropology, University of Denver.

halls and public buildings on traditional flower arranging, wood carving, Japanese language, jujitsu, sumo wrestling, painting, typing, sewing and garment construction, and any other topic where both an audience and instructor could be found. Celebrations for major holidays were held in the civic and commercial blocks and were attended by many residents. These activities, employment in the camp, and participation in religious organizations were part of the broader patterns of social interaction that extended beyond the block level and helped create a sense of community beyond the boundaries of neighborhoods. Social interactions that occurred across the center were central to the lives of many residents. We explore how those relate to neighborhood-level integration elsewhere (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019).

The broader social community that formed at Amache is important for understanding the impact of social interaction in the camp, but it is difficult to see at an archaeological level. Social neighborhoods, which may or may not conform to the spatially defined boundaries of administrative neighborhoods, are easier to identify by locating spatially discreet practices. Individuals draw neighborhood boundaries as they negotiate relationships and activities in a spatial setting. These boundaries do not necessarily conform to those defined for administrative purposes. At Amache it appears that the blocks the WRA designed served as a basis for how many residents conceptualized their neighborhood unit. While residents engaged in social interactions or social activities outside of their immediate neighborhood, our research suggests that block level social interactions were of greater import to a sense of community. Within each block there was a general sense of community. Oral histories from former residents and archival documents such as the *Granada Pioneer*, the newspaper at Amache

published from 1942 to 1945, document the existence of block-based clubs, social groups, and in some cases nicknames.

While large celebrations and classes were organized on a camp-wide scale, some residential blocks organized their own social events such as sports games, movies, and dances. As one camp resident recalled, “The youth of 8F got together under a good leader and formed a band and rehearsed whenever they had free time. . . . By Christmas they had become quite accomplished so that dance parties were held” (Hirano 1983, 15). Such events required a high degree of coordination among block residents, an indication that individual blocks had social networks that were well enough developed to coordinate larger-scale activities. Archaeological evidence for neighborhood-level social activities includes the construction of *usu* (large mortars for producing the traditional pounded-rice dish *mochi*), sumo rings, baseball diamonds, and *ofuros* (traditional Japanese baths). Block residents constructed these facilities for at least some communal use. Both *ofuros* identified through site survey were located near the central bathhouse in public spaces, and from oral histories we know that a range of the block’s inhabitants used them and that they even drew residents from other blocks. Distinctive cultural features such as *mochi* pounders or *ofuros* appear to have been more common in blocks with high numbers of residents from rural areas and may have contributed to the creation of distinct block identities and unique sets of activities. The development of these additional shared facilities and the increase in social interaction between residents that organized activities fostered served to increase neighborhood identity.

As distinctive neighborhood activities and facilities developed, block identities were created as residents began to develop a sense of membership and belonging. While

many internees viewed the centrally located communal facilities in each block negatively because of their institutional flavor, they served as social arenas and helped foster neighborhood interaction. Social arenas can be defined as places where segments of a community gather for an event or an activity (Ferman and Kaylor 2001). In Amache and other camps, daily activities such as communal dining would have facilitated social interaction among block residents, increased the likelihood that a neighborhood would create an identity, and fostered collective organization among residents.

The presence of block-wide recreation facilities shows the development of social arenas outside the regular camp infrastructure. One baseball diamond has been identified archaeologically and archival evidence indicates that a number of blocks constructed fields for playing baseball and basketball and recreation areas such as playgrounds. These would have been social gathering places for block residents and would have functioned the way neighborhood parks and sports fields do in modern urban settings. One former internee, George Hirano, remembered that his residential block had one of the best baseball teams in the camp (personal communication, 2014). Memories such as this and mementos from the camp indicate the development of identification with a block-based group that created a sense of neighborhood pride and unity.

Oral histories from the camp also document the development of block identities through the existence of slang names for some blocks. Block 9L was commonly referred to as “Chinatown,” in reference to the more liberal behaviors of the block’s inhabitants

such as playing of music late at night.⁵ Fieldwork in the central area of this block uncovered a large communal garden that was perhaps lighted at night. Survey of the block identified further evidence of communal activities such as a fragment of a record album and even a few frames of commercially produced film. Based on these archival and oral historical sources, which identified unique block identities and sets of activities, we used survey data to see if they could be found in the archaeological material.

Artifact Patterns

Groupings or increased frequencies of certain artifact types are another indicator of the character of individual neighborhoods. Comparing survey data from four seasons showed that the artifact distributions among the blocks varied greatly (Appendix C: Maps of Residential Blocks Referenced). We selected four classes of artifacts for comparison: fragments of clear or aqua glass jugs, modified metal, marbles, and porcelain.

The production and consumption of alcohol was prohibited in camp, but sake appears to have been quite common (Slaughter 2006; Driver 2015). Commercially produced sake was available for purchase (at least for a time) from a drugstore in nearby Granada and internees could obtain passes to travel there (Harvey 2004). Vessels discovered at Amache with maker's marks of sake breweries are typically large aqua glass jugs with a lug handle, although a few clear glass examples exist as well. Oral histories indicate that some people brewed sake on site, and concentrations of artifacts potentially used in brewing operations have been recovered in several areas. Such items

⁵ Group interviews with former internees at Amache Reunion, 2009, DU Amache Project, notes on file at the Department of Anthropology, University of Denver.

include homemade strainers, bleach for cleaning equipment, and hoops from large barrels. While aqua jugs were definitely reused for this purpose, clear glass one-gallon jugs similar to the aqua sake jugs were likely also used. The presence of either clear or aqua glass lug-handled jug fragments may be an indicator of sake consumption or manufacture in a block.

A wide variety of modified metal objects have been recovered at Amache. The most common are tin cans modified by adding a handle or a puncture on the bottom or sides. Other objects such as homemade rug beaters made of wire, fishing nets made of window screen, and planters made of wash basins have also been found. Reusing and modifying metal may have been a response to the limited materials available in camp, to the economic hardship internees experienced, and to the need for objects to facilitate everyday activities (Swader 2015).

Marbles are one of the most ubiquitous object categories and were a popular toy remembered by most former internees. Younger residents played marble games and such games were a social activity that gathered groups of children together (Kamp-Whittaker 2010). Greater frequencies of marbles in a residential block may serve as an indicator of greater sociality among the children who lived in the block. Families with young children are often more attached to their neighborhoods in part because of the adult social interactions fostered by children's friendship groups (Comstock et al. 2010; Hunter 1979).

Porcelain, especially if imported from Japan, would have been an expensive commodity even before the war. It would have been impossible to purchase Japanese

porcelains (which make up the vast majority of porcelain sherds discovered at Amache) during the war (Skiles and Clark 2010). However, if residents had the resources to have personal goods shipped to them, they could supplement what they carried to the assembly centers. Oral histories suggest that internees transported porcelain to Amache when they were relocated. Unsure of the living conditions at assembly and relocation centers, families packed many basics, including dishes. Porcelain rice and tea bowls were recovered in many areas of the camp. These were important objects related to food consumption in culturally appropriate and familiar ways. Fragments of rice bowls are the most common porcelain artifacts found and are likely linked to rice consumption as a daily practice with spiritual overtones.

Each of the artifact categories we selected can be used to determine if an activity is present and for comparison across residential blocks (Table 3.2). Such distributions have been used in other urban contexts to demonstrate the existence of ethnic enclaves or distinct neighborhoods differentiated by access to materials, activities, or economics (Cheek and Friedlander 1990; Cheek and Seifert 1994; Mazrim 2013). Both blocks 7H and 8F demonstrated a disproportionately high percentage of modified tin cans (10.94 and 10.53 percent, respectively). Most residents of these blocks also came from more rural areas of northern California that were dominated by the farming industry. The intensive reuse of materials in these cases may be associated with the lower economic status of the residents in these blocks and a pre-camp history of reusing objects in farming activities.

Block 12H is a bit of an anomaly. Although its population largely derived from Los Angeles, it also has a relatively high percentage of modified cans (9.4 percent), although the overall number is actually quite low (3 artifacts). Because pierced cans often

held plants, the higher percentage may relate to the large number of trees located in the block. Like block 12H, most residents of block 12G were from Los Angeles. Both blocks yielded an abnormal number of porcelain fragments. Twenty-five percent of all individually documented artifacts in these two blocks were porcelain, compared to between 1 and 4 percent for the other blocks we analyzed. The residents of these blocks brought substantially more porcelain with them to Amache, they had the resources to have porcelain objects shipped to them, or they used these ceramics in a different manner. These quantities of porcelain are most likely indicative of the greater financial resources of the residents of blocks 12H and 12G before they were relocated and show that the residential grouping that occurred may have been based in part on social differences created by pre-camp economic status.

Distributions of glass jugs likely related to sake consumption are approximately even across a majority of the blocks, making up from 3.45 to 6.25 percent of total artifacts recorded. The exceptions are found in block 11G, which contained no evidence of sake production or consumption, and block 8F, which had a higher-than-average number of jugs. These blocks probably represent the extreme ends of the spectrum. Residents of block 8F may have been actively producing sake. Alcohol can be simultaneously socially disruptive and integrative. Amache fits the models seen in other communities under pressure, where solitary drinking can be problematic but social drinking taps into tradition and religion (Smith 2008). At Amache, sake consumption was associated with communal events such as weddings and the celebration of New Year's Day (Chang 1999). Because of the physical and administrative restrictions of camp

facilities and the requirements for brewing sake, it is very likely that producing sake was an activity that brought residents of a block together (Driver 2015).

Marbles at Amache are often recovered in areas that children likely frequented (Kamp-Whittaker 2010). Four of the blocks we surveyed had roughly similar percentages of marbles (ranging from 6.25 to 10.71 percent of total artifacts recorded) (Table 3.2).

Only blocks 9L and 11G had lower-than-average percentages of marbles. This indicates that children may not have been gathering socially in public areas as frequently in these blocks, potentially because of the number or ages of children living in the block.

Reductions in children’s sociality may also reflect decreased social interaction at a wider block level. Although the material evidence from Amache is not overwhelming, there are differences in the material composition of the blocks analyzed here. Such variation is indicative of distinct neighborhood identities.

Table 3.2. Counts of artifacts recovered in each residential block during pedestrian survey

Block	Marbles		Modified Metal		Glass Jugs		Porcelain		Other Artifact		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7H	16	8.33	21	10.94	7	3.65	2	1.04	146	76.04	192	100
8F	7	7.40	10	10.50	8	8.40	2	2.10	68	71.60	95	100
9L	2	2.30	3	3.45	5	5.75	3	3.45	74	85.05	87	100
11G	2	3.60	3	5.50	0	0.00	5	9.10	45	81.80	55	100
12G	3	10.70	1	3.60	1	3.60	7	25.00	16	57.10	28	100
12H	2	6.30	3	9.40	2	6.30	8	25.00	17	53.00	32	100

Note: The category “other artifact” captures all other artifact classes that were not singled out for analysis.

Landscaping

While Amache was a landscape of confinement, camp administrators and military police did not monitor most daily activities or compel internees to work at jobs in the camp. (Many chose to work, however, including those who populated the camp's police force, who reported to a white chief.) This situation provided internees with the time and opportunity to develop their own activities and their own social structure and to create landscape modifications to support and enhance daily life.

Anthropological explorations of place (e.g., Basso 1996; Low 2000) suggest that attachment to place is one of our most strikingly human behaviors. We are among those scholars who see sites of institutional confinement as particularly appropriate locales for testing the powers and limits of place making as a social strategy (Casella 2007; Helphand 2006). Although Japanese Americans imprisoned at Amache were living in a place they did not choose for an unknown length of time, they radically transformed their carceral landscape (Clark 2017b). Thus, some of the most striking archaeological evidence for block-level social organization are landscape features internees constructed.

During the construction of Amache, the native vegetation of the high plains of Colorado (sage brush, short grasses, and some cacti) was cleared, leaving an open and sandy plain. After the internees arrived, they began constructing landscape features in private areas, around their barracks, and in public spaces. These features included household vegetable gardens, shade trees, entryway gardens, and larger formal gardens (Clark 2011). Before the war, over 60 percent of Japanese Americans were employed in agriculture, as gardeners, or in agriculture-related businesses (Helphand 2006, 158). They used their skills and expertise at Amache to construct complex and successful gardens.

Such features had a transformative effect on the camp, as can be seen in historic photographs that show the rapid alteration of the landscape (Figure 3.5)

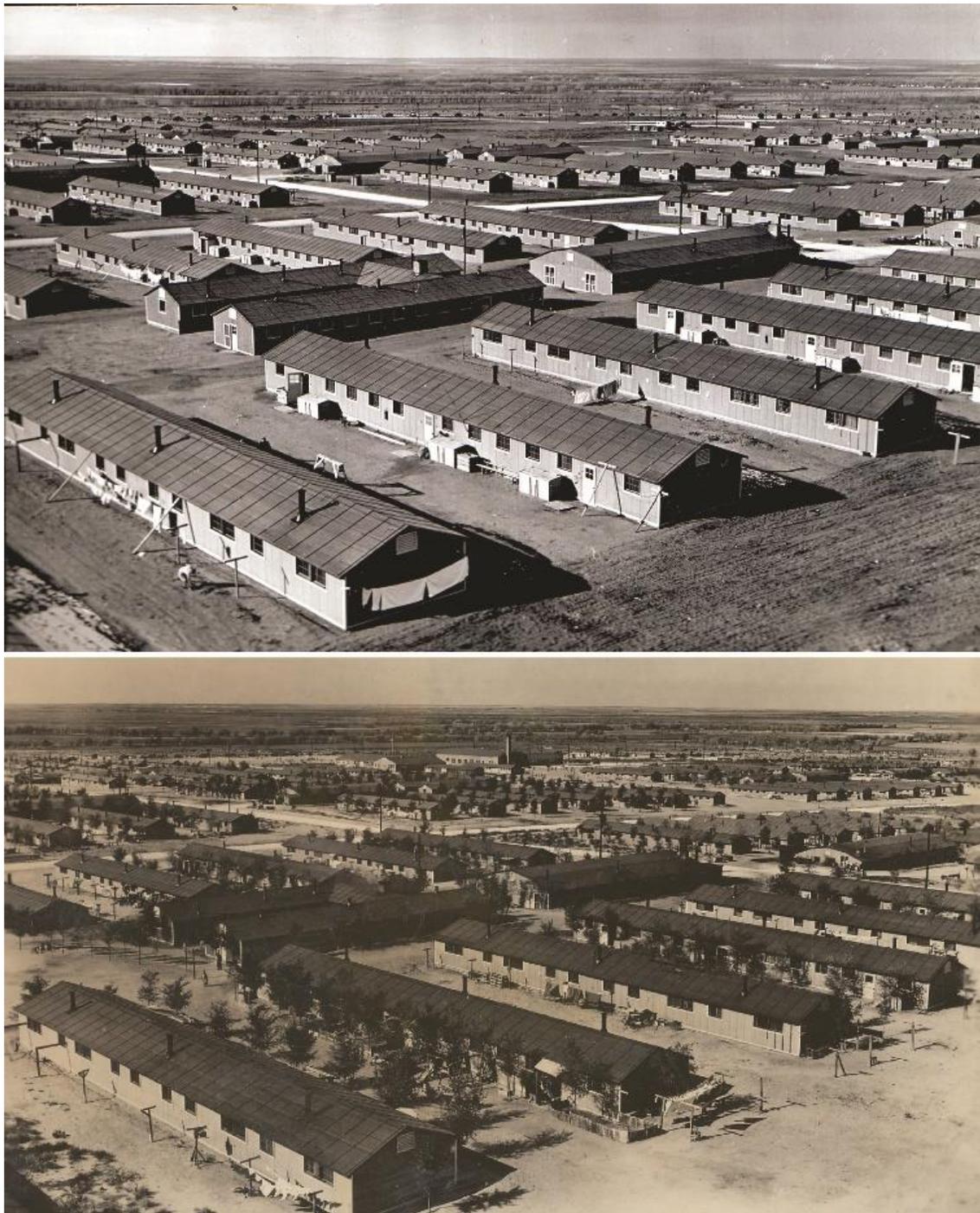


Figure 3.5: View of the same block at Amache when internees first arrived (left) and after internee landscaping efforts (right) Photographs courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society.

While all residential blocks had landscape features, the extent and coordination of these varied widely. During four seasons of survey, we recovered 160 landscaping features. In the residential blocks that we completely surveyed, we recorded an average of 9.4 landscaping features. Table 3.3 presents the number of landscaping features in the six focus blocks. Three types of neighborhood or block-level organization can be seen in these features: neighborhood-wide coordination of garden construction, sharing of resources, and imitation of styles and design. Each can be seen as an indication of social interaction and cohesion in the block.

Table 3.3. Total number of landscaping features identified during pedestrian survey in each residential block.

Block	Number of Landscaping Features
7H	19
8F	22
9L	22
11G	4
12G	5

Note: All landscaping features included here were created by internees and represent both household and communal landscape features.

Block 7H provides the most concrete example of coordinated block-wide design and implementation of garden features. It also had double the average number of landscaping features in the blocks we surveyed. Most barracks in block 7H had front-yard gardens planted with a regular arrangement of trees placed approximately two meters from the front of the barrack and located at regular intervals along the front of the barrack. This arrangement is so regular and systematic through twelve barracks that it had to have been intentionally planned and implemented. Such patterns indicate that block residents coordinated their labor. The presence of community landscape features in

several blocks supports the hypothesis of neighborhood-level organization. Here landscape features were constructed in public areas for use by multiple residents.

It is useful to compare the systematic scheme of block 7H with the landscaping of blocks 11G and 12G, where mostly residents from Los Angeles lived. Although both blocks had trees planted around the communal buildings, only block 12G also had quite a few trees planted in barrack entryways. Although such trees were common in block 12G, the placement was not nearly as consistent as in 7H. Oral history with a former resident of 12G whose family owned a nursery before the war reveals that landscaping in his block was both individual and communal.⁶ Mr. Shigekuni's older brother visited a local nursery to buy plants for the residents of the block. Although he purchased all the trees and a bale of peat moss (to increase the success of transplanting), each resident paid for, planted, and watered their own trees.

Areas around the co-op building, which was located in a public block in the center of camp, appear to have been landscaped with an arrangement of trees, planting beds, and a system of raised limestone walkways that provided access to buildings. This may have been a communal effort of the internees who worked at the co-op and the police headquarters. Residents of the neighboring block, 8F, coordinated the continuation of this walkway along the east-facing edge of their block, a major construction endeavor. The walkway is consistent with the overall commitment to communal facilities by the residents of block 8F, reflected both in the *usu* discussed earlier and their astonishing twenty-two recorded landscaping features. Centrally located landscape features have been

⁶ Thomas Shigekuni, interview with DU Amache personnel, 2011, on file at the Department of Anthropology, University of Denver.

found in several other locations. These range from gazebo-like structures with accompanying gardens in block 9L (another block with twenty-two landscaping features) to a large Japanese-style hill and pond garden in block 6H near the town hall. Public landscape features would have required coordination or agreement among residents and the effort of gathering or paying for materials. Once constructed, such features provided common gathering places and acted as social arenas that facilitated neighborhood social networks and group identities (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6: This page from a former internee's scrapbook captures both an identification with the other residents of her block (the 6H gang) and the amenities found in it. The hill and pond garden in block 6H provides the background for the group photograph and is also depicted in the hand-drawn sketch on the left. Courtesy of the family of Joy Takeyama Hashimoto (See Chapter 6, for a closer view of the photograph).

Communal gardens and individual landscape features in some blocks show heavy usage of and access to materials that would have been limited and available only to a few internees. Several blocks show increased access to building supplies such as concrete and cinder blocks. These materials would, at least initially, not have been easily accessible in large quantities and would primarily have been available to internees working on construction crews, where small amounts could be removed for personal use. In block 9L,

a distinctive gray cinder block was used to construct the large central garden, which featured two oval garden beds encircled with cinder blocks that had been carefully split to resemble basalt (Figure 3.7) The same cinder block was used in seven other landscaping features, some associated with specific barracks but others in public areas of the block. Only in block 9L was cinder block used this extensively, suggesting that a resident or group of residents had differential access to the material and shared the excess with their neighbors.



Figure 3.7. Oval garden bed in 9L as exposed during excavations, including split cinder-block wall and remains of tree planted in the center of the garden. Photograph courtesy of Bonnie Clark, 2008.

In other blocks, we have evidence of the sharing of resources, but in ways that led to landscape variability. In block 12H, test excavations revealed two very different

entryway gardens that faced one another across the pathway between barracks buildings. The garden in front of the Okumura's barrack followed traditional Japanese garden design. It was a *karesansui*, or dry garden, that was built using an asymmetrical arrangement made of concrete "islands" surrounded by a sea of gravel. The garden of their neighbors, the Hirotas, looked much more like an American-style front yard; it had planters set in the ground at right angles to the doorway. Although these gardens did not share much in aesthetics, they reveal similar strategies in terms of materials.

Although the Okumuras were in their 70s, they made extensive use of gravel from the Arkansas River, located three miles north of the camp, in their garden. The labor of procuring that gravel may have fallen to the Okumura's daughter or son-in-law, who lived in the barrack building to the north (the same one as the Hirotas). In their garden, the Hirotas ingeniously used broken water pipes buried with the collar up to mimic plant pots. These broken construction materials should have been disposed of outside of the camp but instead were used in 12H. Given that Mr. Hirota was in his mid-50s when he was in the camp, it is unlikely he had the kind of manual labor job that would have provided direct access to the pipes. It was likely a neighbor or friend who provided these materials to the Hirotas.

Other blocks demonstrate the repeated use of innovative or unique materials in landscape design. In block 7H, unburned coal was found around the bases of a number of trees in both public and residential garden contexts. Coal would have been a readily available resource, since the WRA provided it for the barrack stoves, the mess hall, and the bathhouses. However, it is not commonly used as a landscape material. Repetitious

use of coal by a number of residents in a block suggests that in some blocks neighbors imitated each other or shared design ideas and material uses.

Conclusion

Our focus on the development of community structures and neighborhoods at Amache is not intended to imply that residents considered this a home, which many did not (Arensberg 1942). Rather, we are interested in exploring how internees were able to negotiate the system in a way that retained some previously existing community networks or develop new ones centered on Amache's residential blocks, thus potentially mitigating some of the effects of removal. The impetus for this focus came from several seasons of survey, excavation, and oral history collection, during which we began to understand the importance of block-based community identity for many residents at Amache.

Narratives about communities and neighborhoods portray them as fragile and often in the process of forming and breaking apart (Garrioch and Peel 2006). While this may be true of interactions between individuals, our research on neighborhoods at Amache seems to show that larger networks of regional affiliation or cultural behavior are more difficult to fully disrupt and easier to resurrect in new settings. Relocation first to assembly centers and then internment camps fragmented the interpersonal networks of many internees. Residents of primarily nonJapanese American communities might have arrived with few friends or relatives, a more complete disruption of the neighborhood and communities that were formerly part of their daily activities. Yet significant portions of neighborhoods such as the Seinan in Los Angeles and the farming colonies of the Central Valley were relocated to Amache in groups. This left some networks of interaction intact

as neighboring residents were transferred together. This was likely the situation for the residents of blocks 9L, 12G, and 12H, which had high populations of residents from Los Angeles. Residents of other blocks worked hard to create ties among what were more dispersed formerly rural populations, as in blocks 7H and 8F. The archaeological remains in these blocks are evidence of significant physical investment in socially integrative practices. At Amache, residents mobilized larger-scale bonds of cultural behavior, geographic location, and urban or rural lifestyles after they were forcibly removed to foster the rapid development of social communities. The activities former internees discussed and that are represented by artifactual remains and landscaping features reveal numerous strategies for recreating human bonds in an inhumane place. The actions of internees at Amache suggest that when studying sites of removal we should consider the ways that communities actively worked to re-form and potentially contest the destabilizing effects of forced relocation.

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CHAPTER 4
SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBORHOOD
IDENTITIES IN AMACHE A WWII JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT
CAMP⁷

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Abstract: In 1942 Japanese Americans from the West Coast of the United States were forcibly relocated to incarceration camps scattered across the interior of the country. Constructed by the Army Corp of Engineers and designed to house around 10,000 individuals, these centers followed a rigid, gridded layout that allowed for the rapid construction of what were ostensibly cities. Residential sections were laid out in blocks, each containing barracks buildings to which internees were assigned on arrival. Four seasons of intensive pedestrian survey at the Granada Relocation Center National Historic Landmark, Colorado (also known as Amache), accompanied by extensive oral histories, has determined that these residential blocks became neighborhoods with

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individual character and personalities. Archaeological and archival data are used to examine the development of neighborhood identities and examine the relative utility of different data sets in identifying social interaction as a proxy for neighborhood identities. Archaeological research at Amache reveals the physical modifications and artifacts found in residential blocks. Distinct differences in densities and types of artifacts along with the development of coordinated blockwide landscaping and centrally located communal features show that internees were developing neighborhood-based communities. These indicate the role that new social relationships, developed within the confines of camp, along with the influences of existing social ties and sets of behavioral traits had on the formation of neighborhoods.

This chapter uses social network data drawn from historic newspapers to examine the levels of interaction occurring between residents of the same residential block and between different areas of the camp. Social network data will be used to explore the role that social interaction had in the creation and maintenance of neighborhood identities. These different lines of data converge to highlight how neighborhoods defined by distinct sets of activities and residential traits were being formed within the institutional setting of Amache.

Keywords: Social networks, Japanese American internment, Neighborhood

Japanese American internment in 1942 dismantled existing communities through the disruptive act of relocation to government-run confinement sites. The Granada Relocation Center National Historic Landmark, Colorado (also known as Amache) has been the focus of five years of intensive archaeological research by the University of

Denver (DU) Amache Project. Amache provides a unique archaeological case for understanding the processes of neighborhood formation because the detailed data on everyday social interactions within neighborhoods is visible archaeologically, in oral historical sources, and in archival sources. Amache was organized in residential blocks laid out in regimented fashion. Over time, these top-down administrative entities became neighborhoods with individual character and personalities that were fostered through the interactions of neighborhood residents.

Rather than focusing on specific types of interaction, this paper looks at interneer-driven mechanisms for the development of communities in a situation of social disruption. In a previous publication, the authors identified a set of neighborhoods with strong archaeological evidence of social interaction among residents (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark, 2019). In this chapter, we feature a contrasting group of blocks where there is limited archaeological data suggesting neighborhood identity. Using social network analysis conducted on period newspapers, we test our previous assumptions and the relative strengths of archaeological and archival data in identifying neighborhoods on the basis of interaction and activity. We also further explore the correspondence between residential blocks and neighborhoods.

Intensive surface survey as well as limited test excavation at Amache have revealed distinct differences in the densities and types of artifacts at the site, along with the development of coordinated landscaping and centrally located communal features within residential blocks. We interpret these as evidence for the development of neighborhood-based communities and suggest that blocks with higher numbers of

communal features and distinctive artifact patterns may be neighborhoods with identities and perhaps higher levels of interaction between residents. While archaeological evidence clearly captures activities that leave permanent traces it often fails to capture more ephemeral activities and is prone to interpretive biases about who and how public spaces are utilized.

Social network analysis is another method to measure and map the networks of relationships and levels of interaction between a block's residents (Brughmans 2010; Wasserman and Faust 1994). This is done through an analysis of archival newspapers to recreate places and activities that were drivers of social interaction. This method has the potential to identify aspects of a community's social interaction not preserved in the archaeological record, but it also comes with its own biases. Individuals, groups, and specific activity types are often overrepresented and archival data comes with its own inherent biases and interpretive challenges. A common-sense notion would suggest that residential blocks with strong archaeological evidence of internal social interaction should have more incidents of social interaction reflected in the social network data. To test this hypothesis, we have selected four blocks (our proxy for "neighborhoods") for analysis: two with strong archaeological evidence for neighborhood interaction and two without strong archaeological evidence for interaction. Social network data for each block, which consists of nodes representing neighborhood residents and ties representing shared activities, are correlated with archaeological evidence for the existence of neighborhoods as defined by artifacts and physical features. These different lines of data converge to highlight how successfully we can define neighborhoods based solely on archaeological data. The data also emphasize the central role that activities and

interactions with few physical traces might have played in the formation of neighborhood identities.

Archaeology of Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods have long been both a unit of analysis and topic of study in the social sciences, with the general consensus that they are an almost universal attribute of urban settlement (Smith 2010). The most common definitions of neighborhoods contain both social and spatial elements, recognizing that while a clearly defined boundary is necessary for their study, networks of relationships, associations, and patterns of use are also defining factors (Chaskin 1998). The spatial boundaries of neighborhoods at Amache are predefined by the existence of barracks blocks created prior to the arrival of internees (Casella 2007). It is rare to find cases where neighborhood residents had little or no say in the definition of any part of the spatial boundaries. Neighborhoods are more often natural communities influenced by factors of culture, ecology, or politics (Sampson 2003). Due to our interests in understanding how residents of Amache worked to form and create new neighborhoods within the confines and control of incarceration camps, we are drawing on Smith's (2010) definition of a neighborhood as a "residential zone that has considerable face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics" (139). Neighborhoods at Amache are spatially bounded areas where residents interacted through a variety of social forums to create unique group identities. Residential blocks are not inherently neighborhoods, rather they represent the spatially bounded areas that frequently become neighborhoods as social interactions develop among residents. It is through the development of block-based communities rooted in the modifications of space and coordination of social practices that these

residential blocks become neighborhoods. This definition allows us to identify the impact of our two defining data sources—archaeological and archival—in how we recognize and interpret the existence of neighborhoods in the archaeological record.

Methods for Identifying Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods are frequently defined archaeologically either through identification of distinct spatial boundaries or through detailed pattern analysis using artifacts or features. Since the spatial boundaries at Amache were clearly defined prior to the arrival of residents, we have focused our efforts on the identification of neighborhood identities as expressed through portable material culture and the development of communal landscape features. Identifying trends in material objects should allow for the differentiation of social groups or neighborhoods (Cheek and Seifert 1994; Mazrim 2013). Social interaction and neighborhood identity can also be seen archaeologically in the creation of communal spaces, physical features created for and potentially by neighborhood residents for their social activities (Ferman and Kaylor 2001; Lipe and Hegmon 1989; Talen 1999). These areas demonstrate sociability between residents of a neighborhood and serve as an indicator of group identity and communality; they are often visible archaeologically, as are neighborhood boundaries or shared consumption practices.

Historical Background: Japanese American Internment and Amache

In 1942, approximately 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent were forcibly relocated from the West Coast to incarceration camps located across the interior of the country. Although internment was a direct reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, this

policy was the culmination of years of racial discrimination. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, allowing the exclusion of any and all persons from designated areas along the West Coast and extending through parts of Arizona for the purposes of national security (Burton, Farrell, Lord, and Lord 1999; Ng 2002). Systematic mandatory “evacuation” began on March 29, 1942 and evacuees were transferred to temporary assembly centers to await permanent relocation (Ng 2002, 31) to a euphemistically named “relocation center” (Linke 2014). A civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) managed the relocation effort and coordinated the construction and management of 10 relocation centers placed in remote areas (Figure 4.1). Amache, located in Prowers County Colorado, was the smallest of the ten camps and housed around 10,000 individuals during its three years of operation.



Figure 4.1. Map of the United States showing the location of the 10 primary internment camps and the exclusion area. Image courtesy of Anne Amati.

Amache was built based on specifications provided by the War Department and constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers. A mile square central core included an administrative area containing WRA offices, public service facilities, and facilities for the military personnel that guarded the camp. A much larger portion was devoted to residential barracks and primary services for the internees. Surrounding the barbed-wire fenced central core were fields and other agricultural facilities in which internees were employed raising foodstuffs for the camp.

At Amache, the residential area was divided into 34 blocks separated by a system of streets. Each block was given a letter and number designation, such as block 7H (Simmons and Simmons 2004). The internee area contained 29 residential blocks which included a block for the elementary school, two for the high school, an empty block, and a block which served as a commercial and public area (Figure 4.2). Blocks were grouped in clusters of 4 with empty areas separating each neighborhood but no physical barriers. Approximately 250–400 people lived in a block, although that population fluctuated with time and between neighborhoods. Each residential block contained 12 barracks divided into 6 living units, a recreation hall (which often housed a range of community services), a mess hall, and a building that combined latrines, showers, and laundry. Residential blocks were designed to contain the essential services needed for residents' primary daily activities.

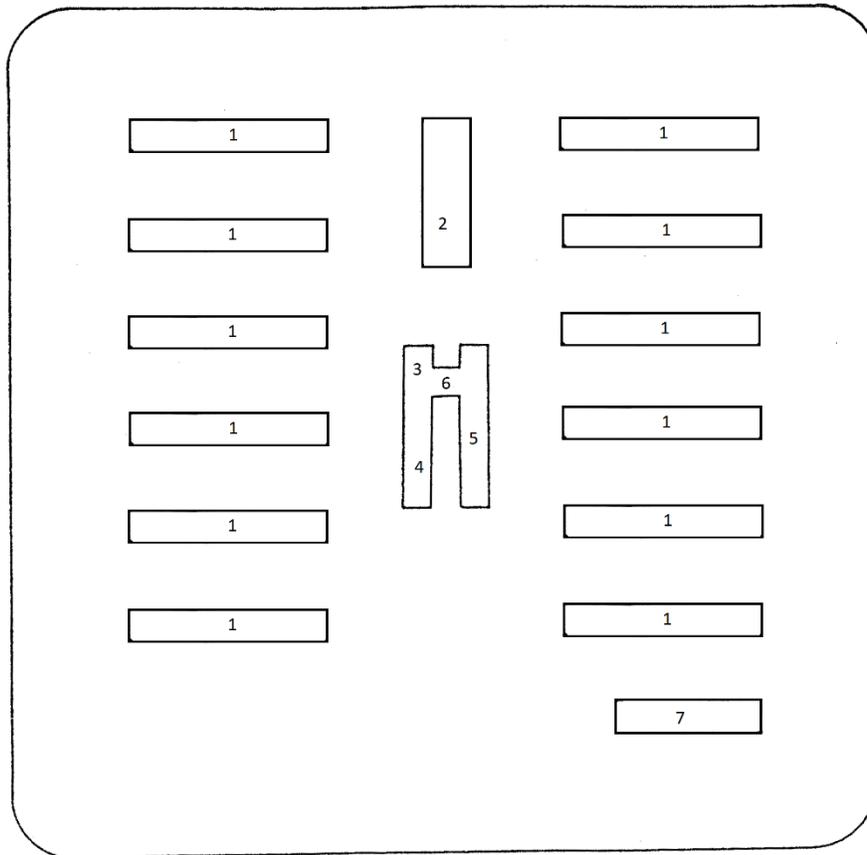


Figure 4.2. Layout of a typical residential block with centrally located facilities and housing along the sides (Simmons and Simmons 1994): (1) Barracks; (2) Mess Hall; (3) Women’s Latrine; (4) Men’s Latrine; (5) Laundry Room; (6) Heater Room; (7) Recreation Hall.

Once internees arrived at Amache they began altering the social and physical landscape. Extensive community activities developed to foster interaction across the site and simulate life outside the confines of the incarceration camp. Activities ranged from classes on art or job skills to dances, sports clubs, and the development of large, community-wide enterprises including festivals and an internee-run cooperative store. The construction of physical facilities by internees bolstered these activities. Physical facilities were located predominantly in the residential blocks. While some facilities, such as community gardens or playgrounds, served only individual neighborhoods, others, like

sports fields, catered to the larger internee community. Developing both a rich social environment and physical facilities to support that environment demonstrates the formation of community ties at both a camp wide and neighborhood scale (Starke 2015).

Neighborhood Data from Amache

A total of 18 residential blocks have been surveyed and fully recorded over the course of five field seasons at Amache. A 2003 cultural resource survey (Carrillo and Killam 2004) had previously recorded the extent of building foundations and larger features. Subsequent field work has consisted of intensive pedestrian survey using two meter spacing to locate the presence of artifacts that are potentially diagnostic for specific behaviors, activities, or groups of residents and to document the existence of landscape features (Clark, Garrison, and Swader 2012; Driver and Clark 2015). For the purposes of this chapter, we have examined four residential blocks. Two of these blocks (7H and 9L), included in a previous study, have numerous archaeological indicators of social interaction in the form of both communal landscape features and diagnostic artifacts. Here we compare them to two blocks (8K and 9H) that exhibit little or no archaeological evidence of neighborhood-based social activity.

Neighborhood Profiles

During survey, crews in 7H and 9L noticed distinct differences in the types of artifacts recovered or landscape features that made these blocks stand out from others at Amache. A block dominated by residents from more rural agrarian communities, 7H, had an astoundingly large number of objects modified to serve a new function by internees. These ranged from cans with holes punched in the bottom to rug beaters made from

salvaged wire. While many blocks at Amache have artifacts of reused and salvaged materials, the quantity and diversity of such artifacts found at 7H made this block unique and indicate that residents were engaging in a neighborhood wide pattern of artifact reuse and modification. In addition, an unusually high number of marbles and children's toys were found in 7H. Gardens found in front of each barrack are also laid out in a regimented pattern with systematically arranged trees running the length of each barrack. Near the mess hall in a public area, evidence of an *ofuro*, a traditional Japanese-style bath, also was found. Artifactual evidence combined with unique landscape features created the impression that residents of 7H were engaging in activities not occurring in other blocks (Haas, Starke, Clark, and Kamp-Whittaker 2017).

Neighborhood 9L has a unique location at Amache. It is further east than the other residential blocks and situated on a natural rise. Residents of this block were almost all from the Los Angeles area. Oral histories suggest many internees knew at least some of their fellow 9L residents prior to internment. Artifacts recovered from the 9L neighborhood were generally unremarkable, with the exception of several interesting isolates recovered near a tree north of the mess hall. These included light bulb glass, fragments of at least one sake jug, and a piece of an audio record (Driver and Clark 2015). These mirror oral histories collected from residents of 9L who noted that this block was known throughout camp for its somewhat raucous gatherings, which earned the block its nickname, "Chinatown." Two large oval gardens were recorded near the mess hall, and the archival record indicated that a gazebo and playground—not visible archaeologically—had originally been constructed nearby, indicating significant community investment into areas for social activities.

Blocks 8K and 9H were selected because, unlike 9L or 7H, there was little archaeological evidence of social interaction. Selecting these blocks allowed us to test the different utilities of archival and archaeological methods in identifying evidence of social interaction. Like 9L, residents of 8K were predominantly from the Los Angeles area. However, this block had little archaeological evidence of neighborhood unity among its residents. Artifactual evidence and communal landscape features were lacking. The only evidence of communal landscape features recovered archaeologically were two large dumps, one on the east side of the block where it abuts an unused buffer area and the other in a ravine to the north. However, the presence of the dumps does indicate some neighborhood-level agreement on the disposal of household trash. In an interview conducted after fieldwork, a former resident recalled several substantial community features on the southern edge of the block that were not identified during survey. These include a gazebo, a basketball court, and a baseball field. This recollection indicates that the archaeological data did not fully capture the extent of neighborhood identity and interaction.

Block 9H provides an interesting contrast to 7H in that many of the residents were also from more rural communities and probably engaged in farming or agricultural activities. However, unlike in 7H, no large garden or landscape features, and only a few smaller household gardens were identified. Indeed, Block 9H yielded little indication of social interaction in the modification of public spaces. A large concrete *usu*, Japanese style mortar used to pound rice for making mochi, was found near a barrack. From oral histories, written accounts, and historic images we know that mochi-making is commonly a group activity since it requires extensive labor and skill. This is one of only two *usūs*

that have been recovered at Amache, and it indicates both the presence of traditional Japanese activities and group cooperation in those activities. Clearly, 9H had some level of interaction and social coordination, even if it is not as readily visible in the archaeological data.

Data Analysis

Two aspects of the neighborhoods serve as focal points in this chapter: Physical evidence provided by patterns in the location artifacts and internee-constructed features, and the extent and diversity of social interaction occurring in the block.

The four blocks sampled here allowed us to control for the idea, previously tested (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark, 2019), that neighborhood composition might have had an impact on the level of interaction between residents. In all of the neighborhoods selected for this study a majority of residents are from a similar geographic region in California, eliminating the possibility that differences in place of origin might have impacted socializing (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Percentage of urban or rural residents for each neighborhood (the residential block at Amache). Determinations of urban or rural residence is based on archival data recording form which communities internees were evacuated. Communities with the largest concentration of residents in a neighborhood are indicated as the dominant place

Neighborhood	% Urban	% Rural	Dominant Place
7H	8%	92%	Walnut Grove - 22%
8K	74%	26%	Los Angeles - 72%
9H	6%	94%	Livingston - 37%
9L	80%	20%	Los Angeles - 69%

Archaeological data analysis

Based on our previous research, we have identified four artifact types affiliated with specific consumption patterns and social activities: clear or aqua glass jug fragments, modified metal, marbles, and porcelain. Aqua glass and either clear or aqua glass lug-handled jug fragments may be an indicator of *sake* consumption or manufacture in a block. While *sake* was available commercially in limited quantities, there is evidence that the creation of homebrew was an important social activity (Driver 2015; Slaughter 2006). Brewing would have required the participation of multiple individuals, and once brewed, *sake* consumption further facilitated social interaction. Modification of artifacts was quite common at Amache and probably was a response to the limited materials available in camp, the economic hardship experienced by internees, and the need for objects to facilitate everyday activities (Swader 2015). While their presence in a block does not directly indicate social interaction, it can demonstrate similarities in the consumption and economics of residents. Porcelain also acts as an indicator of consumption or economic practices since it would have had to be imported prior to the war and transported to Amache (Skiles and Clark 2010). It may also be indicative of certain traditional foodways practiced in camp, such as the serving of tea (Shew 2010; Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013), which acted as indicators of shared values and potentially economic status. Marbles are one of the more ubiquitous artifacts, and higher quantities may indicate higher levels of sociality among younger residents of the block (Kamp-Whittaker 2010). Comparison of the frequency of the artifacts between the blocks helps assess differences in behaviors related to the consumption of these classes of artifacts.

Even though artifacts recovered from the four blocks do not demonstrate any distinct trends, there are subtle variations (Table 4.2). The quantity of modified artifacts and marbles recovered from 7H and 9L are higher than average (10.94 and 9.7% vs. 8.3 and 6.4% respectively) for the sampled neighborhood blocks. Block 9H and 9L both have higher numbers of aqua glass and jugs (5.75 and 6.4% respectively), while 9H contained less porcelain than the other blocks (0%). Block 8K is interesting in that no artifact categories are overrepresented and, in fact, the counts for all four classes are underrepresented in comparison to the other blocks in the sample. In sum, artifactual data from three of our sample blocks do suggest certain activities could have facilitated increased interaction, but the evidence is not overwhelming.

Table 4.2. Artifact counts and percentages organized by neighborhood block for each class analyzed

Block		Materials					Total
		Marbles	Modified	Glass Jugs	Porcelain	Other Artifact	
7H	Count	16	21	7	2	146	192
	Percent of Total	8.33	10.94	3.65	1.04	76.04	100
8K	Count	1	0	5	6	151	163
	Percent of Total	1	0	3.1	3.7	92.2	100
9H	Count	2	3	2	0	23	30
	Percent of Total	6.4	9.7	6.4	0	77.5	100
9L	Count	2	3	5	3	74	87
	Percent of Total	2.3	3.45	5.75	3.45	85.05	100

Next, we examined the extent of physical features constructed by internees within the blocks. Since Amache and all other Japanese American internment camps were constructed under the authority and management of the War Relocation Authority, the internal structure of each block was regimented and identical at the time it was initially occupied. Modifications to the physical landscape were created by neighborhood residents. At Amache, the WRA appears to have exacted little control on the daily activities and internal organization of residents' actions within the confines of the internment camp. While access to materials was somewhat limited, there was no direct oversight in monitoring neighborhood residents as they constructed communal features. Many of these features are located in central and public areas in the neighborhoods or encompass large portions of the neighborhood (Clark 2011). These features, in particular, appear to have required some level of agreement and collaboration among the neighborhoods' residents. Communal features identified during systematic survey of each neighborhood are used as indicators of social interaction at a neighborhood scale. Such shared spaces are accepted as markers of community and would have created areas for residents to socialize while also requiring social agreement among residents in their construction and maintenance.

For each block, we looked at two classes of landscape features: personal and communal. Our inclusion of personal landscape features, predominantly represented by household gardens, provides an understanding of the overall level of internee-constructed features recovered in each block. Communal landscape features are those either constructed by a group or that served multiple members of the neighborhood. Blocks with

both higher numbers and greater diversity of communal features appear to have had more opportunities to foster neighborhood interaction. Communal landscape features were predominantly recovered in blocks 7H and 9L, contributing to their initial identification as areas with neighborhood identities (Table 4.3). These blocks, especially 7H, demonstrate both a higher number and greater diversity of communal landscape features. In contrast, blocks 8K and 9H have limited numbers of communal features and those that are present are dominantly dumps. Blocks 8K and 9H both have fewer household gardens in comparison to 9L and 7H, indicating that perhaps these neighborhoods were investing less heavily in physical modification of the landscape.

Table 4.3. Counts of archaeological features identified during survey in each neighborhood block. Data is divided by household-level features of communal features with the types and diversity noted

Neighborhood	Landscape Features			
	Personal	Personal Type	Community	Community Type
7H	13	Barrack Gardens	6	Dump -2, Ofuro-1, Gardens - 3,
8K	4	Barrack Gardens	2	Dump -2
9H	5	Barrack Gardens	1	Usu
9L	12	Barrack Gardens- 2, Walls -2	9	Garden - 7, Walls - 2

Social network analysis

At Amache, the recent history of the site provides an extensive archival record to aid in the identification of neighborhoods. We have begun conducting a social network analysis of interactions between neighborhood residents using articles from the camp newspaper, the *Granada Pioneer*. Published between 1942 and 1945, the *Pioneer* was

written by internees and widely circulated at Amache (Harvey 2004). The *Pioneer's* primary focus is the incarceration center itself, and articles provide a detailed record of camp events, the locations where they occurred, and names of participants. Indeed, critical discourse analysis of the *Pioneer* suggests that, in many ways, it functioned much like any American hometown newspaper (Gebhard 2015). Network data presented here were gathered by sampling every third edition of the paper (DENSHO Digital Archive) and using articles that contain at least two or more participant names (See Appendix D Network Data and Activity Coding for additional methods discussion).

The names of each participant, the event type, and location of the event were recorded and participant names correlated to a site-wide residential directory to identify the block where they resided. Using this dataset, we can see how many other neighborhoods or residents of their own neighborhood an individual was interacting with and where these interactions took place. This generates detailed quantitative data comparable to the archaeological evidence to see if patterns of activity visible archaeologically are reflected in the social network data. For each of the blocks included in this study we used this data to generate an ego-centered network where we looked only at the ties directly connected to each block rather than at the network structure of the whole site. This allowed us to focus on the interactions of block residents with each other.

To calculate our network findings for this chapter, we focused solely on instances where network data for Amache indicated that two or more residents of the same block were involved in a social interaction. These interactions could occur in their

neighborhood of residence or anywhere in Amache. Our interest was in documenting cases of interaction between co-residents fostered through different types of social activities that might not have left a strong material record. We recorded the total number of interactions for each block regardless of who was involved, the total number of interactions that involved two or more individuals from the block, the total number of individuals from each block captured in the network data, and the number of interactions that occurred in a block between co-residents (Table 4.4). This data capture method, although not the most refined, allowed us to standardize the number of interactions occurring in each neighborhood based on how active it was in larger camp-wide activities.

Table 4.4. Data generated by the social network analysis for each neighborhood block

	Interaction by Neighborhood			
	7H	8K	9H	9L
Total interaction events	202	326	672	101
Interaction events between residents	43	91	379	7
Number of individual participants	15	27	34	6
Number of events in the block	0	1	1	0
% of interactions occurring between residents	21%	28%	56%	14%

Archaeological evidence leads us to expect that residents of Blocks 7H and 9L might have higher levels of internal social interaction. In contrast, Blocks 8K and 9H, with fewer archaeological indicators of social interaction, should have correspondingly

less evidence of internal neighborhood interaction in the network data. Yet, residents of Blocks 8K and 9H, blocks with limited archaeological evidence of social interaction, were some of the most active at Amache. Residents of these neighborhoods participated in a high number of social interactions involving residents of other neighborhoods and took part in a large number of social interactions involving at least two or more residents of the neighborhood. Moreover, Blocks 8K and 9H were the only blocks sampled where we found documentation of a social event located in a block and also organized and attended by its residents. In both cases, these social events were dances or fetes organized to support younger male residents who had enlisted in the military. Coverage of these dances by the *Pioneer* might also account for the higher number of interactions recorded for these neighborhoods. Blocks 7H and 9L, each of which showed strong archaeological evidence for social interaction, exhibited a fairly high percentage of interaction events involving multiple block residents, although not as high as 8K and 9H.

At first glance, it would appear that the social network data contradicts our physical data; the blocks with the most evidence for community identity reveal less interaction between residents. What our work indicates is that each type of data predicts certain types of social interactions and fail to capture the presence of others.

Archaeological data alone is not a definitive indicator of the presence or absence of social interaction at a neighborhood scale and cannot capture the variation in types of activities that helped form neighborhood identities. Each source provides a unique line of evidence for the range of activities that contributed to the development of neighborhoods within Amache but also contains inherent biases in the types of activities captured and types of individuals participating. For example, our network data are biased toward specific

activity types, such as participation in clubs or dances. This means that some types of social interactions and the gender or age of those participants may be heavily over-represented while more mundane activities captured in the archaeological record are excluded. A good example is the activities of younger children in camp. Several children playing marbles together will not make the newspaper and so these activities and social group will be underrepresented. Perhaps more to the point, the brewing and consumption of *sake*, which was against camp rules, was kept out of the camp media despite its ubiquity (Driver 2015).

Groups and activities less likely to contribute visibly to the archaeological record may be captured in the network analysis allowing us to consider their role in the processes of neighborhood formation. Our network analysis for blocks 8K and 9H, demonstrates that involvement in social activities outside of the neighborhood was an important source of interaction between residents. Oral histories allow us to conclude that the archaeological data has not always reliably captured the existence of more ephemeral modifications to the physical environment that would have acted as loci of interaction and required initial neighborhood cooperation or consensus in their development. Utilizing social network data in conjunction with archaeological data provides a more nuanced, and at times contradictory, picture of the process of neighborhood formation at Amache. This is not to say that archaeology failed to find neighborhoods at Amache; rather that our methods need to be refined to better capture subsets of populations and recognize the role that more ephemeral or episodic events play in the development of neighborhood identities.

Conclusion

The case of Amache demonstrates that drawing on multiple lines of evidence to define neighborhoods and considering more ephemeral and intangible processes provides a more nuanced understanding of the kinds of neighborhoods that would have existed in past communities. Using archaeological and social network data in tandem demonstrates both the central importance of neighborhoods at Amache and the multiple processes at work in their creation and maintenance. Amache is a site built quickly, occupied and modified intensively, and then abandoned. Initially defined by the spatial boundaries established in the site's creation, residential blocks were transformed into neighborhoods defined by social interactions between residents.

Because it was occupied in living memory and was extensively documented, we can draw on lines of data that are not typical for archaeological investigations. Those lines of data complicate the picture of neighborhoods at Amache. We believe that some blocks leveraged existing social ties while others used modification of the physical landscape or engagement in social activities as ways to foster increased cohesion amongst residents and transform a neighborhood defined by space into one defined by community. Although the nature and existence of these neighborhoods cannot be wholly captured in a single data source—archaeological, archival, or oral historical—our research demonstrates that by using both traditional archaeological methods in tandem with social network analysis we were able to identify multiple methods employed by internees and groups involved in the creation of neighborhoods.

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CHAPTER 5
DIASPORA AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IN A WORLD WAR II JAPANESE
AMERICAN INCARCERATION CENTER⁸

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Abstract:

Social network data demonstrates how communities and individuals responded to changes in existing social structures, such as those caused by diasporic movements. Japanese American internment represents a forced diaspora as incarceration altered existing social structures within a community. Network data from the Granada Relocation Center (Amache) in Southeastern Colorado demonstrate the social ties fostered by internees through participation in sporting activities. The importance of previous community membership in the development of social ties is seen in a social network analysis of sport team members. Network data is correlated to archaeological evidence for the prevalence of sporting facilities at the site and their role in the development of community membership and social interaction among a diasporic population.

Keywords:

Social network analysis, resettlement, neighborhood, diaspora, Japanese American Internment

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Introduction:

Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Roosevelt signed executive order 9066 in 1942. This created a legal precedent for the forced removal of approximately 120,000 individuals of Japanese descent from their homes along the West Coast. This forced diaspora dispersed the relatively concentrated population of Japanese Americans from their homes on the West Coast across multiple new population hubs in the form of incarceration centers. The event marked the beginning of a larger scale diaspora during and immediately following WWII as members of the West Coast Japanese American community moved from incarceration centers to areas outside the exclusion zone.

Diasporas scatter once concentrated populations with shared social ties over a wider area, raising the question how does the spread of these populations affect the function of previously existing social networks? Migratory movements of a population for voluntary economic, political or social reasons along with forced dispersal are all defined as diasporas as long as these populations share a real or imagined connection to an original homeland, like the strong ties found in the pre-war Japanese American population (Tsuda 2012). Social relationships that exist between members of a diasporic population are central to maintaining a sense of ethnic and community identity. Japanese American incarceration centers can serve as a case study in how communities forcibly separated through the process of removal, first to temporary detention centers and then incarceration centers, negotiated and attempted to maintain existing social networks. As archaeologists using material evidence of shared practices or community spaces, we see

one component of social interaction, but are often challenged to identify or consider the impact of intangible activities and social bonds.

Using demographic and archival data from the Granada Relocation Center National Historic Landmark, referred to here by its more common nickname Amache, a WWII incarceration center in southeastern Colorado, I examine how social groups were formed and maintained as individuals moved in stages between communities in California, detention centers, and internment centers and consider how diasporic social ties may be visible in the archaeological record. Social networks refer to the connections or relationships made between individuals when they interact with each other (Kadushin 2012). In this dissertation, data on participation in sporting events is used as a proxy for larger networks and as an example of interaction between community members. Here, network data are used to examine how social networks formed at different stages of a forced diaspora are maintained: I examine whether members of sports teams formed at temporary detention centers continue to play as a team following their move to Amache, how frequently members of a team are from the same community or area in California, and how sports teams at Amache facilitated the development of new social networks. An analysis of the importance of previous community membership on current social interactions among relocated populations may provide insight into archaeological evidence of social activities and consumption practices.

Data presented in this paper were collected at Amache, one of 10 government-run relocation run centers created to house Japanese Americans during WWII. Although officially called relocation centers, these facilities meet the definitional standards for a concentration camp and are currently referred to by a range of terms including

concentration, incarceration, and interment centers (Daniels 2005; Himel 2015). At Amache the term generally agreed upon by members of the community is internment or incarceration center and, except when the historic concept is being referenced, these terms will be used interchangeably to refer to Amache. Amache is located in Southeastern Colorado and the University of Denver has been conducting an archaeological research project there since 2008. This site has a rich archaeological and archival record, which facilitates the application of social network analysis to the archaeological record.

Previous Community Structures

Creating a picture of what previous communities were like facilitates understanding the impact of diaspora on a community. The experiences of individuals of Japanese descent both prior to and during internment appear to vary based on which type of community they originated from (Embree 1945; Miyamoto 1942), and this would have changed their experience of the diaspora by altering the existing social networks in which they participated. Japanese Americans along the West Coast resided in both larger urban areas and more rural and agrarian communities. Within these urban and rural population centers, there also existed a further divide. Some communities housed large Japanese American populations with numerous social institutions while others had smaller populations or even individual families.

The distinction between urban and rural residents was part of the community dynamics that developed at Amache and former incarcerated reference it as determining certain types of social interactions, especially among teenagers and younger children

(Harvey 2004; Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019a). Both oral histories and archival documents record the existence of youth gangs whose membership was based on the urban/rural community divide (Embree 1945; Nakahira 2008). Who you attended a dance with, socialized with, and even lived near at Amache was in part dictated by the community you originated from. This evidence indicates both the integration of existing social ties into the daily activities of Amache's residents but also the role that previous community membership had on the social life in the center.

Many Japanese American communities developed in the agricultural areas of California, which were heavily settled by Japanese Americans who worked as agricultural labor, leased, or owned land where they operated farms. Areas like the Sacramento Valley, where a number of towns such as Colusa, Yolo, and Yuba City (all represented by internees at Amache) or farming colonies such as Livingston near Merced were known for their Japanese American populations and agricultural produce (Administration 1957; Matsumoto 1993). Los Angeles was one of the large urban centers with a concentrated Japanese American population on the West Coast, including a *Nihonmachi* or Japantown that acted as a cultural and economic hub (Modell 1977), and the home of a significant portion of Amache's residents.

Finally, there were Japanese American families who worked or lived in urban and rural areas of the West Coast with small dispersed populations of Japanese Americans. Residents of these communities lacked social venues for establishing ties with the local Japanese American community (Miyamoto 1942). They were also more likely to attend Buddhist temples or cultural events in neighboring communities (Neiwert 2015). As a

result, original social ties they had within the Japanese American community were less likely to have been relocated with them during the forced diaspora.

Residents at Amache who came from areas with large or concentrated Japanese American populations had access to multiple social institutions within their communities. Associations and organizations developed by the Japanese American community such as language schools, religious centers, cultural festivals, and sports teams were an important aspect of social life and helped provide support for Japanese Americans (Lukes and Okihiro 1985; Yoo 2000; Matsumoto 2014), both through the coordination of services and by providing a venue for interaction (Kitano 1976; Smith 2008). Participation in shared community events or organizations fostered the development of social ties among community members (Fugita and OBrien 2011) and was important in creating and maintaining cultural and social identities (Regalado 2013). These communities were often incarcerated at the same detention, and then internment center, allowing for the retention of community ties and organizations (Spicer et al. 1969).

General Background on Japanese American Incarceration

The forced removal and incarceration of the Japanese American population along the West Coast began on February 19, 1942 with the signing of Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The bombing of Pearl Harbor was used as an explanation and catalyst to justify this incarceration, which was the culmination of years of racial discrimination. Executive Order 9066 allowed the exclusion of any and all persons from designated areas for the purposes of national security (Burton et al. 1999;

Ng 2002), thereby creating a framework for Japanese Americans to either “voluntarily” relocate outside of the exclusion zone or be forcibly relocated.

Initially the West Coast was divided into two zones and the Japanese American population was encouraged to move to more inland areas out of the “prohibited zone (Harvey 2004:30).” In an effort to avoid being removed from the state, approximately 9,000 individuals who had the ability to move did so (Burton et al. 1999:32). This began the disruption of community ties as people began relocating to other communities, although these were often areas where other social ties (especially extended family) existed. Mandatory “evacuation” began on March 29th, 1942 and encompassed an area extending from Washington State through parts of Arizona. Instruction notices were posted in neighborhoods and communities telling people when and where to assemble and what to bring (Burton et al. 1999).

Temporary Detention centers

The first stage in the forced removal of individuals of Japanese descent from the West Coast was relocation into government-run assembly centers, more accurately termed temporary detention centers. These centers were established by the military to house evacuees until more permanent incarceration centers could be established (Ng 2002:31). Public facilities with large open spaces, such as the Santa Anita Racetrack, were hastily modified to serve as housing, creating inhospitable living conditions which lacked all but the most basic necessities (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997; Hosokawa 1969). Each center served a designated geographic area, meaning that individuals living in one town were normally evacuated at

the same time and sent to the same center (Matsumoto 1993). For example, residents of Livingston, California were relocated to the Merced Assembly center. This mass removal to the same temporary detention center means that although social networks that extended outside of the immediate geographic area were disrupted, many community-based networks remained roughly intact (Fugita and Fernandez 2004), although they became disassociated from their points of reference, such as the social organizations or locations where these interactions took place.

Most residents of Amache were initially removed from their homes to the Santa Anita or Merced temporary detention centers. Exceptions to this come from two later influxes of internees moved to Amache from the incarceration centers of Jerome in Arkansas and Tule Lake in California. Incarcerates from these centers had been initially sent to the Fresno, Pinedale, Marysville or Sacramento temporary detention centers.

Each temporary detention center was unique in its layout and the ability of incarcerates to self-organize. However, at all the detention centers incarcerates attempted to improve living conditions both through physical modifications to the environment, such as planting gardens or modifying living quarters, and through the development of social organizations or activities (Burton et al. 1999). These included the creation of sports teams such as baseball (Harvey 2004:44; Regalado 2013). The self-organization that occurred within the temporary detention centers speaks to both the abilities of the Japanese American community to mobilize existing social ties and provides insight into how new ties may have developed as community members were forced to cooperate and share communal facilities. Although intended as impermanent housing, internees resided

in these temporary detention centers for up to 4 months before being transferred to an incarceration center where most would remain until the end of the war in 1945.

Movement into and between camps

To transfer management of the internee population away from the military, the federal government formed the War Relocation Authority (WRA), a civilian agency. The WRA managed the relocation effort and coordinated the construction and oversight of Amache and most other relocation centers. The WRA had oversight of 10 incarceration centers across the country, most located in remote areas (Figure 5.1). Once construction was almost completed, internees were moved to one of the incarceration centers where they left military custody and entered the custody of the War Relocation Authority (WRA). Amache opened in September of 1943 and was the smallest of the 10 centers housing approximately 10,000 individuals during its 3 years of operation.

At Amache there is evidence that incarcerated were able to exert some influence over where they were placed on their arrival in the incarceration centers (Harvey 2004:76). As noted in the memoir of a former Amachean, “we three families stood together in the same spot and were pushed as a group with our baggage onto the open truck which had come to take us to the station. All three families were to be placed in the 8F Block ... (Hirano 1983).” Thus neighbors were able to cluster based on their geographic point of origin. Multiple blocks at Amache exhibit high levels of regional grouping where households from a single city or geographic area dominated the block (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019a). As time progressed and the center filled, later

arrivals had fewer choices, increasing the presence of diverse residential blocks and exacerbating the diasporic impacts of removal.



Figure 5.1. Map showing the extent of the exclusion zone, highlighted in grey, and the removal zones for incarcerated sent to Amache. The locations of the 10 incarceration centers are identified as are temporary detention centers. Map by the author.

Amache’s population during the three years it was in operation was not stagnant. While a majority of the population arrived in 1942 there was a constant movement of people in and out of the center. In 1943, the first of two large-scale transfers of internees occurred when the Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas closed, and some internees transferred to Amache. In one of the most controversial acts of internment, internees were asked to fill out a misguided and confusing loyalty questionnaire. Individuals who failed to provide the correct answers, as defined by the government, were deemed disloyal to

the United States and sent to Tule Lake in California. A small number of families and individuals deemed “disloyal” based on their answers to the questionnaire were transferred from Amache to Tule Lake and a larger number of “loyal” internees from Tule Lake were moved to Amache (Harvey 2004). These new arrivals were integrated into Amache and placed in empty apartments. Beginning in 1942 internees could also apply for temporary leave to work outside of Amache and relocate permanently to areas outside of the exclusion zone. This continued movement between internment centers and resettlement to other parts of the country meant that the center always had a dynamic population.

Camp layout and function

Amache was built based on specifications provided by the War Department and constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers and hired contractors. Amache was composed of a large residential area that contained barracks and primary services for the internee population and a second smaller section which contained an administrative area, a hospital, motor pool, and residences for center personnel. Like other incarceration centers, Amache was enclosed by barbed wire, punctuated by guard towers manned by military police, and topped with a searchlight. At Amache the residential area was divided into 34 blocks using a system of lettered and numbered streets (Simmons and Simmons 2004). Blocks within the residential section had a variety of uses: there was a block for the elementary school, two for the high school (one of which was a sports field), an empty block, a block which served as a commercial and public area, and 29 residential blocks that contained one room apartments.

The 29 blocks used as residences and the elementary school block all contained 12 barracks, a recreation hall, a mess hall that provided 3 meals daily, and a communal building that contained latrines, showers, and laundry facilities (Figure 5.2). Each barrack was divided into six apartments furnished with cots, a central light fixture, and a small coal burning stove intended to provide heat. The communal facilities were located in the center of each residential block, with the exception of the recreation hall which was located at the end of one row of barracks (DeWitt 1943). Recreation buildings provided a range of community services that varied throughout the blocks. Some served as preschools, churches, a town hall, or a Boy Scouts of America headquarters (Simmons and Simmons 1994). Each residential block was designed to contain the essential services needed for residents' daily activities and acted as neighborhoods. Communal dining and shared hygiene facilities along with the lack of privacy in the barracks forced block residents to interact. Many blocks began to develop unique identities including nicknames, planned landscaping, and the creation of shared community features like Japanese baths or playgrounds. Within the confines of Amache, new social networks were created and senses of community identity formed.

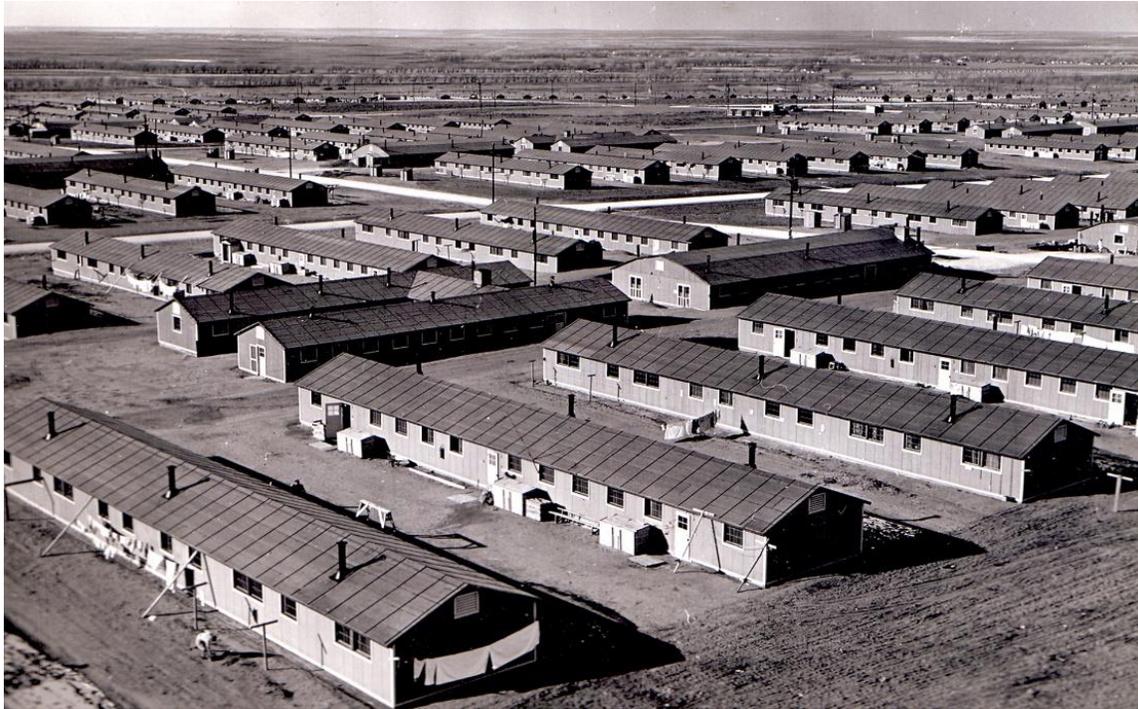


Figure 5.2. Historic image showing the layout of a residential block. Barracks run along the right side and communal facilities are visible in the center of the image (Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society).

In some ways the internal structures of Amache resemble those of many urban population centers. Residential blocks function similarly to neighborhoods, there were schools, a central commercial area, and key civil services like police and fire (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019b). One technique used by the Japanese American community to mitigate the impacts of their incarceration was the organization of social events and classes which created a way of connecting both to other internees and to the outside world (Dusselier 2008). Internally, neighborhoods and social groups organized dances, classes, and community wide festivals; while both churches and Buddhist temples were established. Branches of national organizations like the Blue Star Mothers, Young Women's Christian Association, and Boy Scouts of America were created. Combined with the few employment opportunities offered within the centers, classes and social

events created a skeletal semblance of the community structures in place prior to incarceration. Although individual communities might have been scattered across several residential blocks, the internal social structures developed by incarcerated individuals created venues for the continuation of existing ties and the creation of new ties through participation in neighborhood and center wide social events, committees, and employment.

In October 1945, Amache officially closed, although internees had been leaving both temporarily and permanently to the interior of the United States since its opening (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997). Germany's surrender and the imminent end of the war meant that many internees had already been anticipating Amache's closure and left during the summer of 1945. Many of those who remained until Amache closed were unsure of where to go or lacked resources to reestablish a life outside of the confines of the internment center. While a lucky few were able to return to their homes and farms in California, many were forced to restart their lives in yet another new locale. This final movement out of the incarceration centers further exacerbated the forced diaspora caused by internment by fracturing new community ties formed at Amache.

Archaeological Evidence of Community

Archaeologically, we see evidence of these community and neighborhood level social ties recorded in extensive landscape features constructed by incarcerated individuals and in material culture indicative of both shared consumption practices and communal activities – such as sake brewing (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019b, 2019a). Incarcerated individuals at Amache and other Japanese American incarceration centers extensively modified the

physical landscape of the site, building private and community gardens, constructing playgrounds, and creating sports fields (Garrison 2015; Tamura 2004; Ozawa 2016). These landscape modifications speak to the desire of a community to provide needed facilities and the existence of social ties that facilitated the coordination of their construction and maintenance.

Archaeological evidence of sports fields at Amache provide one example of how social ties created during the process of removal might be visible archaeologically. There are two primary types of sports facilities found at Amache: large fields used for public events and smaller ones constructed in residential blocks and used primarily by block residents and those of surrounding blocks. From archival and oral historical evidence, we know that neighborhood level sports included basketball hoops and baseball diamonds in several locations and spaces in the recreation halls for smaller sports like table tennis (Neal 1945). At a site level there were spaces for sumo wrestling along with football, baseball, and basketball.

During archaeological work the University of Denver Amache project identified the remains of several sports fields (Starke 2015; Haas et al. 2014). Large baseball and football fields associated with the high school were located in the center of Amache, directly across from the school, and they were a hub of social activity. During the 2014 season, a field survey and subsequent Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey found the remains of one of the site's two sumo rings (Starke 2015). Like the high school sports fields, the sumo ring was also located at the center of Amache behind the internee-run co-op. Many of the large community wide sporting events recorded in the internee run newspaper were held at these fields. The central location of these large public fields as

well as the type of events held there would have made them a gathering point. In fact, historic images of sporting events show large crowds gathered on the periphery (Figure 5.3). This is in contrast to smaller fields located in residential blocks that appear to have been used more by residents of the surrounding area.



Figure 5.3. Football game at the 10F diamond showing crowds gathered watching the game and the high school visible in the background. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection.

Neighborhood level sporting facilities are more ephemeral and harder to recover; however, during GPR and excavation in 2014 the remains of a baseball diamond were found in one block (Haas et al. 2014). Later oral histories confirmed that there had been a diamond in that location and both oral histories and archival sources document the existence of multiple smaller sports fields throughout the site. Many of the neighborhood level facilities were located in large open areas at the center of the block. The central locations of these facilities at both a block and site level demonstrate the importance of

sports as a mechanism to facilitate social interaction. While the prevalence of sports fields and their placement gives archaeologists insight into their role in socialization within Amache, archaeological evidence alone cannot indicate how these features acted in the formation or maintenance of social ties. How did residents use both public and semi-public sporting events to maintain social ties disrupted through the process of diaspora? By moving beyond a simple examination of the existence and prevalence of sports fields to consider how they were being used we can understand their role in the processes of community building and maintenance.

Background on social networks

Social network analysis is a method to both map networks of relationships and measure levels of interaction (Wasserman and Faust 1994; Brughmans 2010). Analysis of social networks allows us to consider the relationships between different individuals or groups in a system, and analyze what commonalities might generate these ties (Borgatti et al. 2013). Networks can be visualized using a system of nodes, representing individuals or locations, linked by ties that represent common attributes, such as co-participation in an event. While network theory is more commonly used in cultural anthropology and sociology it has been employed to understand archaeological data especially in relationship to ideas of identity and interaction between communities (Mills et al. 2013; Hart and Engelbrecht 2012; Peeples and Haas Jr 2013) and in a few historical archaeological contexts (Orser Jr 2005; Purser 1991; Shackel et al. 1998). For example, Mills et al (2013) utilized the frequency of trade goods, both decorated ceramics and obsidian, to track diachronic changes in social interaction between prehistoric Southwestern sites during a period of migration and aggregation. In archaeological

applications, artifactual evidence serves as proxy for social ties and demonstrates the utility of network analysis as an alternative means for considering how different communities interacted, traded, or self-identified.

Although the archaeological implications of network analysis are still being developed, its utility in considering the role of community in social interaction is well established (Scott 2012). Locally-based networks of support are formed through recurrent face to face interactions, such as those fostered through shared residence in a neighborhood or participation in community organizations (Henning and Lieberg 1996; McPherson et al. 2001). Locally based social networks influence residential mobility as individuals relocate or choose to remain in a neighborhood in order to maintain social ties (Dawkins 2006). Residents of Amache were members of multiple local communities, or home places (Massey 1994), and carried those social relations with them during forced removal. Research on contemporary immigrant and refugee communities has demonstrated the importance of social networks in the reestablishment of community (Crisp 1999; Loizos 1999). Some refugee communities use social networks to replicate previous groups and community identities and to unite in the face of shared challenges and vulnerabilities (Williams 2006). Networks formed through the process of relocation have major influences on the lives of refugees, providing support and helping to re-establish identities (Williams 2006). A similar process occurred during internment, as members of the Japanese American community are forcibly removed to detention centers and later to incarceration centers.

Changing the definition of what constitutes a network and how we define members and ties affects the results by changing the scope and types of interactions

included (Wellman 1996). In the context of this paper, a social network is defined as a network of direct contact and interaction, through participation in sporting events and membership on the same team. In this paper I am conducting a four-mode analysis where nodes represent either an individual, a team, a town, or a temporary detention center. Each network was created using the membership of a sports team recorded in a newspaper article. The networks trace the movement of team members through different stages of community: hometown, detention center, and residential block, to map team members affiliations with earlier communities. Nodes are connected by ties representing an individual's participation in a team or sporting event. Distinguishing nodes based on attributes related to their membership in social communities, both at Amache and prior to their incarceration, allows the social composition of sports teams to be identified. Individuals become nested within the places they have lived and locations where sports teams may have formed. These immaterial networks of interaction are materialized in the archaeological record in the form of sports fields, allowing archaeologists to consider how places on the landscape acted as centers of activity and community building.

Social Network Analysis as a Method

Social network analysis can indicate the ways in which new communities were formed following the diaspora but also show the ways in which some communities worked to retain their previous social connections. Fugita and O'Brian (2011) argue that the pre-war Japanese American community shared extensive social ties across dispersed geographic areas fostered by participation in shared social events. For brevity, this paper is drawing on a limited sample of data and focusing on social ties created through participation in organized sports.

Sports at Amache were organized through several venues and their organization mimics that of other social activities. Informal games organized by groups of friends were common, but an official recreation department existed that coordinated intramural leagues. League teams played both against other teams from Amache and against teams from outside the center in the form of All-Star teams composed of the best players in each sport (Harvey 2004:126). The high school also had a sports league and organized teams composed of students that played against both the Amache intramural and teams from other schools. Sports were a popular activity and participation high, for example the high school basketball league had 28 teams, 280 players, and over 150 games were played in the 1944-45 year (Anderson 1945).

Sporting events provide a unique opportunity to consider the three primary types of social networks at Amache –pre-incarceration, those formed at detention centers, and those formed at Amache. Sports teams, both informal and formal, were an important component of Japanese American social life in communities across the West Coast prior to their incarceration (Chin 2016; Regalado 2013). Some sports teams were formed at Merced, Santa Anita, and other temporary detention centers and we know from archival sources that these teams appear to have sometimes migrated intact and continued to play at Amache. Other teams are affiliated with pre-incarceration communities, such as some of the farming colonies (Lukes and Okihiro 1985). For example, the Livingston Dodgers brought their uniforms and equipment with them to Merced (Regalado 1992), played there, and continued to play after removal to Amache, demonstrating the power of sports as a method of maintaining consistent community ties. Finally, a majority of teams at Amache were formed there. These consist of two dominant types – those centered around

the residential block and those around membership in some other organization or friendship group. Part of the network analysis allows us to further consider and expand how these affiliations functioned.

Amache's extensive archival record makes it possible to conduct a social network analysis of interactions between residents using articles from the internee run newspaper – the *Granada Pioneer* – and a combination of archival directories and government records for demographic data on individual participants. Published every Wednesday and Saturday between 1942 and 1945, the *Pioneer* was written by internees and widely circulated at Amache (Harvey 2004). The *Pioneer's* primary focus is the incarceration center itself, and articles provide a detailed record of camp events, the locations where they occurred, and names of participants, making it essentially a hometown newspaper (Gebhard 2015). This is reflected in announcements for weddings, community festivals, lists of employees or committee members for internee run organizations, party and festival reporting, and coverage of sporting events -- the most common social activity covered by the paper.

A challenge of using archival documents to recreate social networks is inherent reporting bias. For example, the *Granada Pioneer* has an entire section devoted to sports within the center, but the section is still focused on football, basketball, and baseball over less common sport activities, such as sumo or table tennis. This creates a heavy focus on the participation of young males; however, coverage of sporting events encompasses a wider range of demographic categories than some other activities by representing both female participants and older males.

The data presented here were gathered from a sampling of every third edition of the Pioneer, which ran from October 1942 to September 1945 (Densho Digital Archive) (for a list of editions sampled - <https://core.tdar.org/dataset/454708/list-of-granada-pioneer-newspaper-surveyed-for-network-data> or Appendix E: Chapter 5 Supplemental Data and Images). A total of 46 issues of the newspaper were sampled creating a data set containing 169 sporting events, each with between 2 and 20 participants. A sporting event was added to the dataset when an article contained the full name of two or more individuals residing at Amache who were engaged in a face to face interaction – such as playing together on a team. Data on participant names, the event type, and location of the event were collected and compiled into a database. The name of each participant was then correlated to a site-wide residential directory that contains key demographic information for that person, such as residential block at Amache and their town of origin. This residential directory has been compiled using four publicly available sources: a directory created for the 1976 Amache reunion that lists residents' names and place of origin along with their barrack, a historic residential directory published in 1943 and again in 1945, the WRA Form 26, and the Final Accountability Roster. The process of combining newspaper data showing individual activities and the participants in that activity with general demographic data created a large dataset that could be used to consider the mechanisms through which social networks around sports could be formed or maintained.

Using this data, I created a four-mode network of individuals participating in sporting events and their locational attributes. An edge list was created linking each participant to their hometown, temporary detention center, and residential block. Each of

these attributes represents the physical location where a social interaction may have occurred and the potential development of community ties, or social networks. This creates a data set where overarching patterns in the locations where social relationships were formed can be seen and moves away from an analysis of each individual's interactions to consider larger processes of community formation.

Discussion and Analysis

Residents at Amache were members of multiple communities prior to their incarceration, all of which were disrupted by their forced removal. This analysis is focused on two types of communities for which data is readily available and that mirror communities found in other diasporic settings – the hometown from which incarcerated were removed and the temporary detention center to which they were initially relocated. Data on social interactions taking place through sports were pulled from the larger data set, and entries missing data on hometown of origin, assembly center, and residential block at Amache were removed. This created a data set of 43 interaction events with 35 named teams and multiple other interactions involving unnamed groups for a total of 1,925 dyadic interactions. Data were then processed to look at how social networks were being maintained through sports. I examined two components; 1. whether individual teams could be classified based on when and where they were formed, and 2. the actual vs. expected frequencies of interaction via sports teams for hometown, detention center, and block. I focused on three teams and one network composed of all teams' affiliation with different temporary detention centers as exemplars of how social processes appear to have functioned within sports teams. The network analyses are supplemented by a one proportion z-test and Chi² analysis of the probabilities of the frequencies of interactions

between players on sports teams based on their hometown and temporary detention center.

The network data on team formation shows that many of the teams at Amache were affiliated with specific places. Teams affiliated with hometowns, temporary detention centers, and places at Amache all existed. An initial step in the analysis was identifying team affiliation based on team names. A number of teams have names that specifically reference places. These include teams like the Livingston Dodgers (Livingston, CA), Deltans (Delta CA), or Sepol Ramblerettes (Sebastopol, CA) who are referencing members' hometowns. Other teams were formed at temporary detention centers or have team members all from the same detention center. These two types of teams are built around membership in earlier communities at towns in California and temporary detention centers. Several teams have names that indicate an affiliation with occupations or places of residence at Amache, such as the Motorpoolers, Firemen, or Pioneer Newshawks (Table 5.1). An examination of the residential block affiliation of several of the teams where there is a more complete listing of members shows teams with significant populations drawn from the same block or group of neighboring blocks. These teams represent the creation of new social groupings following diaspora and the role of neighborhoods in reestablishing community connections. Teams associated with employment or the high school reflect other locations where incarcerated were interacting and creating new social ties.

Table 5.1: Team names drawn from archival sources grouped by affiliation. The team names listed here have known affiliations based on archival sources and network analysis and do not include all sports teams at Amache or all of those listed in the network data.

Pre Amache		Amache	
Team Name	Sport	Team Name	Sport
Home Town		Center Wide	
Deltans	Baseball	High School Varsity Teams	All Sports
Ramblerettes	Softball and Basketball	All Stars Teams	Baseball and Basketball
Dodgers	Baseball	GI Nisei	Baseball
Temporary Detention Center		Firemen	Baseball
Ko Nut	Baseball	Motor Poolers	Basketball
Rambos	Baseball	Newshawks	Baseball
Katonks	Basketball	Block	
Rockets	Basketball	12E Kuzus	Basketball

The second method for identifying team membership and thinking about formation processes is to conduct a network analysis looking for patterns in team membership. This method looks for commonalities in the demographics of team members and codes nodes based on each player’s attributes and team membership. To conduct this analysis each team is analyzed independently. Team members are not always completely listed in the newspapers and some sporting events document players from two team simultaneously. In these cases, every example of a sporting event where that team participated is aggregated. Aggregating data for one team allows team membership to be determined based on co-occurrences across sporting events. Once the team members have been identified, a network graph can be formed linking members of the team based on residence in locations where the sports team may have formed. Network graphs of two

teams from Amache show the influence of previous community membership and the continuation of social ties through sports team membership.

The Sebastopol Ramblerettes and the Zephyrs are two teams whose players originate from the same community in California. For the Ramblerettes, this affiliation is made clear in their name - Sebastopol references the community of Sebastopol, CA. The network data from Amache reflects the continuation of these community ties with 73% (8/11) of team members coming from Sebastopol (Table 5.2 and Figure 5.4). Team membership was based on an affiliation with the community of Sebastopol and initial relationships were the foundation for future ties. Community affiliation for the Zephyrs was determined based on the network data. Sixty seven percent (4/6) team's members were from the town of Colusa, CA (Table 5.2 and Figure 5.5). Although not all players were from the same town, the team was reinforcing social connection between members from that earlier community.

The network graphs for these two teams also demonstrate the complex picture of social ties at Amache. Sports teams linked members to earlier communities but also acted to help form new social ties in Amache. The same team could be both reaffirming earlier social ties and helping establish new ones. Members of the Zephyrs and Ramblerettes were predominantly from the same hometown, but there were additional team members that were not from these communities. For both teams all the players had initially been sent to the Merced detention center, so some of the social ties might have been formed in this location. An examination of the ties in the network data indicates that team members not from Colusa or Sebastopol were often co-residents of a residential block at Amache with team members from those communities. For example, the Zephyrs were mostly from

the town of Colusa (4/6 players) and most of them lived in block 9E (4/6). The two team members who were not from Colusa lived in 9E with team members from Colusa. A similar process is happening for the Ramblerettes. Most team members are from Sebastopol and live in Block 12F (6/11 players). Of the remaining players, 2 are from Sebastopol but live in other blocks indicating that team membership was connecting residents from the same town in California despite residence in different part of Amache. The remaining 3 players were not from Sebastopol, but two live in Block 12F with several other players on the team. Only one team member has no obvious association with either the block or town of Sebastopol. What these two examples show is the retention of ties to earlier communities and the development of new social ties at Amache.

Table 5.2. Summary data for the networks graphs for three sporting events presented in this article. Ramblerette and Zephyr teams show the grouping of players based on home town, detention center, and residential block. These teams were organized around affiliations to earlier communities. In contrast, the All-Stars, which was organized at the city level shows no clear affiliation to a hometown, or block.

Team name	# of Players	# of Towns	# of Residential Blocks	Proportion from Same Town	Proportion from Merced	Proportion from Same Block
Ramberette	11	4	4	8/11	11/11	8/11
Zephyr	6	3	3	4/6	6/6	4/6
All-Stars	7	6	6	2/7	6/7	2/7

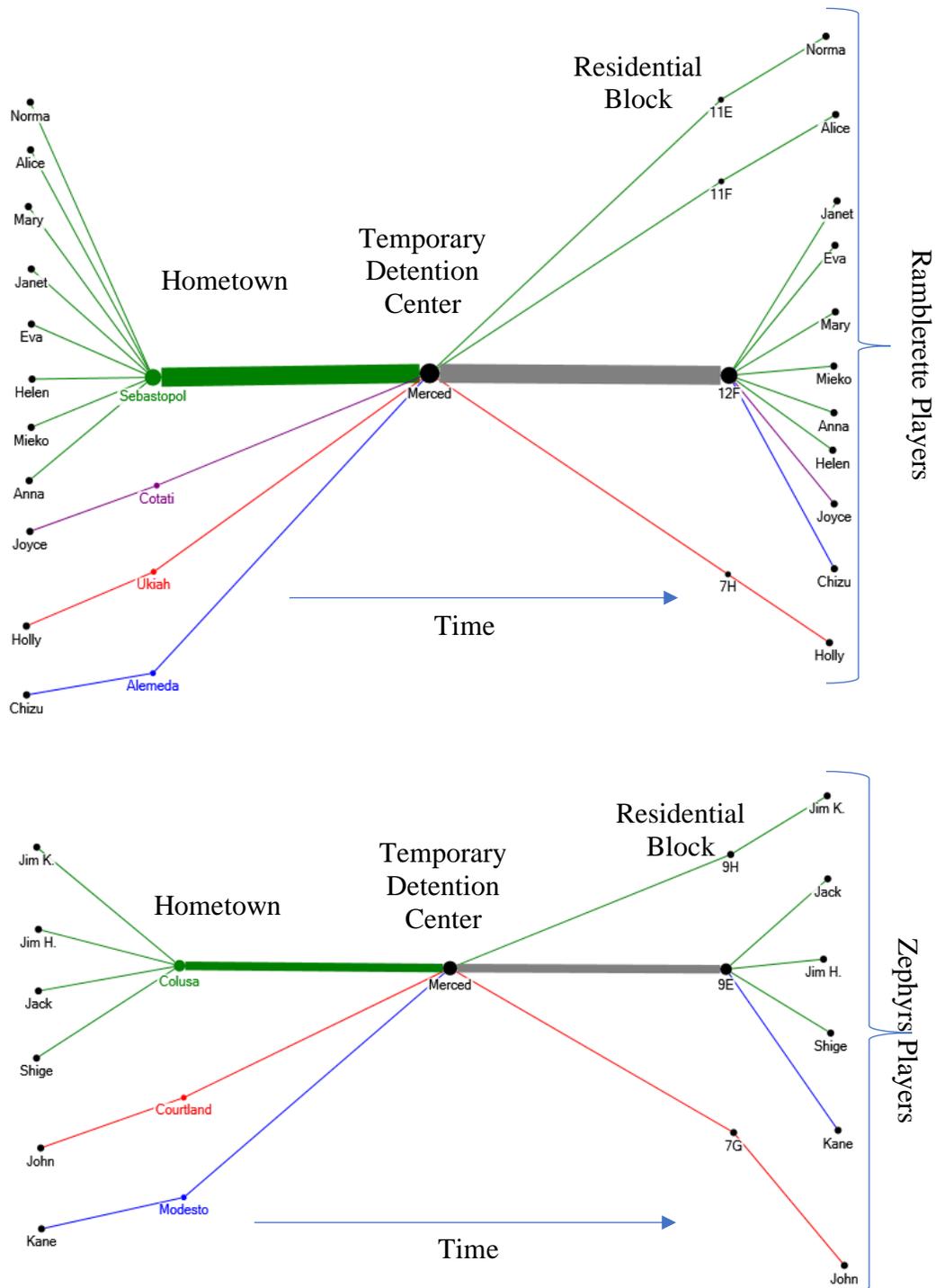


Figure 5.4. Network graphs for the Ramblerette and Zephyr teams. Each graph follows the movement of team members from their hometowns to Amache to visualize how earlier community membership influenced the composition of the team. Individuals are assigned a color based on their hometown. Graphs created using NodeXL (Smith et al. 2010).

Coding the different sports teams and events based on commonalities in block residence, assembly center, and place in California shows that these interactions can be grouped into several categories with some regularity. Some teams are clearly composed of members from the same community in California or residential block. Detention center is more difficult to code accurately. Outside of the teams with names or known affiliations to a detention center it is difficult to be sure that data on those relationships are as robust, since a majority of players are either from Merced or Santa Anita. Teams often have a membership exclusively from one detention center, but this may reflect chance more than the existence of strong social ties. Sports teams with names readily identifiable as linked to temporary detention centers are also found mainly in 1942 and 1943 (Table 5.1). This probably relates to several factors – many of these players were younger men and were more likely to leave Amache so teams were not stable, and over time friendships created at the detention centers became less important. What is key to note is that teams with a clear connection to earlier places and friendships were created elsewhere but maintained at Amache. This signals the importance of these connections in the establishment of new communities.

There are a number of teams and sporting events where the participants appear to have no obvious connection either during or prior to internment. These are almost exclusively teams that are formed for all-star or championship-style games and were composed of the best players from a number of different teams or teams that are directly affiliated with the high school and so are connected by a common age component rather than a place of residence. An analysis of these teams shows team members drawn from a wide diversity of hometowns (7 players from 6 towns), most were still detained at

Merced, but at Amache they lived in 6 different residential blocks (Table 5.2 and Figure 5.6). Only two players came from the same hometown, and they lived in the same residential block (12F) at Amache. These center-wide teams would have been important in the creation of a more generalized sense of community. Within Amache, social interactions occurring within the residential block and through employment put new networks in motion. Previous and current community membership played a strong role in the development of social ties at Amache.

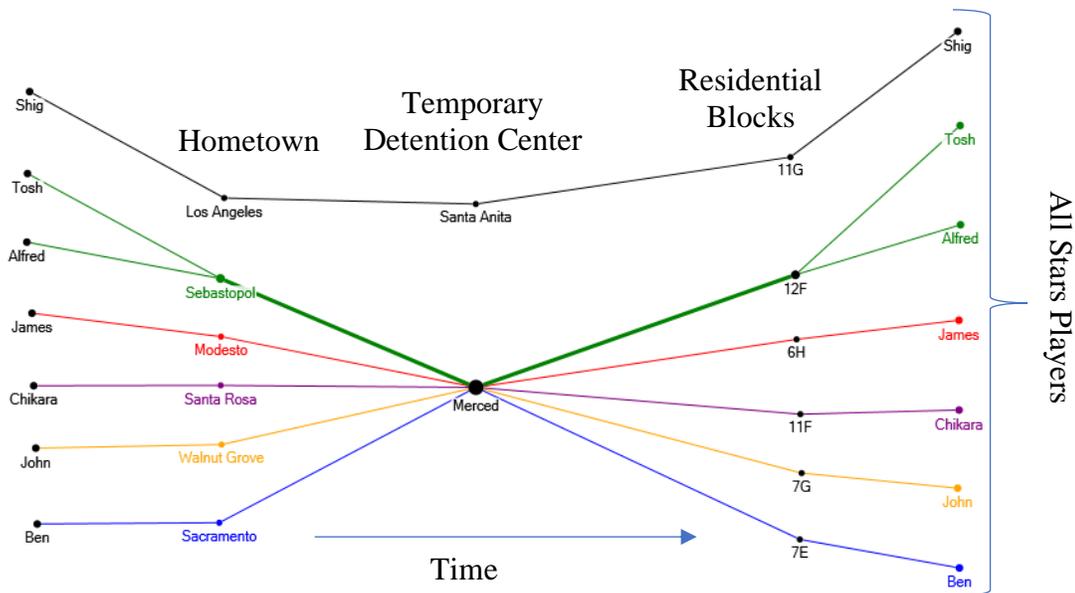


Figure 5.5. Network graph for the AA All Star Team tracing players' memberships in earlier communities and residential blocks at Amache. Team membership is more diverse and interestingly, only one player is associated with the Santa Anita Detention Center while all others are affiliated with the Merced Detention Center. Graph created using NodeXL (Smith et al. 2010).

A second metric for considering the role of participation in previous communities on current social interaction at Amache is to conduct a one proportion z-test to test the significance of different levels of participation and compare the expected vs. actual interactions seen in the network. This is calculated based on the assumption that if

previous social interactions (by hometown or detention center) do not influence the membership of sports teams the composition of these teams would be random and based on the percentage of Amache's population that each town or detention center represented. Instances where the actual deviates significantly from the expected are indicative of the influence of previous social networks on team membership.

For most hometowns in the sport network the actual number of interactions between people playing sports recorded in the network data is not significantly different from the expected. However, this does not hold true in several cases. Large communities and communities that made up a significant percentage of Amache's population like Sacramento or Los Angeles had significantly fewer social interactions at a site level than would be expected given the percentage of Amache's population each of these communities represent. Conversely, rural communities with a significant Japanese American population had higher levels of participation in sports than expected based on their percentage of Amache's population (Table 5.3).

As well, results from the detention center data support the observation made when coding the team membership. People who were detained at Merced are participating in sports at a much higher frequency than people who were held at Santa Anita. Approximately 4,500 incarcerated at Amache were from Merced and 3,063 from Santa Anita. A Chi² test of the expected vs actual frequency of participation in sports was statistically significant for both detention centers (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3. Expected vs. actual counts for a sample of urban and rural communities representing those with large and small pre-war Japanese American populations. This shows the differences in participation levels between large communities and small agrarian ones.

Community Type	Towns	# of Players	% of Players from Town	% of Amache Residents from Town	P-Value
<i>Large Urban</i>	Sacramento	6	3.60%	7.90%	0.032
	Los Angeles	32	19.40%	27.38%	0.019
<i>Large Rural</i>	Colusa	10	6%	2.04%	0.002
	Sebastopol	17	10.30%	2.70%	<.0005
	Walnut Grove	15	9.10%	3.79%	0.003
<i>Small Rural</i>	Ukiah	2	1.20%	0.45%	Not Significant
<i>Small Urban</i>	Sausalito	2	1.20%	0.13%	0.02
	Long Beach	1	0.60%	0.86%	Not Significant

Table 5.4. Chi² analysis of participation in sports teams based on affiliation with temporary detention centers. Expected values are based on the population for each temporary detention center residing at Amache.

Temporary Detention Center	Observed**	Expected	Degrees of Freedom	Chi ² Value*
Santa Anita	76	304	2	684
Merced	1,392	656	2	389.1

*Bold numbers are significant with a p-value < .001

**Observed is the number of interactions recorded in the network data

This pattern is also visible in the network data. When looking at a bimodal graph of team members based on affiliation with a detention center the disparities in participation between Merced and Santa Anita are visible (Table 5.5 and Figure 5.6). Involvement in sports at Amache appears to have a relationship to temporary detention

center and regional affiliation. The cause of differences in participation levels is unclear, but there are several possible explanations based on the historical record. For this aspect of the social network data individuals from the Santa Anita detention center may just be underrepresented and not interacting as frequently with other groups at Amache, or not interacting in ways captured in the network data. This may reflect the types of communities that passed through the detention centers, since residents of Santa Anita were mainly from the Los Angeles area while Merced housed more of the smaller agrarian communities.

Sports were an important component of social interaction especially in smaller communities where a higher percentage of young adults may have been involved in these teams. The structure of relocation may also have facilitated the removal of teams from smaller communities relatively intact, further facilitating their continued existence at Amache. Some of these higher than expected levels of interaction are driven by individual players who are overrepresented in the sample; however, even when these individuals are removed these communities and the Merced detention center are still overrepresented.

Table 5.5. Summary data for the temporary detention center affiliation network. The table shows the relationship between team membership and residence at one of two temporary detention centers. The table is divided into sections analyzing the whole graph and then the two nodes representing the temporary detention centers.

Summary Data for Whole Network				
	Total # of Nodes*	Total # of Edges	Total number of Actors	Total # of Sports Teams
All Detention Centers	23	67	259	0.0000087

Summary Data for each Detention Center				
	Potential Actors**	Actors***	Edges	# of Teams Associated with Center
Merced	4,500	210	39	39
Santa Anita	3,063	49	28	28

*Each node represents a team with edges connecting team members to their affiliated detention center. The edges are weighted based on counts of players from that team who were incarcerated at the detention center.

**Potential actors represents the number of individuals at Amache who were sent to each temporary detention center

***Actors is the number of players involved in sports

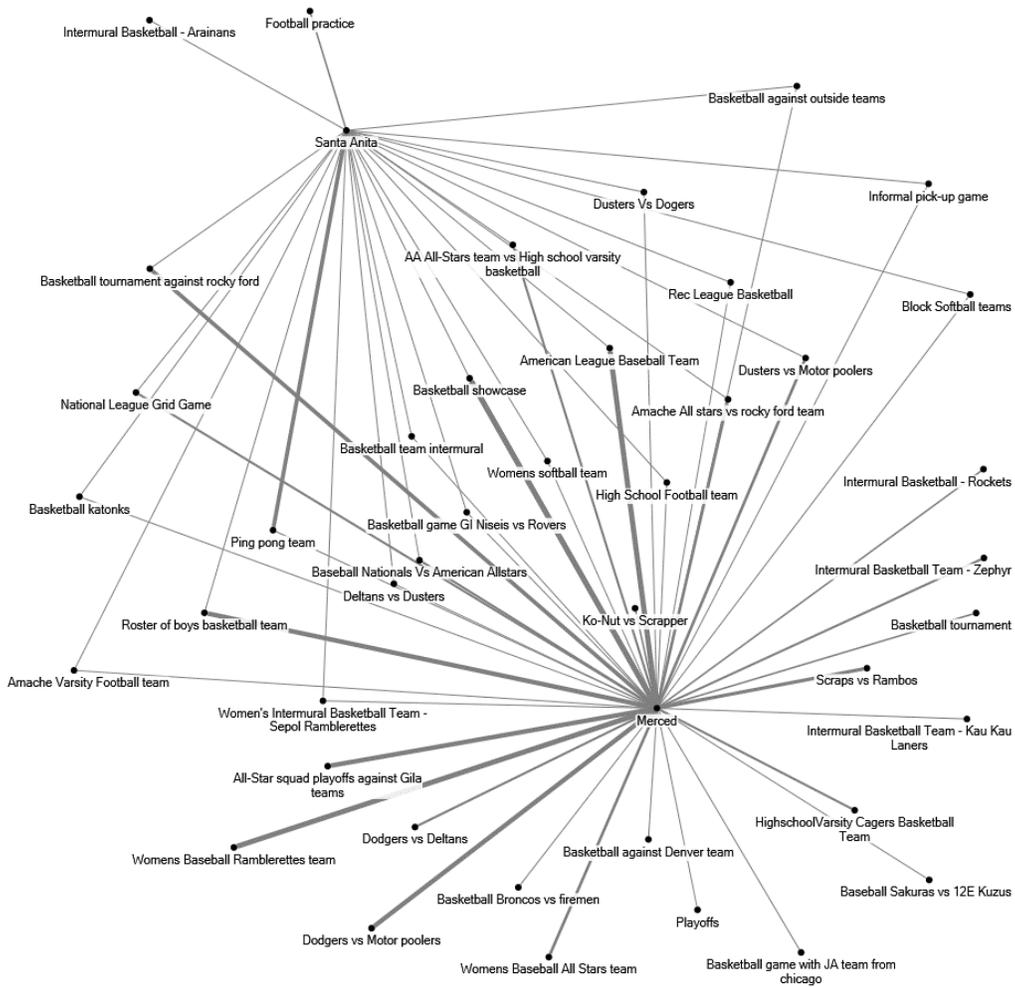


Figure 5.6. Network graph showing sports teams in relationship to players prior temporary detention centers. This illustrates differences in the participation of incarcerated based on detention center with Merced dominating the network. Graph created using NodeXL (Smith et al. 2010).

Although these results only represent a sample of data from Amache, they demonstrate that association with previous communities influences how people created or maintained social networks. There may be some small errors in the sample caused by the fact that certain individuals are overrepresented in the sport network due to their participation in multiple events. However, this potential sampling issue does not fully account for the variation indicated. The number of people from a dispersed community in

one block and the type of community they initially originated from are important in the creation and maintenance of social networks following a diaspora.

Large urban or semi-urban communities who had a significant Japanese American population prior to internment and whose population is concentrated in several residential blocks at Amache appear less likely to participate in social interactions at a center-wide scale and may be interacting more in their own blocks, and so are not captured in the network data. The fact that these large population centers do not seem to be interacting heavily with other people from the same town may also be a legacy of the community's original size. Although designations for neighboring communities such as Gardena or Hollywood are used, individuals from the Los Angeles area are often simply recorded as coming from LA, leaving out variations in sub-community or neighborhood that may have had a strong impact on how well individuals actually knew each other prior to incarceration. Having a large enough population from the same community in close proximity may also mean that they are less dependent on the development of new social networks and can rely more heavily on networks formed prior to internment.

Smaller communities (such as Colusa or Walnut Grove) are more likely to interact with other residents of the same community. This may be due to several factors. Former residents of these smaller communities may have been more likely to have known each other well prior to incarceration or be family members. Since these communities had smaller populations prior to their incarceration they were not grouped as heavily into the same residential neighborhoods at Amache. This dispersal combined with smaller population numbers may have made the continuation of interactions between community

members through center-wide social activities a central method in the development of new social networks and in maintaining their existing social ties.

Conclusion

Data from Amache present an analysis demonstrating the continuation of social ties in a diasporic community and provides social data that can be connected to the built environment of an archaeological site. The analysis highlights a critically important issue for diasporic communities: how continued participation in previous communities impacts new community structures, especially in cases where new social networks and community ties are being negotiated. This exploration allows us to consider how changing social affiliations might be visible archaeologically. Network and archival evidence from Amache demonstrate that while site residents created new social ties, they also actively retained ties to a source community or hometown, and perhaps even strengthened them, by continuing to participate in social activities with co-residents of earlier communities.

Clearly, there are other factors that would have contributed to the formation and function of social networks and community interaction within internment centers but interaction through sporting events acts as a window into these processes. Generational differences and the divide between residents from urban and rural areas have already been identified as factors that influenced some interactions (Shew 2010; Yoo 2000). Although these factors may be part of the underlying organization, the role of previous social ties in influencing how internees at Amache were socializing cannot be overlooked, as they created differences in the social practices of individuals and some

neighborhoods. While it is hard to identify exactly which social ties are driving every interaction, it is possible to create broad patterns and generalities which indicate that social groups formed prior to and during their forced diaspora are playing an important role in the structure of social relationships within Amache. Connecting historic social interactions to archaeological data can inform our interpretations of communal spaces, such as sport fields, and artifactual evidence of social interaction.

Participation in existing networks would have supported the continuation of material practices performed by members of that community prior to the diaspora. As new networks formed, and individuals interacted with diverse groups, one would expect the material practices to shift. One example from Amache comes from a WRA report – a young man retains membership in a group affiliated with his previous rural community and removal to the Merced Detention Center. Part of this membership is to affect a more stereotypically “rural” form of dress. As he develops new social ties in a group of young men from LA he changes his wardrobe to mimic their style, modifying his clothing to look more like a zoot suit (Embree 1945). Here we see a material manifestation of changing social affiliation. As ties to previous communities and lifestyle are weakened the types of material culture this young man is using alter to fit the demands of a new community.

In the network analysis sports teams like the Ramblerettes visualize processes of continuity but also change in social networks. Here residents of a block joined an existing sports team formed by members of an earlier community. These team members would have socialized and played together using sports fields in theirs or a neighboring block, engaging with the material environment of the site. Landscape features at Amache speak

to both the maintenance of localized neighborhood and community identities but also to the formation of a new site wide community affiliated with residence at Amache.

Most residential blocks had neighborhood landscape features, in this case sporting facilities like basketball hoops and small sports fields that served their residents, these reinforced localized ties and neighborhood or community-based teams. There were also public landscape features that served the entire site. In this example I discussed sports fields associated with the high school and a large sumo ring. These communal fields helped establish new ties by connecting residents through participation in all-star and championship teams. Communal fields also connected residents of multiple localized teams and teams based on earlier communities by engaging them in intramural leagues. Sports fields act as archaeological evidence of the scales of community membership happening at Amache. Network data and the archaeological record document the process of through which residents attempted to retain earlier community ties while creating a new sources of community cohesion at Amache.

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CHAPTER 6

COMMUNITIES AS A FOUNDATION FOR INTERACTION

Archaeologists seek to identify specific communities in the archaeological record since, like households, local communities are key components in the organization of social structure. The record for past communities is normally limited to artifacts and features, making it challenging to quantify the intangible aspects of what defines a community. At Amache, access to a robust archival and oral historical record allows me to trace individuals' participation in different social and physical communities to elaborate on how community as a construct is created.

Based on the archaeological, archival, and social network data presented here five conclusions can be drawn about the community at Amache. 1. Neighborhoods at Amache display distinct residential clusters based on community of origin. 2. Residents at Amache continued to engage with and utilize social ties that existed prior to their incarceration. 3. While neighborhoods began as administratively designated residential blocks they developed into socially defined neighborhoods. 4. Social interaction and formation of neighborhood cohesion was happening at multiple scales. 5. Archaeological and social network data illustrate different methods of community interaction. Within these conclusions is a larger theoretical hypothesis based on the sample analyzed. It appears that community formation is not simply determined or predicted by the constructed landscape, but also relies on past ties and is affected by the degree of social homogeneity. Membership in previous communities impacts the ability of neighborhood residents to develop new communities and a shared sense of social cohesion.

Geographic Clustering in Neighborhoods

One component of neighborhood identity at Amache was the regional affiliations of residents. Incarcerees at Amache did not arrive at the site as disconnected individuals. Instead they came as members of earlier social and physical communities. Through the process of forced removal, they were taken from their communities of origin in the exclusion zone, removed to temporary detention centers, and then finally to Amache. As incarcerees arrived at Amache they were able to cluster in blocks based on the temporary detention centers where incarcerees had been held, and communities in California they had lived in prior to coming to Amache. Archival documents show distinct groupings of extended families and of communities from California (Figures 3.4 and 2.4). These pre-existing connections may have facilitated the initial social interaction that allowed blocks included in this study to start developing community-generated physical facilities and organizing social events.

As noted earlier, the specific temporary detention center where incarcerees had been held, and whether they were from an urban or rural area in California, acted to divide different segments of the population and provide a foundation on which ideas of Amache as a community developed. Neighborhood clustering initially developed based on community of origin (Chapter 3). Residents of Amache preferentially selected to live near others with a similar regional background. Distinct neighborhoods formed with individuals from dominantly rural and urban communities. Although some blocks contained a mixture of communities and urban and rural residents, some of this diversity developed later, by 1945, when there was less opportunity for residential selection. This

residential clustering was also observed by the community analyst in the 1940s (Rademaker, 1945) and most blocks at Amache were dominated by residents from a specific city or region in California (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Table of surveyed blocks showing the composition of the block based on residents' prior community affiliations.

Block	Dominant Place	# of Communities in Block	%Urban Communities	%Rural Communities
6G	Los Angeles - 12%	23	50%	50%
6H	Yuba City - 12%	27	78%	22%
7G	Yuba City - 25%	28	58%	42%
7H	Walnut Grove and Woodland - 22%	17	8%	92%
7K	Los Angeles - 88%	7	96%	4%
8F	Colusa and Yuba City - 14%	27	56%	44%
8K	Los Angeles - 90%	5	74%	26%
9H	Livingston - 50%	10	6%	94%
9L	Los Angeles - 82%	9	80%	20%
10E	Turlock - 54%	12	22%	78%
10H	Los Angeles - 50%	13	63%	37%
11F	Santa Rosa and Sebastopol - 22%	11	60%	40%
11G	Los Angeles - 89%	7	74%	26%
12G	Los Angeles - 78%	7	100%	0%
12H	Los Angeles - 95%	4	100%	0%

One pattern observed is that urban blocks are often more homogenous, composed of large numbers of individuals from a single community such as Yuba City or Los Angeles (Table 3.1 and Table 4.1). Blocks with rural residents tend to be more of a mix of communities and either lack a single dominating community or have that community represented by less than fifty percent of the block's population. This reflects the settlement patterns of rural and agrarian areas with higher numbers of smaller communities. Creating homogeneous neighborhoods may have facilitated interactions

and cohesion among residents in part by reaffirming prior social and spatial patterns of behavior.

Geographic clustering within neighborhoods had an impact on the development of social dynamics at Amache. Since residential clustering was done along urban and rural divides or based on previous communities, differences between regions and social dynamics between urban and rural groups remained intact. During site tours conducted as part of the University of Denver Amache Project, survivors recount the divides that existed between urban and rural residents, discussing how the two groups initially did not socialize often and engaged in territorial disputes among residential blocks. As one historic source noted “We don’t get along with them (Santa Anita and Tanforan Nisei) because they’re city slickers and we’re mostly country hicks (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993, p. 129).” As geographically clustered neighborhoods formed, residents utilized commonalities in social characteristics and existing social ties to begin fostering new social interactions and developing socially cohesive neighborhoods.

Prior Community Membership and New Interaction

The use of existing social ties is reflected in the network analysis conducted in Chapter 5 where membership in sports teams was continued as incarcerated moved from place to place (Figure 5.3). Similarly, a number of social clubs and organizations retained ties to their original communities. Several Boy Scout troops at Amache retained their affiliation with towns like Los Angeles and Walnut Grove and even at Amache members were dominantly from those communities. Religious communities continued to practice

at Amache and were headed and attended by leaders from towns in California (Neal, 1945).

Here we see the importance of membership in both regional urban / rural communities but also membership in communities formed within the temporary detention centers. Although individuals were no longer active residents of their previous locals, they still maintained affiliations to those communities and chose to identify with that membership. While affiliations with prior communities was a source of unity at Amache, it initially could also act as a source of division or contention, at least on a site level, and possibly have increased discord among neighbors.

Differences between urban and rural residents created tension among the groups especially among younger Nisei. “One Livingston teenager wrote to a former teacher, describing the animosity between the “Livingstonians” and the “Santa Anitaans”: “I wish we could get unity here, but it seems an impossible situation. If one from L.A. gets a grudge against a certain country person, they get in a big gang of fifteen or so and just knock the dickens out of the *one* [emphasis in the original] person.” She went on to detail the differences in urban Nisei fashion, which astonished some of the rural onlookers: “They carry knives, too, and are proud of it. They also wear zoot suits and long $\frac{3}{4}$ length coat-jackets – really disgusting (V. J. Matsumoto, 1993, p. 129).” One source of neighborhood level cohesion might be these larger social divisions.

These previous organizations and social ties were important components of incarcerated lives and in the overall social interactions at Amache. Residents appear to be leveraging existing friendships and membership in social groups to help build new

networks of interaction. It is important to note that while this analysis has focused on the function of prior ties at a neighborhood level, social ties crosscut neighborhood boundaries, as is seen in participation in organized groups that served the entire site. One suggestion from this study is that while site wide activities were important, the residential clustering that occurred at a block level was an initial driver of community interaction. Over time, as residents developed new networks at Amache based on membership in clubs and organizations, residence in a block, and employment, participation in earlier communities became less important (Figure 6.1) and Amache and its neighborhoods became more socially cohesive units.



Figure 6.1. Page from a historic scrapbook showing the “6H Gang” a group of friends that formed through shared residence in the same neighborhood (See Chapter 4 for a view of the full scrapbook page). Image courtesy of the family of Joy Takeyama Hashimoto.

Demographic data on social interactions indicated that residents of a neighborhood were both interacting with each other and that larger networks of interaction were drawing on previous community affiliations. Specific clubs and sports teams were dominated by individuals with a shared source communities or assembly centers. This is not intended to discount social networks that were formed at Amache but rather to highlight the fact that incarcerated were clearly using pre-incarceration social ties as key points in their networks of interaction. Previous community membership acted as a driver for the development of new community identities at Amache.

By creating an insider/outsider divide, block residents were able to reaffirm their own membership and shared identities as part of a neighborhood. One interesting conclusion that can be drawn is that ties to prior communities were important initially in the development of social activities in Amache. At each stage of their forced removal residents were able to retain some social ties and generate new ones through engagement in social interactions. As residents of Amache created new social ties, and as socially defined neighborhoods formed, connections to prior communities became less important.

Formation of Socially Defined Neighborhoods

Research on social cohesion has focused mostly on urban settings and residential neighborhoods. This is due in part to the definition of social cohesion as a byproduct of shared beliefs or identities and face to face interaction. Amache was a relatively dense urban landscape with administrative neighborhoods. The layout of the site was divided into residential areas, a “downtown” with community facilities, and public and private open spaces that were used by residents for the development of community-generated

physical facilities. Although the physical layout clearly demarcated residential neighborhoods, it cannot be assumed that these were also acting as socially defined neighborhoods in the absence of corroborating evidence. Analysis of artifact frequencies and differences in landscaping features, combined with oral histories and archival evidence, indicate that residents of these blocks were self-identifying as neighbors and as distinct social units within the larger settlement.

Physically many of the blocks at Amache have evidence of neighborhood landscaping. At least two blocks had carefully coordinated tree plantings throughout (7H and 11H). In two other blocks (6H and 12G) residents mass purchased and then individually planted trees. In oral histories and archival documents, the existence of strong block affiliations is recorded. The 9L block was nicknamed “Chinatown” by residents. Children socialized in block units and engaged in low level territoriality between blocks (Kamp-Whittaker, 2010). Block residents formed sports teams and competed against other blocks. The examples of block identities and socially defined neighborhoods at Amache extend beyond the sample discussed in these dissertation chapters.

Analysis of the eight blocks presented in Chapters 3 and 4 indicated differences in artifact use patterns and materials used in landscaping that may be related to the demographic characteristics of residents. The hypothesis proposed is that socially defined neighborhoods could be identified through the differential use of certain artifact categories. Four key artifact types (marbles, glass jugs, ceramics manufactured in Japan, and modified artifacts) were identified as potentially unique indicators of either

communal activities, like brewing or consuming sake, or of shared behaviors, like higher frequencies of ceramics manufactured in Japan (Tables 3.2 and 4.2). Analysis of these artifacts revealed patterns of consumption partially tied to the demographic makeup of neighborhoods. This analysis supports findings at other historic sites where artifact distributions have identified the existence of neighborhoods and ethnic enclaves (Cheek & Seifert, 1994; Mazrim, 2013).

Patterns in the ubiquity of modified artifacts and ceramics manufactured in Japan probably reflect homogeneity in social practices and economic status among a block's residents. Incarcerees in block 7H were from rural agrarian communities and may not have had the financial resources or ties outside of Amache to ensure access to cash and resources. This led to increased reliance on the modification of available materials to meet the needs of block residents. Some incarcerated were able to store personal goods and have them shipped to incarceration centers later (Myer, 1971). The arrival of stored possessions potentially led to an increase in the number of imported porcelain ceramics found in the archaeological record at Amache (Skiles & Clark, 2010).

The features and artifacts in some blocks indicate differential access and resource sharing among neighborhood residents. Neighborhoods with similar landscaping forms and high frequencies of shared materials may have been more socially cohesive. Materials like cinder blocks are found only in a few neighborhoods. In neighborhoods where cinder block is present, we find it used in multiple garden features both public and private. Residents of these neighborhoods had access to materials not readily available and were sharing amongst themselves. Similarly, anecdotes like that of purchasing trees

in bulk for neighbors to buy in block 12G reflect the communal acquisition and sharing of resources (p. 128). In two neighborhoods at Amache the remains of *ofuros*, or traditional baths have been recovered. Both are located in a central area of the block directly behind the bathhouse to facilitate access to water sources. These *ofuros* indicate a level of neighborhood agreement about placement and construction but also the demographic similarities in residents' background and bathing practices that supported the construction of specific facilities.

Open public areas were limited and used heavily for the creation of communal features ranging from playgrounds to large landscaped gardens. Landscaping around individual barracks rarely extends into the communal spaces. Instead household level landscaping and features are located around the front and back sides of the barracks. At a barrack level, we often see patterns of landscaping that indicate agreement between that building's residents. In a majority of blocks the household gardens are located directly along the side of the barracks with the doors. In a few areas, residents have left pathways next to the door and instead landscaped the central communal area between the two barracks (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). These landscaping features show the multiple levels at which neighborhood interactions and social agreement occurred. Archaeological features and artifact assemblages from multiple blocks support the idea that social neighborhoods with some level of internal cohesion were forming and are visible through distinct consumption practices and use of public spaces.



Figure 6.2. Garden with the landscaping directly in front of individual apartment. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, Namura Collection



Figure 6.3. Gardens planted between barracks indicate an agreement between residents to alter established patterns and use communal space. Images courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

Multiple Scales of Neighborhood Interaction

While neighborhood interactions appear to have fostered the development of localized community identities, the creation of events and facilities that served the entire community points to the importance of social ties that extended outside the neighborhood. Social interactions at Amache created community at multiple levels. Within blocks they formed a sense of neighborhood identity as is suggested by the data in this dissertation. Social events connected neighborhoods to each other, potentially reinforcing neighborhood identities. Large scale events brought incarcerated together from across the site to create a communal identity (Figure 6.4). Some of these events crosscut and were composed of neighborhood residents interacting with other neighborhoods as a social unit. These events may have reinforced neighborhood identities while also creating ties that connected neighborhoods through shared facility use and interaction.

		Sponsors	
		Neighborhood	Whole community
Participants	Neighborhood	Communal gardens	Dance
		Other Neighborhood facilities	Committees
		Casual daily interactions	Public Gardens
	Whole Community	Dance	Festivals
		Neighborhood sports team	Intramural Sports
		Club	Committees
Religious organization		Employment	

Figure 6.4. Social interactions occurred at different scales – neighborhood and city wide and were sponsored at both levels, by neighborhood residents and the whole community.

Although neighborhood affiliations were important, residents at Amache formed a strong sense of belonging to a site wide community. I hypothesize that participation in social activities that connected neighborhoods to the larger community and activities which took place in central spaces helped create a cohesive community identity at both a neighborhood and city level. The grouping of four blocks in the center of Amache acted as a downtown and a community forum. Although the area was set aside by the WRA many of its features were constructed by incarcerated. The Community Co-op was run and managed by the incarcerated community, and sporting fields like the sumo ring were constructed for and by residents.

The 10F baseball diamond and sports field were also used for community wide festivals and acted as a plaza space where large social activities could occur. For example, on August 14th, 1943 a *Bon Odori* festival was held and attended by approximately 1,000 dancers. The festival included the construction of a temporary structure that is visible in photographs and is called a *yagura*. Similar festivals were held for the 4th of July where booths were constructed for games and to sell merchandise. The scale of these communal activities and investment in temporary event-generated infrastructure reflects the levels of site wide cohesion and investment in social activities. The construction of temporary community-generated landscape features drew residents from across the site together for communal celebrations. Incarcerated were investing in community building within neighborhoods but also at a city-wide scale.

We can see the complexities of social interaction and community formation in the social network data by examining the composition of different sports teams. For example,

we know from their name that the Sebastopol Ramblerettes were initially associated the town of Sebastopol, but team membership in Amache was more complicated. As discussed in Chapter 5, the team was predominantly composed of players from Sebastopol, but there were several players that were not from Sebastopol (Figure 6.5). A closer examination shows that all of the players not from Sebastopol are living in 12F, a block dominated by families from Sebastopol.

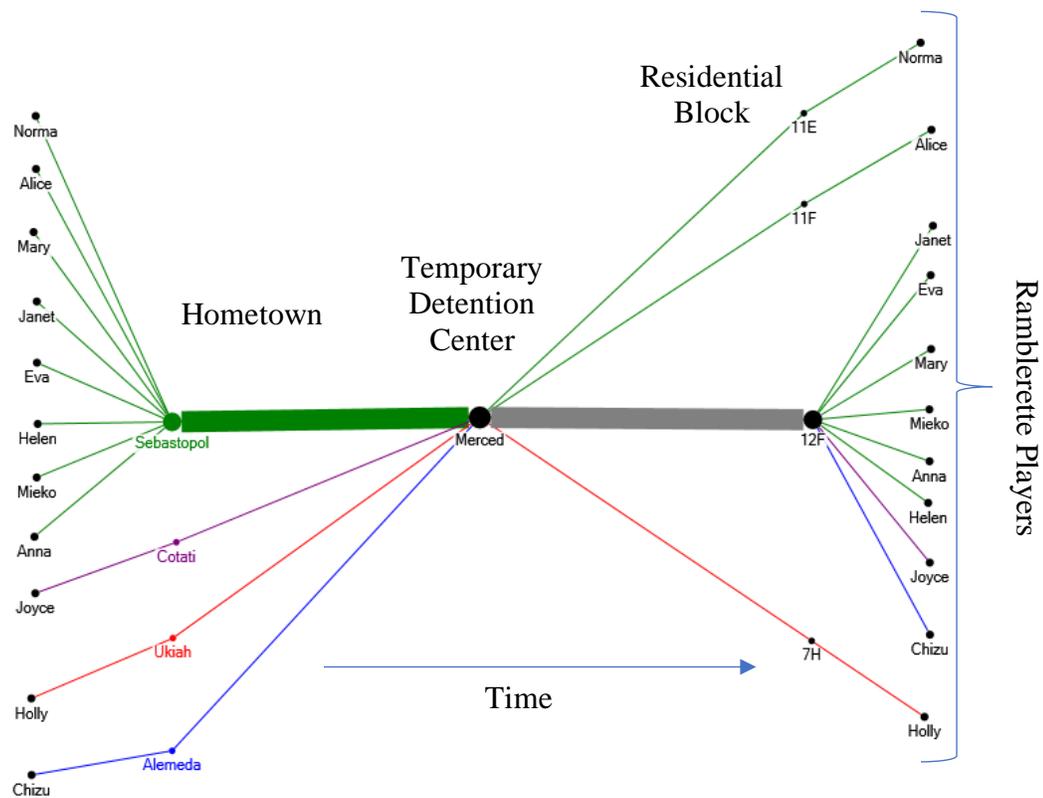


Figure 6.5. Four-mode network graph of the Ramblerettes team showing players' affiliations with earlier communities. Players from Sebastopol are indicated with a green line. Most players from Sebastopol are clustered in 12F but two live in other blocks. With the exception of one player, whose only affiliation might be the Merced Detention Center, the remaining team members not from Sebastopol all live in 12F. This shows the methods residents of Amache used to leverage existing social ties, and to maintain, and create new ones. Graphs created using NodeXL (Smith et al. 2010).

Here we see the intertwined and shifting nature of social ties overtime – starting from hometowns, concentrated at the Merced detention center, and then reinforced by block ties at Amache. The Ramblerettes were organized based on affiliation with the town of Sebastopol. All members were detained at Merced. A number of new players were added to the team based on their affiliation with a residential block (12F) dominated by residents from Sebastopol. Several team members who were from Sebastopol but lived in different residential blocks at Amache continued to interact through the team, allowing them to retain existing social ties. The processes of community formation were leveraging social ties formed in earlier communities and through new associations at Amache.

Different Methods of Fostering Interaction

I have approached previous community affiliation as one way of seeing the role of external social ties and demographic homogeneity in the production of organized activities at Amache. To build on the more general model of cohesion presented in Figure 1.2 in Chapter 1, Figure 6.6 presents the diagram modified to reflect the specific external factors and indicators present at Amache. The clustering of residents based on their place of origin created relatively homogenous neighborhoods. Residents' membership in these earlier communities also created a series of external social ties that drove neighborhood cohesion. As residents of a neighborhood interacted for the first time or continued existing social relationships in their new place of residence, they engaged in social interactions. Through face to face interaction both at the communal facilities in each block and through participation in organized activities, residents were able to

self-organize, increasing the number of social activities. Over time, the process of ongoing social interaction created a sense of social cohesion among residents of a neighborhood. Community-generated physical facilities and events are indicators of neighborhood level social cohesion that can be identified archaeologically.

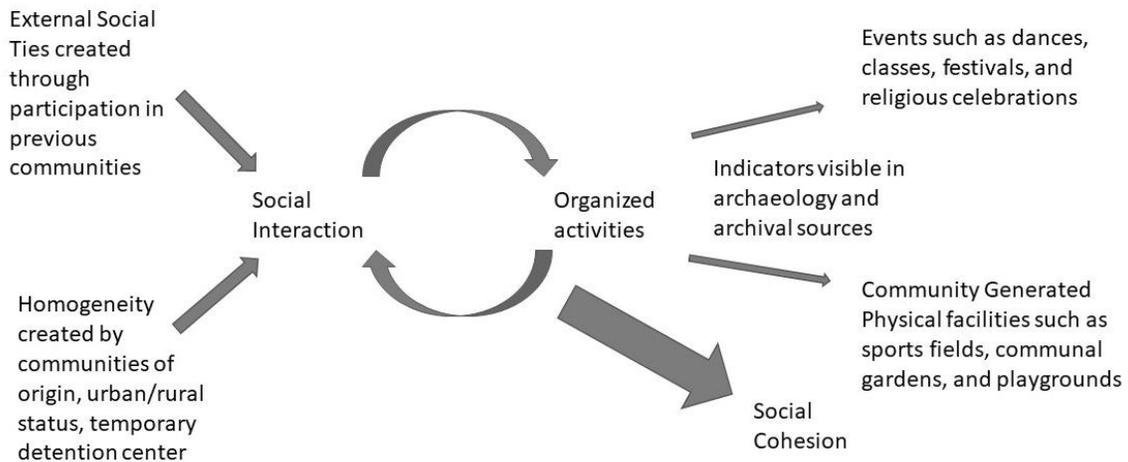


Figure 6.6. The feedback loop between social interaction and organized activities generates social cohesion. The general model has been modified to reflect the data from Amache with community affiliation creating initial homogeneity and external social ties. Events and community-generated physical facilities are the archaeological and archival indicators of activities which can be used to measure the level of social cohesion in a neighborhood.

This approach is one way to consider how social cohesion can be identified in the archaeological record and the mechanisms used by specific communities studied.

Identifying potential drivers of increased interaction clarifies social and demographic processes driving urban community formation. Smith (2019) in his work on energized crowding sees social interaction and bottom-up processes as important conceptual tools for understanding community formation in the past. The frequent interactions of individuals increase their ability to self-organize. Data from Amache demonstrate both the utility of quantifying social interaction and the importance of considering multiple

lines of evidence for community interaction. For each site the specific drivers of social interaction will vary, and the indicators change but the underlying processes will remain.

For this model to operate optimally, the individual components need to be modified to reflect the site and scale of analysis. Since my focus was on the development of social interaction at the neighborhood level an important external factor was the role of demographic homogeneity created by membership in previous communities. For many of the city-wide events, such as a festival or high school sports team, participants were drawn from across the site. This means that neighborhood level homogeneity is less important. The central operation, of interaction generating organized activities, will not change regardless of scale but the indicators of interaction will. Rather than a small neighborhood garden serving a discrete community the indicator might become the sumo wrestling ring which served residents from across the site.

In Figure 6.4 different scales of interaction were laid out along with their participants and sponsors. The model presented here is one way of conceptualizing social cohesion at different scales in the site, thinking about what organized activities might be created at each scale, and the participants they might serve. In the example of the Ramblerettes team we see the scalar components of this diagram in action and the complexities of thinking about social cohesion. Team members were mainly from one residential block and probably played on a field in that neighborhood. The Ramblerettes created neighborhood social cohesion by engaging residents in interactions with each other through participation in the team. The team also had several members living in other neighborhoods and was playing against teams from across Amache. In doing so the Ramblerettes were engaging in activities that fostered larger site wide interactions and

ideas of identity. Here I am simply modeling the reciprocal processes which can be altered and scaled depending on the research focus. One consideration for using this model is balancing which forms of social interaction will leave identifiable archaeological evidence and how to approach those forms which may not.

Data from sites like Amache are unique in that we have access to both archaeological evidence and archival data that allow the reconstruction of historic social networks. The narrow period of the site's occupation, three years, also creates a more fine-grained analysis than is often possible and the ability to connect some specific residents to activities and archaeological features. These factors allow me to demonstrate that neighborhoods were engaging in multiple methods of facilitating community interaction.

While many neighborhoods at Amache exhibit distinct physical profiles with unique feature types or artifact frequencies, other neighborhoods stand out in their uniformity and lack of landscaping. Examining only archaeological data, it might be assumed that these neighborhoods were not engaging in inter-neighborhood social interaction. Based on the archaeological indicators there was little or no evidence that residents would self-identify as a community or share similar consumption practices. In Chapter 4 my co-author and I looked at differences in the visual expression of neighborhood identities in an attempt to understand why some neighborhoods had no overt archaeological evidence of social interaction. The four neighborhoods sampled were relatively homogeneous neighborhoods and two exhibited evidence of social interaction in the form of landscape features or artifact frequencies.

Data from the network analysis showed a contrasting picture of community interaction. In this analysis each neighborhood was approached as an ego network with residents’ participation in social events acting as the ties between nodes that are different residential blocks at Amache. This process allowed for the activities of residents to be viewed in relationship to both external ties and ties between block residents. The level of participation for each neighborhood could then be assessed based on internal levels of interaction (between residents) and overall participation in activities at Amache (external). Network data for the two neighborhoods with little physical evidence showed interactions occurring between residents in the form of participation in organized activities. In contrast, network data for neighborhoods with extensive community generated features had less evidence of social interaction in the network data (Table 6.2 and Figure 6.7).

Table 6.2. Graph metrics for the two blocks, 8K and 9L, networks analyzed. Data is divided into measures for the whole block and then within block interactions Each node represents one residential block that residents of the focus block interacted with. Actors are individual residents of Amache, including the focus block. Ties are counts of social interactions between residents of the focus block and other blocks at Amache through participation in different activities. (see Appendix C for more blocks).

Residential Block	Total # of nodes	Total # of ties	Network density	Total # of Actors	Total # of Activities	# of Kinds of Activities	Proportion of Between Block Ties	Proportion of Within Block Ties	Within Block Density *	# of Within Block Actors	# Activities Within Block
8K	29	322	0.069	38	39	9	232/322	90/322	0.002	14	11
9L	24	100	0.083	13	14	6	94/100	6/100	0.00013	6	3

*Network density is calculated based on an estimated block population of 300

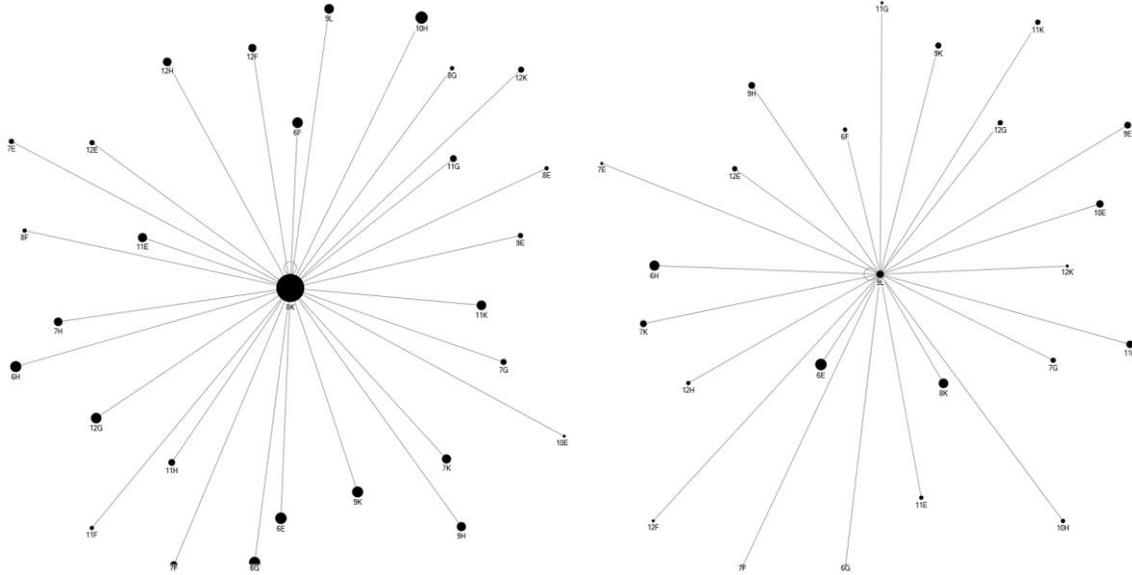


Figure 6.7 Network graphs of two neighborhoods from the sample, 8K and 9L. In each graph the central node is the residential block participants resided in and is sized based on the number of within block interactions. The presence of within block ties are indicated by a circular tie. The other nodes represent interactions between the ego block and other blocks at Amache. Differences between level of interaction both between and within the block can be seen in the weight of nodes and the number of ties. For 9L, 6/100 ties were within block, or interactions between residents of that block. In 8K, 90/322 ties are within block interactions. Graphs created using NodeXL (Smith et al. 2010).

In block 9L a large communal garden was recorded during survey and from archival documents we know there was a gazebo and playground. The block had artifact distributions that indicated similarities in consumption and had been given a nickname by Amache’s residents. These factors all indicate a highly cohesive neighborhood with a strong identity; however, in the network data the block is the most insular with residents participating in few activities between blocks and engaging in few interactions within the block. In contrast, block 8K had minimal archaeological evidence of social interaction, but was highly active in the archival record. Residents were engaged in a number of activities with other blocks and residents of the block were interacting with each other through events occurring in the block and as co-participants in site wide events.

It was only when the network and archaeological data were considered in tandem that the full array of evidence for social interaction was identified. In some neighborhoods incarcerated were engaging in sets of social interactions that left little tangible evidence, in others they were investing in the creation of community-generated physical facilities, and in some neighborhoods they developed both intangible activities and physical features. Reliance on standard archaeological indicators of community cohesion may not be enough to identify all socially defined neighborhoods. Similarities of artifacts or communal facilities like plazas may not be representative of the level of community cohesion present in past neighborhoods. Similarly, the presence of communal facilities or artifact assemblages that indicate similar consumption practices does not necessarily mean residents are interacting socially but may instead reflect material availabilities or the existence of higher level governmental or social organization that lead to the creation of shared facilities. The social network data is also only capturing a specific set of interactions and will not reflect archaeological indicators of community like similarities in food consumption or resource sharing. Instead network data documents activities that leave few tangible traces or reuse existing physical facilities in alternative ways.

Neighborhoods sampled here had significant levels of social interaction, but the scope of these interactions cannot be captured in a single data source. Some of it is not easily represented in any data source, such as casual interactions that occurred through habitation in a confined setting. Other aspects are documented only in the network data created from newspaper accounts. Social events such as dances held in mess halls did not leave any clear archaeological trace but were a central method of community formation.

Hosting social events connected neighborhood residents through acts of planning and participation. Residents formed neighborhood sports teams that played informally at the block's sports fields or competed against other neighborhood teams (Figure 5. 2).

Network data captures the social interactions of groups less visible in the archaeological record while also documenting a range of activities with no tangible record. Social interactions could not be universally identified by a single data source. The archaeological data only captures some strategies for community formation while network data captures a different set of strategies.

The variations in neighborhood strategies of developing cohesion and how they are visible to archaeologists probably relates directly to the demographic composition of a neighborhood. In each data set we see the community building activities of different social groups and age categories. Social network data from the newspapers appears to more heavily reflect the activities of younger members of Amache, reporting on sports and clubs that were dominated by the Nisei generation. The actions of older Issei are present, often in community governance and committee membership, but they are less evident in the archival record. The archival record also has a gender divide with the actions of men and particularly younger men more heavily reported than any other category. This does not reflect all the types of activities occurring at Amache but relates to the types of events the paper chose to cover and the frequency of these events, as for instance sports teams played more often than dances were held, or clubs met.

Conversely, the landscape features in a neighborhood are more likely to reflect the actions of adults who stayed at Amache longer and vested their energies in modifying

the landscape to meet social needs. The construction of a playground or elaborate household garden required investments of time, energy, and resources. Many younger Nisei worked during their incarceration either at jobs in Amache or through external employment, so they are less likely to have spent time in the development of these features. They are more likely the results of labor organized by members of the Issei generation or older Nisei. The more prevalent use of Japanese ceramic forms demonstrates differences in the actions of women and household social behaviors. Reuse and modification of material like cans indicates differences in the socioeconomics of residents of a block. The actions of some social categories are only minimally reflected in either record but can be interpolated from both data sources. For example, the social interactions of children can be seen in the patterns of artifacts, the existence of playgrounds constructed by adults, and in reporting on clubs like the Boy Scouts or YWCA.

For each neighborhood, levels of participation in activities and expressions of community identity found archaeologically were probably driven by these differences in the neighborhood composition. A neighborhood with a larger cohort of young socially active individuals is more likely to appear in the network data. Neighborhoods along the central road through Amache invested time and energy in the construction of sidewalks and large corner gardens. In neighborhoods with steep slopes and heavy erosion residents built retaining walls around buildings. For each neighborhood the social interactions occurring need to be anchored in a detailed exploration of the demographic makeup of residents and a consideration of the spatial and landscape constraints. This can be done by developing neighborhood profiles, which convert multiple data types into comparable

percentages or scores. Demographic data for each block can be summarized, looking for subtle differences in proportions of age categories, genders, and socioeconomic backgrounds of residents. Historic images and modern archaeological maps allow landscape features to be scored based on attributes like complexity, size, and scale of use. All of these variables probably account for some of the differences observed in the current analysis.

Utilizing both social network data and archaeological data to examine community formation demonstrates the relative strengths and weaknesses of both data sources. In both cases lack of evidence does not necessarily reflect a lack of social activity. Instead it points to a need to carefully consider what the physical impact of different demographics are on an archaeological site. Many intangible interactions might have faint signatures. For landscape features we can think about them as serving multiple groups and implying different ranges and types of social interactions. Initially consensus is required in their creation. Residents of the block needed to agree on placement and even the need for the feature and then acquire materials for its construction. The feature needed to be constructed and maintained which involved neighborhood level interaction. The use of the feature then creates new opportunities for interactions between diverse groups. In a playground, children are the obvious users, socializing in the space, but adults are using it too to cement social ties through their supervision of children and through children's friendships. The creation of a single landscape feature can be interpreted as having potential community building for multiple age and gender categories during different stages of construction and use.

Similarly, we can approach the analysis of artifacts in this manner by thinking about how they create or reinforce social interactions at different stages of their use. At Amache we have recovered two *usu*, mortars used to pound rice for making *mochi* a desert served during holidays especially New Years. Making *mochi* is labor intensive as the rice needs to be pounded, then kneaded and formed, and it is eaten during a holiday and time of communal celebration. As a single artifact an *usu* speaks to communal processes of labor, consumption, and celebration. Both of these examples demonstrate the need to think through the stages of use and construction as well as the range of groups using these features. A well-trodden path found with ground penetrating radar (Haas et al., 2014) between two residential blocks speaks to the movement of individuals between two neighborhoods. These are subtle indicators of interaction visible in the archaeological record and indicative of the fine-grained differences in the archaeological evidence needed to find interaction and identify socially defined neighborhoods. At Amache the mix of documentary evidence alerts us to the diversity of groups and activities that indicate community formation and social interaction.

Strong Communities

Archaeologists often approach sites as relatively isolated entities. Although we are cognizant that they are part of larger systems and cultural groups, it is easy to approach site analysis as a focused endeavor contextualized by comparison to other locations. Evidence from Amache demonstrates the importance of contextualizing social organization and community in the framework of residents' past connections and places of habitation. The central role that continued affiliation with prior communities had on the development of new social interactions in Amache challenges the idea of

communities as fragile. The data from Amache documents community resiliency, and the importance of previous associations in the development of new community.

Studies of neighborhood and community often present issues of change with idealized models of a neighborhood in its prime, followed by a period of decline brought on by social changes. This has led to two perspectives on community, one as community lost and one as community saved (Wellman, 1996). Early studies of community and urbanization emphasized issues of breakdown and delinquency when they examined the movement of people into urban communities and increasing social mobility (Lupi & Musterd, 2006). These studies are characterized by a focus on decreased face to face interaction within neighborhoods, less sense of unity, and a decline in the use of local facilities. This has created a narrative of communities as fragile and continually in the process of breaking apart (Garrioch & Peel, 2006). While ideas of community fragility have remained in the literature, they are contextualized within a more nuanced framework that tries to identify processes and measure social interaction. Social cohesion has been used as one method for understanding the strength and shared values of a community (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Community relationships can be measured using network analysis to study social relationships that may foster ideas of community and create cohesion.

Internee's actions show individual decision-making processes that acted to create and maintain community. For example, the Livingston Dodgers took deliberate steps, bringing uniforms and continuing to play together, to maintain a set of social relationships in the face of transition and forced relocation. Network data reflects the

agency of incarcerated as they constructed landscape features and social activities that leveraged existing social ties. Social ties from previous communities were persistent. Frequent face to face contact in a local community create strong active social ties (Wellman, 1996). The processes of forced removal kept many of these locally based communities roughly intact. The strength of social ties created by membership in these previous communities allowed for them to be reconstituted in a new location, at Amache. Considering both current and previous social ties aids in documenting how ideas of community changed during the process of incarceration. Communities are not stagnant concepts or entities but instead undergo processes of reformation and change in response to outside stimuli (Gerritsen, 2004), such as forced removal to a series of detention and incarceration centers.

Experiences of internment varied based on multiple factors. The generation, age, home community, religion, socioeconomic background, and gender of individuals all played a role in how incarceration impacted them and on the types of social networks they participated in. One challenge of conducting research on a more recent historical period is recognizing these ranges of experience while also developing theories and ideas about the past. A 1943 Community Analysis Report noted that after the war

It will be necessary to work out some way of settling several families together, to relocate the evacuees in small communities, rather than as more or less isolated individuals or families scattered widely about. This is necessary because most of the evacuees, and the Issei in particular feel that they cannot brave the world alone. They will have to be settled in

communities in order to give them a feeling of security, and to enable them to satisfy their needs for fellowship, understanding, congenial social interaction, and a social environment which will enable them to maintain their mental health and to achieve social solidarity sufficient to make them willing to accept it in place of the highly satisfying social life of the centers. (War Relocation Authority, 1943)

This interpretation was based on survey data collected on attitudes towards leaving and resettling outside of Amache and demonstrates that even then the importance of community connections for the internee community was recognized. Brower (2017) notes that neighborhood stability helps promote social cohesion and integration as residents invest in infrastructure and participation. The ability to maintain and reestablish prior communities of interaction at Amache created stability. At Amache components of the neighborhood and community at large are stable even though they have been forcibly removed from their origins.

Social processes such as urbanization or community formation are not simple or universal. Prevailing factors like history, culture, and economics will have an impact on a group's behavior. One key concept to understanding the formation of communities at Amache lies in cultural ties to Japan. Issei community members brought over social norms that emphasized ideas of mutual assistance and strong social ties amongst community members (Fugita & Fernandez, 2004, p. 15). These aspects can be seen at play in the archaeological record at Amache and provide one causal explanation for the abundance of evidence for the rapid development of new communities. Rather than focus

on the family as an individual unit, cultural norms enhanced the ability of residents to self-organize and collaborate in improving conditions at Amache, often through the creation of communal features and activities.

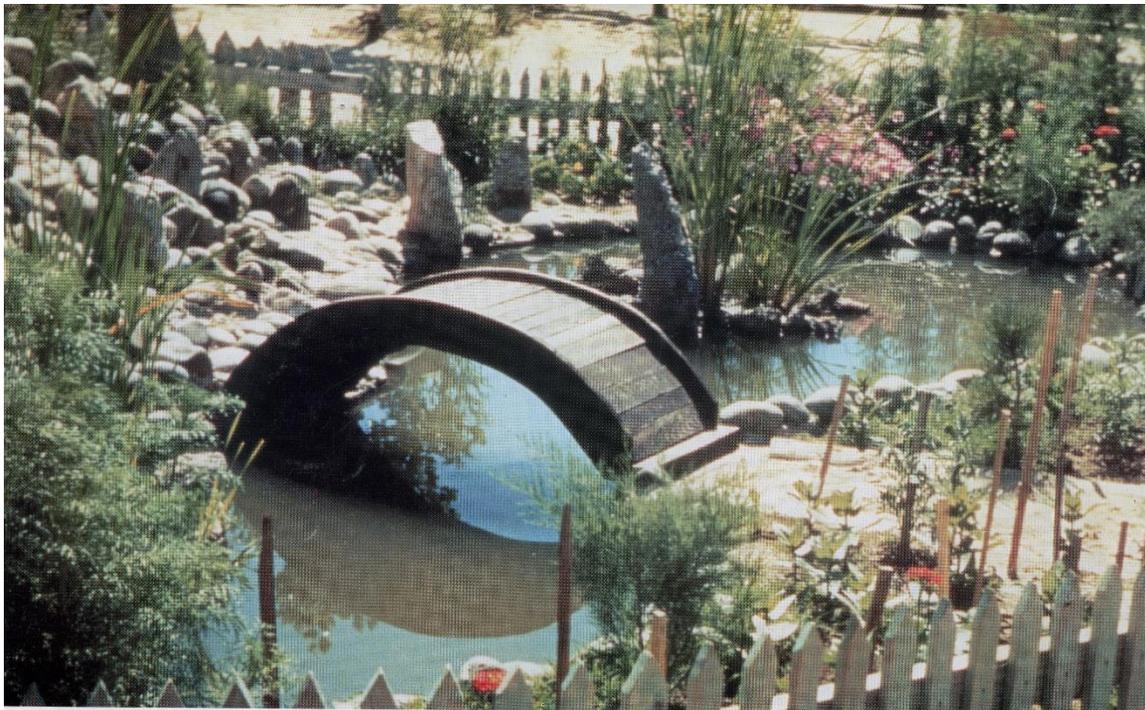
At Amache we see communities that have been broken apart through processes of forced removal. Yet, although these communities have been removed from their physical location and some members dispersed, connections between remaining community members or the continuation of social organizations allows for resiliency and the reconstruction of community. Increasingly studies of migratory and immigrant communities have found that they retain connections to previous communities while developing strong new social ties (Wellman, 1997).

Diasporic and transnational communities maintain both physical and psychological ties to previous communities (Ross, 2012). Barbara Voss' (2018) work connecting mainland Chinese communities to diasporic communities in the United States demonstrates the importance of tracing community connections when interpreting archaeological remains. Analysis of consumption patterns in Cangdong Village, China compared to Chinese immigrant communities, challenges standard ideas that the adoption of "Western" goods represents culture change (i.e. loss) and the continued use of goods manufactured in China represents cultural continuity. Similarly, for many artifact categories, their use can be linked to social processes and relationships that were formed in prior communities and places of prior habitation for residents (Ross, 2012). Material use patterns represent more complex networks of acquisition and both continuation and alteration of community practices.

Archaeological evidence for the creation of community is subtle and not always clearly visible. Connecting the data from one site to other communities with a shared population can make differences and similarities in material choices more evident. A careful consideration of the implications of subtle differences in the variety and sources of materials can serve as evidence for how people structured social interactions. Considering the types of communities that incarcerated individuals had participated in prior to their forced removal demonstrated how social ties can be leveraged to create new social connections.

This research is connecting to a growing call in internment archaeology to begin approaching sites of incarceration as eventscapes and to consider the impact that incarceration had on the Japanese American community after WWII (N. L. Branton, 2004; Lau-Ozawa, 2019). Eventscapes are places connected by a common theme, generally a critical cultural event, and are linked by processes of interaction, commemoration, and experience (N. Branton, 2009). Approaching physically dispersed but thematically related archaeological sites as eventscapes connects people and places in the archaeological record. This approach recognizes the interconnectedness of these sites, the movement of individuals between them, and also behaviors around storytelling and commemoration (N. Branton, 2009). Creating a network approach to the analysis of archaeological sites is one method to see community formation in the context of previous community memberships and social relationships. Approaching Amache as part of an eventscape connects the site to a network of previous communities, other sites of Japanese American incarceration, and helps link the diverse experiences of incarcerated individuals to historical moments and commemorative processes.

At Amache the strength of community is visible in the archaeological record documenting how incarcerated individuals navigated maintaining and forming new communities and in current preservation efforts that draw together diverse stakeholder communities. Incarcerated individuals at Amache brought their social ties and community memberships to the site. They formed new communities, engaging in processes of community formation through the creation of community-generated physical features and social events. When Amache closed and the remaining residents were again relocated they attempted to recreate earlier networks and to maintain new ones created at Amache. Interactions between individuals at Amache had a lasting and tangible effect. Working with the survivor and descendant community, we can see the continuing impact of communities formed at Amache. Stories about friendships, marriages, and interactions between neighbors document the impact of daily interactions. Yearly pilgrimages, periodic reunions held by graduates of the Amache High School, and the modern community's commitment to the site's ongoing preservation and interpretation are all byproducts of social interactions and neighborhoods formed between 1942 and 1945 (Figure 6.8). As archaeologists, drawing lines between our archaeological sites and the many communities residents were members of, both prior to and following their occupation, creates a more detailed picture of the archaeological record.



Block 6-H Pond and Garden

My father Mr. Horiuchi Yoshida and many other men, women & children all helped to make this pond in our block - 6H. Seeds were ordered from the Sears Roebuck Catalogue and also the Montgomery Ward Catalogue.

Figure 6.8. Page from the 1998 Amache Reunion Calendar. The handwritten inscription reads “My father Mr. Yoshida and many other men women and children all helped to make this pond in our block – 6H – Seeds were ordered from the Sears Roebuck Catalogue and also Montgomery Ward Catalogue.” Neighborhood interactions such as these created the sense of social cohesion that continue to drive the preservation efforts of the current stakeholder communities. Image Courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society.

Future Research

The active involvement of a strong stakeholder community and the continuing social relevance of research at sites like Amache creates an ethical obligation to continue research at the site and work to make this research public. This dissertation lays out a framework for future research and presents a number of questions and hypotheses that can be further developed to explore issues of social cohesion and community formation at

Amache. Currently Bonnie Clark and I are in the process of merging archaeological and archival data into a single digital database. In addition to providing a rich data source for future research this database is part of outreach efforts to share archival and archaeological data with both the stakeholder and general community. Providing access to our data facilitates future preservation of the site and increases awareness of the history of Japanese American incarceration. Integrating the DU Amache Project's existing GIS database with both the artifact and archival database will also allow for more nuanced analysis of site wide trends in artifact distributions and the types and placement of landscape features.

At this time, a site wide analysis of patterns in artifact distributions and the types of landscape features and material used in their construction has not been conducted. Understanding broad trends in artifact use and distribution would aid in further identifying socially defined neighborhoods and elaborate on the site wide issues of interaction through community features. This analysis would act to expand the work begun in Chapter 3 where my co-author and I proposed that neighborhoods exhibited patterns of artifact use that might relate to neighborhood demographics and the formation of neighborhoods. When paired with social network data on the frequency of interactions between blocks' residents, comparative artifact data also contributes to the analysis in Chapter 4, which explored the relative utility of both sources in identifying neighborhoods.

The use of archival newspapers in an archaeological network analysis is a relatively new technique. The process of compiling this database and pairing it with

demographic data on individuals has been tedious and involved careful consideration of the limitations of this dataset. While some of this is explored in Appendix A, I intend a methods paper documenting the process as the first in a series on the network analysis at Amache.

The network data on Amache shows that there are key points on the landscape of Amache where people are gathering to interact. Some of these places are large and archaeologically visible, such as a sports field, while others are more ephemeral. Some residential blocks also have a high level of centrality with extensive ties to a majority of the other residential blocks. Future analysis could connect the network and landscape data on central places to consider the different scales of community formation at Amache. This could be approached as a bipartite or two-mode network analysis connecting neighborhood residents to central nodes on Amache's landscape, creating a network analysis of residential movement and interaction across the site.

The detailed data on neighborhood demographic composition and archaeological attributes could facilitate an analysis of the relative heterophily or homophily of the networks of interaction between Amache's residents. This would provide additional support for the hypothesis that neighborhood and community homogeneity facilitate the development of social interactions. Although not presented here, preliminary analysis of the network as a whole shows that while individual neighborhoods at Amache can be approached as ego-networks, they were also interconnected and exhibit high degrees of centrality. However, the ties between some neighborhoods are stronger than others and represent multiple forms of interaction between those blocks' residents. Neighborhood

profiles using the demographic and archaeological data can be connected to network data on inter-block interaction to consider how residents' levels of participation in organized activities helped generate social cohesion at a neighborhood level and community identity across the site.

Research on social cohesion indicates that social consensus is fostered by community homogeneity. This leads to the hypothesis that increased homogeneity among residents of a neighborhood should lead to higher numbers of indicator of interaction in the form of either activities of community generated features. In Chapters 3 and 4 my co-author and I began examining this idea when we identified the existence of neighborhoods that were homogeneous based on their urban/rural status or community of origin. The relatively geographically homogeneous neighborhoods all exhibited evidence of community consensus in the form of organized activities or communal landscape features. What has not been completed is a neighborhood level analysis of different forms of homogeneity along lines other than geographic origin. Once this is completed a comparison could be conducted of relatively homogeneous neighborhoods to more heterogenous ones where there is an approximately even mixture of urban and rural residents and no single dominant community. It would be expected that in these neighborhoods there would be fewer indicators of neighborhood level social interaction either archaeologically or in the archival data. One underlying hypothesis behind the idea of neighborhood cohesion is that in neighborhoods with significant levels of social interaction there would be evidence of community cohesion in both the archaeological and social network data.

The theoretical framing of this project, which is grounded in urban planning and literature on contemporary community cohesion, make the findings broadly applicable to modern contexts, especially among displaced groups. Amache's residents were able to quickly reconstruct existing relationships and develop new social ties despite the massive and unjust disruption to their lives and community. One future step is to further develop the connection between the administrative and social structure of Amache that facilitated bottom up processes of community formation and research on refugee settlements and temporary settlements. Connecting the historic processes of community formation to modern communities demonstrates the ongoing relevance of these sites and supports ongoing preservation efforts.

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APPENDIX A

CHAPTER 2 DEMOGRAPHIC AND NETWORK DATA SOURCES

Data for the social network analysis and demographic data on internees was collected from a series of primary documents created at Amache by internees and from online sources that have compiled data or digitized census data collected by the WRA between 1942 and 1945. Two historic sources generated by Amache's internees, a later map, and two historic censuses – the FAR and Form 26 were used to compile as complete a list as possible of Amache's internees, their place of residence at Amache, and key demographic data. The Granada Pioneer newspaper was used to generate edge lists of people, activities, and places used to recreate historic networks of interaction.

Data for each block was collected from these sources and compiled into a “directory”. This contained individuals’ names and any demographic data that was available. The “directory” is not complete or perfect. It represents the best melding of the data sources available and reflects issues from the original data collection which include inconsistencies in spelling, inconsistencies in the use and recording of Japanese vs Americanized names, differences in reporting on incarcerated hometown, and variations in years of birth, and head of household names. All of these errors mean that some entries are incomplete, and some individuals may be represented by duplicate entries. For the purposes of this dissertation I have only considered individuals for whom I had archival records of their residence at Amache. Data on individuals are pulled from several sources and represent the best possible representation of demographics within Amache. The demographic data represents significantly more individuals than the network data since we do not have block and apartment data for all individuals, attributes necessary for network analysis.

Errors in the collection of demographic data are the result of several processes. First, many of these documents have undergone several phases of transcription. They were typed off of handwritten documents or from verbal accounts. Others have been digitized from archival sources creating more errors in transcription. Second, there are distinct differences in the data collected by incarcerated both during and after their incarceration and the records generated by the government. These represent differences in the priorities of the two groups in the collection of this data. The incarcerated population was attempting to create a residential directory that would have in the 1940's allowed residents of Amache to find each other and then for the 1976 reunion allowed survivors and their descendants to locate family members and friends. In contrast the government was more concerned with creating a record of all internees that prioritized broad demographic trends and especially issues of employment and connections to Japan.

Records created by the WRA and internees have two primary areas of deviation – the spelling of names and/or use of informal names and recording of the communities people were from. Differences in names are based on the frequent use of nicknames and Americanized names. In many cases the WRA recorded individuals' official names, while internee records collected the names they commonly used. Differences in spellings also exist and are based on a lack of familiarity with Japanese names and spellings. For the communities of origin, differences probably exist based on how and when this data was collected. Since some families initially relocated to avoid the process of forced removal, the community they were removed from may not reflect the location they considered home and self-identified with in the documents.

Some differences might also exist in the use of highly regionalized terms for different communities or sub communities. We see this is for instance in regard to residents from Los Angeles (LA). As a large metropolitan area in the 1940s the city was subdivided into neighborhoods and smaller communities that slowly were incorporated in the metropolitan area. Residents from these areas are sometimes recorded as from LA, but others may be recorded as from sub communities, or neighborhoods, like Compton or Hollywood. Although it would be beneficial to be able to identify which LA area communities and neighborhoods each resident of Amache was from, this falls beyond the scope of this project. Instead, when a more specific identifier of community or neighborhood is used for a family or individual it is used in favor of the generic LA designation.

Throughout the process of compiling the demographic data systematic decisions were made. At each step these were recorded to ensure that they were repeated and sets of data were prioritized. For example, when determining the community of origin, or population center where incarcerated residents resided prior to their forced removal the reunion map was prioritized. Records for communities of origin are found in 3 sources: the Amache Reunion Map, the FAR, and the WRA Form 26. At times these three records are contradictory. The WRA records often fail to identify a specific town and often list several nearby communities, this is especially true in cases where the communities are unincorporated or smaller rural towns. In contrast the Reunion Map always lists a single community and was created by former residents at Amache making it potentially more representative of where internees thought they were from.

Newspapers

As a media form, newspapers have been important in the history of the Japanese American community. Early newspapers published by the Japanese American community acted as a lifeline connecting immigrant communities to local resources, employment, and local news. These papers both helped orient new arrivals to daily life in a new setting and created new social bonds and connections through the development of a shared medium of communication. Newspapers provide a narrative voice for historical events that impacted the Japanese American community and challenge dominant narratives by recording the ideas and practices of the Nikkei as historical agents (Leong, 2018).

A central piece of the documentary evidence of life within Amache is the *Granada Pioneer*, an internee written newspaper, that ran from October 1942 to September 1945. Written in both English and Japanese the paper documented everyday events, social organizations, and key news items related to incarceration. While the paper was written by internees it was under the authority of the WRA and was subject to censorship which is part of why its focus was dominantly on daily affairs in Amache. All ten incarceration centers and several of the temporary detention centers had internee produced newspapers. At Amache the Pioneer was not the only newspaper. Both schools had their own papers and the high school also published a literary magazine. The Boy Scouts and some religious and social organizations also created periodic publications. However, the Pioneer was the longest running and served the most residents.

The WRA required that papers be produced to disseminate information and create a community atmosphere. Photographer and Reports Officer Joseph McClelland was

assigned by the WRA to oversee the publication. The Pioneer became the source of “all the information coming into the project and going out of the project.(Bishop, 2015)” Regular press releases were also produced by the Pioneer’s writers for dissemination to local newspapers.

Although these papers were censored and required, they still became an important aspect of life at Amache. Internee journalists used the papers to subtly disseminate their own viewpoints and coverage of community affairs (Luther, 2003). We see this in many of the editorials reflecting on life in Amache and the creation of the long running cartoon “Lil Neebo” (short for Little Nisei Boy), which poked fun at conditions in the center and social norms. Bishop (2015) argues that community newspapers help foster a sense of cohesion. At Amache and other incarceration centers newspapers acted as a vehicle to connect residents. The announcements of upcoming events and coverage of community issues created a common pool of knowledge about people and activities within the centers. Each newspaper edition contains sections for sports, community, event coverage, important announcements from the WRA, and often editorial comments, letters, or comics. These create a valuable documentary source to record the types of community activities residents were engaging in.

Internee Generated Sources

The two main sources of data on individuals’ place of residence at Amache were collected by incarcerated from Amache during and following their incarceration. Since these sources were generated by internees they provide an alternative and potentially

more accurate picture of both families locations at Amache and preferred names and family memberships.

Amache Directories

In 1943 and again in 1945 internees at Amache created residential directories that were published by the Pioneer. These directories were organized by head of household and listed all individuals and a barrack and apartment. While these directories are an invaluable resource to begin tracing the residence of individuals and families they are incomplete records.

Since there are only two dates of collection these directories do not capture internees who arrived and left before, after, or in-between when they were compiled. Although Amache was an internment center, opportunities for internees to leave and resettle did exist even as early as 1942 and many internees took advantage of them. There were also two later large influxes of internees first from Tule Lake and then Jerome and Rohwer in Arkansas. Residents of Amache who arrived after 1943 and left before 1945 are not recorded in these directories but may be captured in the social network data, necessitating the use of other sources to compile data on their place of residence. What the existence of two separate years of directories does provide us with is temporal data on the movement of families and individuals within Amache.

Block Maps

The 1945 directory provided the basis for a later effort to map the location of families on to their barracks. This mapping project was undertaken in advance of the first reunion in 1976. These maps placed family names onto the barracks where they resided

and listed the names of all individuals and the town or community they originated from prior to internment. Again, the data on residents provided from this source is incomplete and at times contradictory. While the 1945 directory served as the basis of the maps, they were augmented by individuals' memories and are frequently incomplete. Information on family names and place of residence prior to internment sometimes also differs from that recorded in some of the records collected by the WRA. These maps also document what recreation halls in each block were used for.

WRA and Government Documents

Between the years of 1942 and 1945 the WRA coordinated the collection of two separate census style surveys of internees at all 10 internment centers. Data from both of these data collection efforts has been made available through the National Archives and Records Administration and a number of other sources have also compiled these records into various searchable formats. These records are all searchable at an individual level by internee name. While the process is cumbersome, they provide a valuable resource for demographic information on internees at Amache not available in the 1943 or 1945 directories. These sources do contain variations in information on where individuals are from and on name spellings both between the two WRA sources and those created at Amache.

WRA Form 26

Collected by the WRA soon after inmates' arrival, this form contains data on employment, education background, religion, place of origin, ties to Japan, and assembly center. This was a record of each individual and essentially a census documenting the

people under the management of the WRA. Data for Form 26 was collected by inmate interviewers who canvased camps in the time between when internees arrived and April of 1943. Data from this census was compiled and published in a 1946 report – The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description.

FAR

The Final Accountability Rosters (FAR) are census information collected during the closure of each camp. These contain information on family name and number, birth data, marital status, entry into and exit from center, date of departure and final destination.

APPENDIX B

CHAPTER 3 SUPPLEMENTAL DATA AND IMAGES

Table B.1. Communities data from the Form 26 and Amache Block Maps. Communities are designated urban or rural based on the 1940's census determination of a population over or under 2,500 people.

Community designations			
Rural			
Alvarado	Del Mar	Hood	San Martin
Angwin	Denair	Hopland	San Pedro
Arbuckle	Dos Palos	Hughson	Santa Fe
Artesia	Elk Grove	Isleton	Sebastopol
Atwater	Elk Horn	Kingsburg	Shelton
Bellflower	Esparto	Lemoore	Snoqualmie Falls
Belvedere	Firebaugh	Live Oak	Sonoma
Buna Park	Florence	Livingston	South Dos Palos
Byron	Florin	Loomis	Suisun
Campbell	Forestville	Madison	Sutter Basin
Carmel Highland	Franklin	Marison	Terminal
Centerville	Fowler	New Castle	Tudor
Ceres	Garden Grove	Oak Park	Upper Lake
Clarksburg	Gerber	Ocean Park	Vacaville
Clovis	Goleta	Oceano	Vorden
Colusa	Graton	Palermo	Walnut Grove
Concord	Greeley	Patterson	Waterford
Conoga Park	Gridley	Pemgrove	Wheatland
Corona Del Mar	Grimes	Penryn	Wilmington
Cortez	Guadalupe	Pepeekeo	Wilton
Cotati	Guinda	Pescadero	Windsor
Courtland	Half Moon Bay	Place	Winters
Cressey	Hickman	Placer	Winton
Cupertino	Hill Valley	Point Bay	Yolo
Davis	Hilmar	Rail Height	Yountville
Delhi	Hollywood	Rumsey	Zamora

Community designations

Urban

Alameda	Hayward	Napa	San Lorenzo
Alhambra	Healdsburg	Oakland	San Mateo
Anahein	Hermosa Beach	Oceanside	San Rafael
Auburn	Hilo	Oxnard	Santa Cruz
Bakersfield	Holland	Pacific Grove	Santa Maria
Bell	Honolulu	Palo Alto	Santa Monica
Berkeley	Hood River	Pasadena	Santa Rosa
Brawley	Inglewood	Petaluma	Sausalito
Broderick	Kent	Pomona	Seattle
Chico	Lindsay	Portland	Sierra Madre
Chula Vista	Lodi	Red Bluff	Stanford University
Compton	Lomita	Redondo Beach	Stockton
Covina	Lompoc	Reedley	Tacoma
Culver City	Long Beach	Richmond	Torrance
Delano	Los Angeles	Sacramento	Tujunga
Dunsmuir	Lynwood	Salem	Tulare
El Centro	Madera	Salinas	Turlock
El Monte	Marysville	San Anselmo	Ukiah
Fresno	Merced	San Diego	Venice
Gardena	Mill Valley	San Francisco	Visalia
Gilroy	Modesto	San Jose	Watsonville
Glendale	Monterey	San Leandro	Woodland
Hanford	Mountain View	San Luis Obispo	Yuba City
Hawthorne			

Table B.2. Counts of families from each community for the blocks included in the sample. Raw counts for both 1943 and 1945 are included.

	7H		8F		9L		11G		12G		12H		Total
	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	
Alameda			1	1									2
Alhambra								1	1				2
Arbuckle			1	2									3
Artesia											1		1
Auburn									1				1
Belvedere			1	2									3
Buna Park											1		1
Byron			1	1									2
Chico	1	2	1	1									5
Colusa			8	3									21
Compton					1	2							3
Concord	5		1	2									8
Corona Del Mar.								1					1
Cotati			1	1									2
Courtland		6											6
Covina								1					1
Delano			1	1					1		1		4
Dunsumir				1									1
El Monte											1		1
Elk Grove	1					1					1		3
Forestville			1	1									2
Fresno		1	1			1			1		1		5
Garden Grove					1	1							2
Gardena				1		1		1	3	1		1	8
Grimes			1	1									2
Hanford		1		1						1			3
Hawthorne								1		1			2
Hilo		1											1
Hollywood					1	1							2
Honolulu											1		1
Hood	2	1											3
Hood River								3			1		4
Hopland	1	1											2
Inglewood	1	1			1	2							5
Kent								2					2
Lemoore		1											1
Long Beach					1	4			1	2	1	2	11

	7H		8F		9L		11G		12G		12H		Total
	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	
Loomis		1								1			2
Los Angeles	1	4	1	4	36	57		68	31	69	54	72	397
Madison	1			1									2
Marysville				2				1					3
Monterey			1	1									2
Mountain View				1		2							3
Napa				1		2							3
Newcastle		2											2
Newcastle				1		2							3
Oakland				1							1		2
Pepeekeo									1	3			4
Petaluma				3		8							11
Point Bay				1		8							9
Pomona												1	1
Portland						1							1
Sacramento	3	6	2	3			4	2		5		2	27
Salem							1						1
Salinas										1			1
San Diego									2				2
San Francisco	1	1											2
San Jose	1	1											2
San Mateo		1											1
San Pedro						1	2		2			1	6
San Rafael						1							1
Santa Fe				1		1							2
Santa Maria							1						1
Santa Rosa				3		4							7
Sausalito				2		3							5
Sebastopol				6		6							12
Stockton	1	1							1				3
Tacoma									1				1
Terminal Island						1	2		2				6
Torrence											1	2	3
Tujunga	1												1
Turlock						1							1
Ukiah	4	9											13
Venice									3	4	1	2	10

	7H		8F		9L		11G		12G		12H		Total
	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	1943	1945	
Walnut Grove	11	17						2					30
Wheatland				1									1
Wilmington							1						1
Windsor				1									1
Winters	4	3											7
Winters				1									1
Woodland	11	16	6	5									38
Yolo			1	2									3
Yuba City			8	8									16
Total	50	77	57	96	44	82		93	40	91	57	91	778



Figure B.1. Images of artifact types referenced in article. Top: Three examples of modified metal artifacts, a ginger grater made of a perforated can lid, a tin can with a cut bottom, a can with a handmade wire handle filled with tar used to seal barracks. Bottom: Ceramic tea bowl made in Japan, the base to an aqua sake jug, a marble.

APPENDIX C

CHAPTER 3 SUPPLEMENTAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Example of Archaeological Data Sources

Survey Data

In Chapter 3 a set of four artifact categories were included in the analysis. Artifact counts and types were based off of analysis conducted using survey data and artifacts collected or analyzed in the field. During survey non-diagnostic artifacts, like glass fragments or other unidentifiable fragments, are recorded using a tally sheet to create a record of relative counts for each residential block. Diagnostic artifacts are marked with pin flags for analysis. Each artifact is assigned a number, a GPS location recorded, a photograph taken, and a detailed analysis conducted.

To identify artifacts for inclusion in Chapter 3, we looked through survey records to identify the number of artifacts that fit each category, marbles, ceramics manufactured in Japan, modified artifacts, and glass jugs. The final type referenced was “other artifacts”, this category acted as a catch-all for all artifacts recorded as part of the survey and not pulled out as one of the four categories analyzed. In each residential block a significant number of non-diagnostic artifacts and other artifact types like glass jars or barrel hoops are documented (Figures C.1 and C.2). Although these data are valuable for other analyses, the decision was made to not discuss additional artifact types but rather convert them into a single category that could be used to understand the total number of artifacts present in each block as a frame of reference for variation in the counts of artifacts from the four categories discussed.

**Amache Surface Survey
BLOCK / FEATURE FORM**

Block #: 7H

Feature #: _____

Date: 6/16

Surveyors: _____

Transect Spacing: _____

1 of 2

Glass:	Clear	Brwn	Milk	Aqua	Lt Grn	Dk Grn	Cobalt	Other
Bottle Glass:								green m
small								yellow m
medium								medium
large								
whole								
Jar Glass:								
small								
medium								
large								
whole								
Cold cream jars								
Cleaning product								
Soda bottles								
Food Jars								
Tableware								
Unidentified								
Ceramics:	Earthenware	Porcelain	Hotelware	Fiestaware	Terracotta	Stoneware	Glassware	Unknown
Tin Cans:	lids	fragments	whole	reusable lid	handle	modified		
Small								
Medium								
Large								
Oil/Gas								
Other								
Metal:	Fragments	Whole	Modified					Post-Occupation
Barrel Hoops				Claw cap		gas can		Car Parts
Oil Drum								Beer
Bottle Caps								Other
Wire								St. Ives
Other				metal basin				Stamps
Can/box		Condensed M. Shal head						Tin
Other:								Other
marbles		Chew Toys, Disc, Shap. S. Mar.						Plastic
shell		Porcelain lid, p. metal						tin lid
shoe parts		metal can cap						
buttons		pressed (metal) (see part?)						Beer Disc 7
other clothing		metal S. Hie. Screen cap						band with wren
(Comp)		Red list metal metal SD +						
Zinc ring		medium nail lid						Rubber wrist band/shap
3rd?		Medial metal + wire						Zinc tube piece
		Medial metal + wire						

Scrub on bottle cap (metal) ||. Hard rubber stopper top?
metal gasket.
recharge marker cell fixture.
tin shaped same brown color

Figure C.1. Example of tally form used to collect survey data on non-diagnostic artifacts.

Amache Master Object List Year: 2014

Block # 7H

Crew Chief April Kump-Whittaker

1 of 1

FA#	Description	Action	GPS	Photo	Done
1	M34 blunt prong	C	X	X	X
2	Metal gas can w/handle + spout	AIF	X	X	
3	Metal gas can w/handle	AIF	X	X	
4	oil can w/spout + Air Guard mark	AIF	X	X	
5	metal oil bucket	AIF	X	X	
6	metal wire hand Pan	AIF	X	X	
7	metal wire handle	AIF	-	X	
8	small glass ball w/ + olive small	C	-	X	
9	square bottle base	AIF	-	X	
10	small bottle neck w/ rim	AIF	-	X	
11	gas can base	AIF	-	X	
12	shell base	C&R	-	X	
13	milk glass bowl	AIF	-	X	
14	shell base	AIF	-	X	
15	Terra cotta flower pot	AIF	-	X	
16	Reaction w/ blunt oil glass	C	X	X	X
17	cut from olive fruit	C&R	X	X	X
18	orange olive + oil patches	C	X	X	X
19	clear glass to hold small drop/ball	C	X	X	X
20	hatched tube/bottle glass	AIF	X	X	X
21	white hatched glass	AIF	X	X	X
22	milk bottle neck	AIF	X	X	X
23	glass fragment	AIF	X	X	X
24	milk bottle	AIF	X	X	X
25	clear bottle mouth	C&R	X	X	
26	large modified can	AIF	X	X	X
27	cut off with holes	AIF	X	X	X
28	hollow can with	AIF	X	X	X
29	metal wire base + rim 3 pieces	AIF	X	X	X
30	hollow can - bowl	AIF	X	X	X
31	large clear glass jug base	AIF	X	X	X
32	clear glass jug top	AIF	X	X	X
33	transfer print card/can	AIF	X	X	X
34	metal clear glass medicine	AIF	X	X	
35	red rubber like bone	AIF	X	X	X
36	metal metal base	C	X	X	X
37	metal metal with vertical hole w/ small	C&R	X	X	
38	metal metal coat strap/attachment	AIF	X	X	X
39	metal metal coat	AIF	X	X	X

Action: C= Collect; C&R= Catch & Release; AIF= Analyze in Field

Figure C.2. Example Master Object List used to document diagnostic artifacts and track mapping and analysis of each artifact.

Landscape Data

During survey features were mapped digitally to create an outline of the feature and document its location within the residential block. A hand drawn sketch map and written description were also generated to provide additional descriptive data including the class of the feature (trash scatter, architecture, post occupation, garden) and materials used in its construction (concrete, limestone, cinder block, brick, tree, etc.). For the analysis in this chapter the location and size were used to determine if features were public or private.

Amache Master Feature List **Block 7H** **Year 2014**

Fea #	Fea Type	Materials	Vegetation	Description	Dimensions	Photo	GPS
1	T	O (coal)	Na	Coal drop off near Marshall street trash dump evidence of burning.		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2	T	C, B, O (wood)	Na	Post occupational dump probably related to demolition of house lots of concrete & wood.		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3	Path/ Road	L	NA	Road spine on edge of block between 7H + 7G		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4	L	L, RC	T, DT	Community garden on N side of block with 15 trees + 1 dead tree. Some river cobbles + limestone scatter	4x18m	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5	A	B, CB, C	Na	Brick concrete, cinder block rectangle with 15 trees + 1 dead tree. Possible fence		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
6	L	C, O	Na	Several concrete blocks + a dimensional lumber + 1 of the fence + bathroom lumber set into ground		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
7	L	C, B, L, RC	DT	Entryway garden along length barrier with 15 trees + 1 dead tree. Brick + concrete sculpture stone, modified wood + metal.		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
8	L	B, L, RC, O	DT	Entryway garden structure length of block with 15 trees + 1 dead tree. Barrel vault, brick + concrete barrel vault, brick + concrete		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9	L	B, L, C, O	DT	Box, long entry way garden with brick path for long, dimensional lumber + trees		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
10	L	L, B	DT	Barrel vault entryway garden space, trees, limestone scatter brick in door ways		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
11	L	B, C, L, O	DT	Entryway garden, completed fence around tree covering road + house		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
12	L	Dimensional Lumber	DT	Entryway garden barrel vault 12-15 trees dimensional lumber + entry space		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Feature Type: T=Trash Scatter; A=Architecture; L=Landscaping; P=Post-Occupation
Materials: B=Brick; C=Concrete; CB=Cinder Block; L=Limestone; RC=River Cobble; O=Other
Vegetation: DT=Downed Tree; T=Tree; EP=Exotic Plants

Figure C.3. Example of a Feature Form used during survey showing feature data collected for Block 7H.

Explanation of Maps and Keys

Maps representing the results of intensive pedestrian survey for the blocks analyzed in this dissertation are included in this appendix. The GIS database for the site began with GIS data collected in 2003 by RMC consultants when they initially documented the site. During that survey a base layer showing existing foundations visible on the ground surface, select artifacts, and some landscape features was created. From 2008 to 2018 the University of Denver (DU) Amache Project collected additional data during archaeological survey at a much more intensive survey interval (2m compared to the 15m interval spacing of the 2003 survey). The DU Amache data includes points for artifacts analyzed in the field and landscape features.

Field Artifacts – these are points collected for artifacts analyzed in the field. A majority of points represents single artifacts; however, in a few cases one point is used for multiple artifacts.

Survey Feature – These are polygons for landscape features identified during the DU Amache project survey.

Survey Feature Points – These are landscape features represented by a single point. In the case of early survey data collected during 2008 many features are represented only by a collection of points rather than a polygon.

Landscape Features 2003 RMC Survey – During the 2003 reconnaissance survey a collection of features were identified. These polygons represent features recorded during this earlier survey.



Block 7H

- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- Survey Features

0 0.01 0.02 0.04 Miles





Block 8F

- Roads
- ▒ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- Survey Features

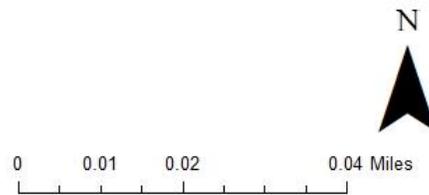
0 0.01 0.02 0.04 Miles





Block 8K

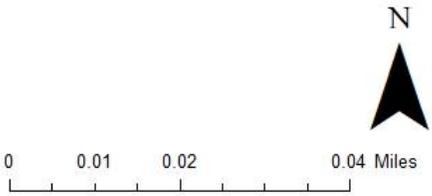
- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- ▭ Survey Features
- ◆ Survey Feature Points





Block 9H

- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- ▭ Survey Features
- ◆ Survey Feature Points





Block 9L

- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- ▭ Survey Features

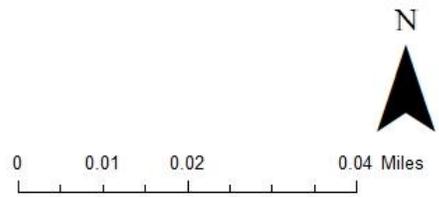
0 0.01 0.02 0.04 Miles





Block 11G

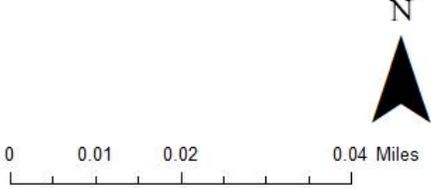
- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- ▭ Survey Features
- ◆ Survey Feature Points
- Landscape Features 2003 RMC Survey





Block 12G

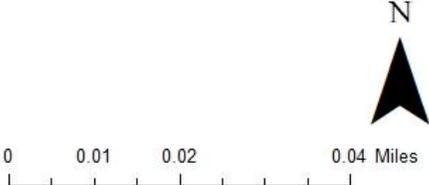
- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- ▭ Survey Features
- Survey Feature Points





Block 12H

- Roads
- ▭ Foundations
- ◆ Field Artifacts (FA)
- ▭ Survey Features
- ◆ Survey Feature Points



APPENDIX D

CHAPTER 4 NETWORK DATA AND ACTIVITY CODING

Article Analysis Methods

The Amache newspaper, *The Granada Pioneer*, was published Wednesday and Saturday for most of the site's occupation. It has been digitized and is available online through DENSHO, a nonprofit that documents and preserves the history of Japanese American Incarceration (<http://ddr.densho.org/browse/topics/211/>). A sample of papers was analyzed covering the temporal span of Amache. For each year, papers were analyzed covering the months of March, April, July, August, November, and December. For each group of months every third paper was analyzed. This created a spread of dates covering different holidays, sports seasons, and important events during the site's occupation.

As each paper was read, articles containing the full names (first, last) of 2 or more individuals were collected as long as those individuals were engaging in an activity with each other. The co-mention of names was not enough. Individuals had to be participating in an activity that would have involved face to face interaction. For example, a list of individuals who needed to pick up checks would not be recorded but a list of everyone that attended a committee meeting would. Although we do not have evidence that these individuals all talked to each other, they were interacting through a shared affiliation with that group or committee.

Short TAKES

The center school advisory board held its initial meeting at 6H-11F last week, the education department stated.

Members of this board are Superintendent of Education Paul J. Terry, Dr. Masuichi Higaki, Dr. George Nagamoto, Dr. Takashi Terami, Toichi Domoto, Buddy Iwata, Kazuo Masuda, Mrs. George Takeyama, Mrs. Hama Yamasaki, and Mrs. Grace Yokouchi.

MORE MERCED EVACUEES HERE

Former Mercedians boosted the center population last week as more volunteer beet workers arrived here.

They are U. Miyazaki, S. Nagatani, D. Nakamura, Nobuo Sakamoto, Moemon Wataida, Matsuo Yamano, and their families.

Figure D.1. Two examples of newspaper articles from the Granada Pioneer. The article on the left was used to generate network data since it represents shared membership on a committee. The article on the right was not since it represents a list of individuals not a set of interactions.

Place Data

Place data was also recorded on where an activity was taking place. Locational data ranged in specificity from a residential block to a specific building. A majority of the locations were at Amache, but several were located outside of the incarceration center and included the town of Granada, the Granada High School gym, and several neighboring cities. For locations in Amache the block was always documented and where possible the specific location inside the block was recorded. For events occurring outside of Amache the broad place name was recorded in the notes but unless it was a common location (like Granada or Denver) it was simply documented as “outside Amache.”

Table D.1. Place names and codes as generated from newspaper data.

Place	Place Code
Granada	1
Terry Hall	2
Lamar	3
Barber Shop	4
Shoe Shop	5
Out of Area Trip	6
Hospitality house	7
Terry Hall	8
Y Office	9
Hospital	10

Activity Codes

Types of Activity Codes were initially identified after reading a selection of articles. Key activities such as sports, clubs, employment, and classes were identified as activity codes based on both occurrence in newspapers and knowledge of common activities occurring at Amache. As additional data was collected new codes were added to represent less common activity types. After the final newspaper was analyzed initial articles were reevaluated to make sure that use of activity codes was consistent across years. At this point some codes were consolidated if they represented similar activity types and only had a few occurrences.

Table D.2. Activity types by name with associated code.

<u>Activity Name</u>	<u>Activity Code</u>
Block Governance	1 Block Governance
Class	2 Class
Club	3 Club
Committee	4 Committee
Employment	5 Employment
Entertainment	6 Entertainment
Conference	7 Conference
Business	8 Business
Marriage	9 Marriage
Performance	10 Performance
Sport	11 Sport
Competition	12 Competition
Party	13 Party
Festival	14 Festival
Religion	15 Religion

Sample of completed data

Base data on each event was created edge lists were generated showing interactions between individuals and blocks. This data was then used to conduct the network analysis.

Table D.3. Example of base data developed from newspaper documents showing each individual's name, place of residence at Amache, the location of the activity, activity type, date, and details about the activity.

Block	Apt	Name	Place	Activity	Activity Code	Activity detail	Date
7G	4E	Buddy Iwata	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
12K	12B	George Nagamoto	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
6H	2B	Grace Takeyama	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
9L	5B	Yokouchi	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
8K	9D	Hama Yamasaki	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
7F	2E	Kazuo Masuda	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
9H	1D	Takashi Terami	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
6H	5C	Masuichi Toichi Domoto	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42
6H	2A	Higaki	8H	Committee	4	School Advisory Board	12/2/42

Table D.4. Example of an edge list generated from the previous raw activity data.

Src Blk	Src Apt	Src Ind	Snk Blk	Snk Apt	Snk Ind	Count	Lyr Act	Lyr Date	Lyr Place
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	73	45	Buddy Iwata	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	64	22	George Takeyama	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	96	52	Grace Yokouchi	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	85	94	Hama Yamasaki	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	72	25	Kazuo Masuda	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	94	14	Takashi Terami	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	64	53	Toichi Domoto	1	4	12/2/42	84
64	21	Masuichi Higaki	125	122	George Nagamoto	1	4	12/2/42	84

Note on headers: Src Blk and Src Apt is the residential block and apartment for the first individual listed. The numbers are coded blocks, for example 64 is block 6H. Snk Block and Snk Apt are the residential information of the individual being interacted with. Lyr Act is the code for the activity acting as the tie between nodes. Lyr Date is the date of the activity and Lyr Place is the coded location where the interaction occurred.

Supplemental Analysis for Chapter 4.

In Chapter 4 the social activities of four residential blocks were analyzed to assess the frequency of block residents' social interactions between blocks and within the block. These network graphs and tables give additional information on the metrics used. For these analyses each event was an interaction between residents of that block or between residents of different blocks. Thus, interactions could be occurring between blocks, where one or more residents of the block were socializing with residents of other blocks, and within the block, where residents were socializing with each other either through activities occurring in their block or as co-participants in activities taking place elsewhere in Amache.

Table D.5. Graph metrics for the four blocks' networks analyzed. Data is divided into measures for the whole block, including between block and within block interactions, and a breakdown of within block interactions. Each node represents one residential block that residents of the focus block interacted with. Actors are individual residents of Amache, including the focus block. Ties are counts of each social interactions between residents of the focus block and other blocks at Amache through participation in different activities.

Residential Block	Total # of nodes	Total # of ties	Network density	Total # of Actors	Total # of Activities	# of Kinds of Activities	Proportion of Between Block Ties	Proportion of Within Block Ties	Within Block Density*	# of Within Block Actors	# Activities Within Block
7H	27	200	0.074	25	23	7	158/200	42/200	0.00094	15	5
8K	29	322	0.069	38	39	9	232/322	90/322	0.002	14	11
9H	28	484	0.071	50	36	10	293/484	191/484	0.0043	33	10
9L	24	100	0.083	13	14	6	94/100	6/100	0.00013	6	3

*Network density is calculated based on an estimated block population of 300

Table D.6. Event types participated in by residents of each block included in the sample. The type of event is listed, how often that event type occurs in the data, how many actors from the ego block were involved and the total number of other residents of Amache they interacted with.

Event Type	Block	Frequency of Event	Count of Actors from Block	Total Count of Actors from All Blocks
Club	7H	3	8	24
	8K	9	14	48
	9H	7	8	39
	9L	5	4	24
Committee	7H	2	2	16
	8K	10	8	40
	9H	6	10	49
	9L	2	2	11
Employment	7H	2	3	8
	8K	1	1	5
	9H	2	3	16
	9L	1	1	8
Sport	7H	10	9	62
	8K	11	7	31
	9H	10	8	60
	9L	2	2	14
Party	7H	2	7	8
	8K	1	9	22
	9H	1	18	18
	9L	3	5	21
Block	8K	2	2	12
Governance	9H	1	1	8
	9L	1	1	11
Competition	7H	1	1	9
	9H	1	1	8
Conference	8K	2	4	8
	9H	1	1	4
Religion	7H	1	1	7
Class	8K	1	1	2
Entertainment	8K	2	2	11
Festival	8K	1	4	13
Marriage	9H	1	1	4
Performance	9H	1	2	9

APPENDIX E

CHAPTER 5 SUPPLEMENTAL DATA AND IMAGES



Figure E.1. Historic photograph of the 9F sumo ring located near the community co-op store. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection.



Figure E.2. Historic image of a residential block showing residents playing basketball at a neighborhood level sporting facility. Image courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, McClelland Collection

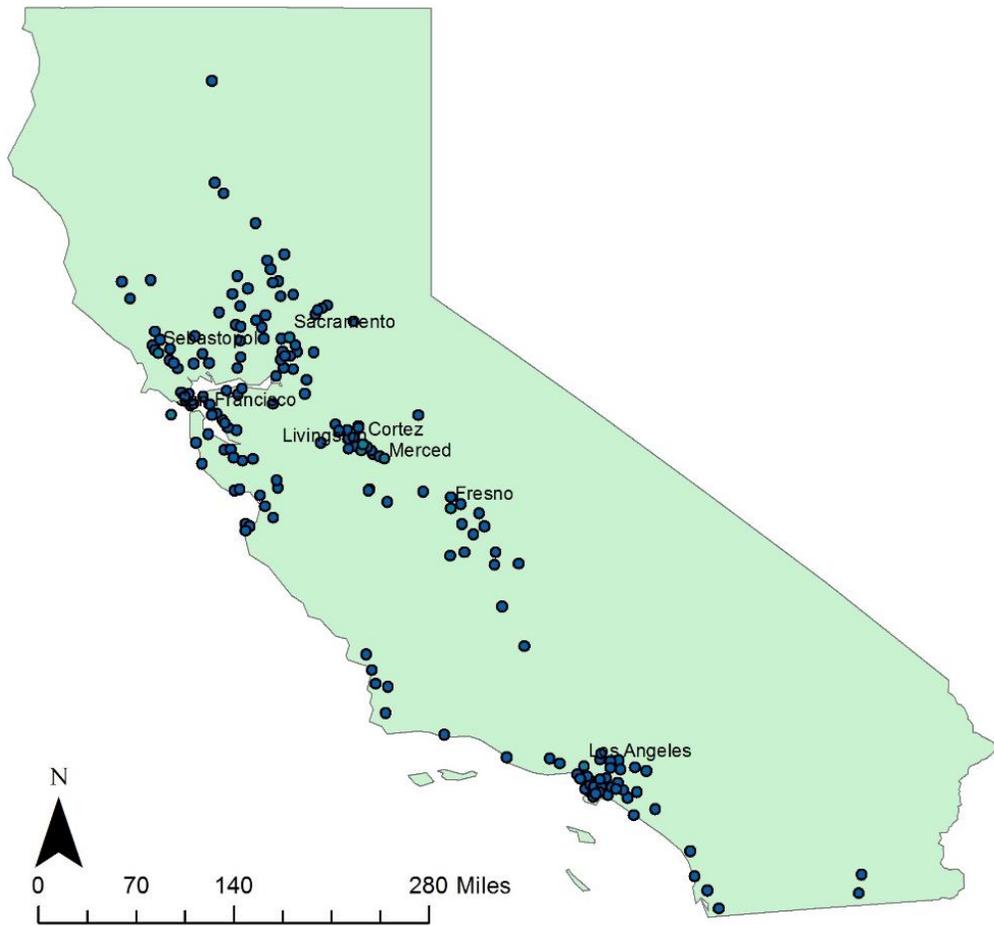


Figure E.3. Map showing the distribution of communities in California represented by incarcerated individuals at Amache. Map by the author.

Table E.1. Data on event types gathered from the Amache Pioneer organized by date.

Date of Pioneer	Event Type by Newspaper Date											Total Events by Date	
	Club	Employment	Performance	Marriage	Event/Party	Entertainment	Committee	Class	Competition	Conference	Religion		Travel
10/24/42	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
11/4/42	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
11/14/42	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
11/26/42	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
12/2/42	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6
12/12/42	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
12/24/42	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	6
3/3/43	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	10
3/13/43	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	8
3/24/43	4	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
4/3/43	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
4/14/43	4	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	9
4/24/43	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	7
7/3/43	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
7/14/43	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	6
7/24/43	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
8/4/43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
8/14/43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
8/25/43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
11/3/43	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
11/13/43	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
11/24/43	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
12/4/43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
12/15/43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
12/25/43	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
3/3/44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
3/11/44	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3/22/44	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
4/1/44	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
4/12/44	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
4/22/44	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
7/1/44	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
7/12/44	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
7/22/44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
8/2/44	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
8/12/44	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

Date of Pioneer	Club	Employment	Performance	Marriage	Event/Party	Entertainment	Committee	Class	Competition	Conference	Religion	Travel	Total Events by Date
8/23/44	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11/3/44	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11/15/44	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11/25/44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
12/6/44	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
12/16/44	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
12/23/44	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
3/14/45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
4/7/45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4/18/45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total Activities by Event Type	43	14	11	7	13	3	23	3	2	4	3	2	128

Table E.2. Network data from Granada Pioneer documenting each sporting event, name of team, location of event. Individuals' names have been removed but their hometown, place of residence at Amache, and assembly center are recorded.

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	122	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	103
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	71	2A	Sacramento	Merced	11	103
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	112	11C	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	103
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	103

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	73	122	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	113	12A	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
AA All-Stars team vs High school varsity basketball	4/1/44	122	12B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	103
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	82	11B	Grimes	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	112	5E	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	74	91	Courtland	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	82	10A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	94	61	Winton	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	71	6D	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	91	4C	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	6
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	122	1C	Pemgrove	Merced	11	6

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source Bk	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
All-Star squad playoffs against Gila teams	8/2/44	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	6
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	111	3D	Modesto	Merced	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	72	1E	Sacramento	Merced	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	112	92	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	82	112	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	73	122	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	61	81	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	113	12A	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	81	1B	Sacramento	Merced	11	102
Amache All stars vs rocky ford team	8/12/44	82	121	Sausalito	Merced	11	102
Amache Varsity Football team	1/2/43	72	71	Colusa	Merced	11	1
Amache Varsity Football team	1/2/43	101	62	Turlock	Merced	11	1
Amache Varsity Football team	1/2/43	104	3B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	1
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	122	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	82	11B	Grimes	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	61	5B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	112	5E	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	112	92	Petaluma	Merced	11	

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	112	6C	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	82	10A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	82	11B	Grimes	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	122	10C	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	112	5C	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	91	1C	Delhi	Merced	11	
American League Baseball Team	7/1/44	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	122	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	61	5B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	82	10A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	94	61	Winton	Merced	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	112	5C	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	91	1C	Delhi	Merced	11	
Baseball Nationals Vs American Allstars	7/12/44	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	
Baseball Sakuras vs 12E Kuzus	7/1/44	121	121	Yuba City	Merced	11	

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Baseball Sakuras vs 12E Kuzus	7/1/44	121	4C	Monterey	Merced	11	
Baseball Sakuras vs 12E Kuzus	7/1/44	122	1C	Pemgrove	Merced	11	
Baseball Sakuras vs 12E Kuzus	7/1/44	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	
Basketball against Denver team	3/3/44	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	
Basketball against Denver team	3/3/44	122	12B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Basketball against outside teams	3/3/44	62	33	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	
Basketball against outside teams	3/3/44	74	102	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
Basketball against outside teams	3/3/44	73	5D	Courtland	Merced	11	
Basketball against outside teams	3/3/44	121	1F	Sacramento	Merced	11	
Basketball Broncos vs firemen	12/15/43	63	7C	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
Basketball Broncos vs firemen	12/15/43	82	10A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Basketball game GI Niseis vs Rovers	12/23/44	94	74	Cressey	Merced	11	103
Basketball game GI Niseis vs Rovers	12/23/44	73	122	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
Basketball game GI Niseis vs Rovers	12/23/44	82	3D	Alameda	Merced	11	103
Basketball game GI Niseis vs Rovers	12/23/44	85	72	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Basketball game with JA team from Chicago	3/22/44	112	11C	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	
Basketball game with JA team from Chicago	3/22/44	74	6B	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Basketball game with JA team from Chicago	3/22/44	122	12B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Basketball katonks	12/16/44	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	103
Basketball katonks	12/16/44	74	6B	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
Basketball katonks	12/16/44	72	12B	Isleton	Merced	11	103
Basketball katonks	12/16/44	114	5C	Long Beach	Santa Anita	11	103
Basketball katonks	12/16/44	74	7A	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	83	2D	Winters	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	72	62	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	75	3B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	74	12B	Courtland	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	91	4C	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	74	4F	Hopland	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	101	101	Cressey	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	71	10C	Delhi	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	71	121	Broderick	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	63	1F	Mountain View	Santa Anita	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	82	121	Sausalito	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	82	3D	Alameda	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	91	4C	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
basketball showcase	12/25/43	81	11C	Woodland	Merced	11	103
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	95	4B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	1

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	73	122	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	1
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	94	101	Livingston	Merced	11	1
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	122	112	Sebastopol	Merced	11	1
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	1
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	122	12B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	1
Basketball team intermural	2/2/43	121	3C	Berkeley	Merced	11	1
Basketball tournament	11/25/44	71	2A	Sacramento	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament	11/25/44	125	9D	Penryn	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament	11/25/44	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament	11/25/44	74	6B	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament	11/25/44	73	5D	Courtland	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	122	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	61	5B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	74	12B	Courtland	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	112	12B	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	71	2A	Sacramento	Merced	11	103

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	74	6B	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	82	10A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	73	5D	Courtland	Merced	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	114	5C	Long Beach	Santa Anita	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	113	12A	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Basketball tournament against rocky ford	12/6/44	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	103
Block Softball teams	4/14/43	95	2D	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	95
Block Softball teams	4/14/43	72	11B	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	95
Deltans vs Dusters	8/25/43	61	5B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	102
Deltans vs Dusters	8/25/43	111	8A	Pescadero	Merced	11	102
Deltans vs Dusters	8/25/43	74	4E	Woodland	Merced	11	102
Deltans vs Dusters	8/25/43	91	4C	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	102
Deltans vs Dusters	8/25/43	63	5F	Woodland	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Deltans	8/4/43	91	7A	Isleton	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Deltans	8/4/43	71	3A	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Deltans	8/4/43	82	112	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Deltans	8/4/43	91	1A	Modesto	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Deltans	8/4/43	94	61	Winton	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Deltans	8/4/43	63	5F	Woodland	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	63	81	Guinda	Merced	11	102

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	94	81	Cressey	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	91	5C	Colusa	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	122	2B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	82	112	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	122	12A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	94	101	Livingston	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	82	9C	Belvedere	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	71	1D	Guinda	Merced	11	102
Dodgers vs Motor poolers	7/24/43	122	12B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Dusters Vs Dogers	7/14/43	61	5B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	102
Dusters Vs Dogers	7/14/43	82	4F	Cressey	Merced	11	102
Dusters Vs Dogers	7/14/43	91	5C	Colusa	Merced	11	102
Dusters Vs Dogers	7/14/43	123	4A	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	102
Dusters Vs Dogers	7/14/43	82	9C	Belvedere	Merced	11	102
Dusters Vs Dogers	7/14/43	82	9C	Belvedere	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	64	7D	Colusa	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	112	92	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	72	3B	Isleton	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	111	8A	Pescadero	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	73	5D	Courtland	Merced	11	102
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	61	12A	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	102

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source Bldg	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Dusters vs Motor poolers	8/4/43	91	1C	Delhi	Merced	11	102
Football practice	11/14/42	114	46	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Football practice	11/14/42	114	85	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Football practice	11/14/42	85	115	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Football practice	11/14/42	85	74	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Football practice	11/14/42	95	96	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
High School Football team	1/12/43	112	12B	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	103
High School Football team	1/12/43	114	1D	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
High School Football team	1/12/43	72	71	Colusa	Merced	11	103
High School Football team	1/12/43	101	6B	Turlock	Merced	11	103
Highschool Varsity Cagers Basketball Team	4/1/44	121	10A	Modesto	Merced	11	103
Highschool Varsity Cagers Basketball Team	4/1/44	112	12B	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	103
Highschool Varsity Cagers Basketball Team	4/1/44	101	5C	Turlock	Merced	11	103
Highschool Varsity Cagers Basketball Team	4/1/44	74	91	Courtland	Merced	11	103
Highschool Varsity Cagers Basketball Team	4/1/44	91	8C	Alameda	Merced	11	103
Highschool Varsity Cagers Basketball Team	4/1/44	101	6B	Turlock	Merced	11	103
Informal pick-up game	11/4/42	114		Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Informal pick-up game	11/4/42	94	74	Cressey	Merced	11	103

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Informal pick-up game	11/4/42	91	121	Colusa	Merced	11	103
Informal pick-up game	11/4/42	94	61	Terminal Island	Merced	11	103
Informal pick-up game	11/4/42	85	74	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Informal pick-up game	11/4/42	122	13	Pemgrove	Merced	11	103
Intermural Basketball - Arainans	2/23/43	114	1E	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Arainans	2/23/43	96	4D	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Rockets	2/9/43	94	71	Livingston	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Rockets	2/9/43	91	7A	Isleton	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Rockets	2/9/43	82	9C	Belvedere	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Rockets	2/9/43	64	3B	Modesto	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Rockets	2/9/43	71	4A	Modesto	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball - Rockets	2/9/43	123	5F			11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Kau Kau Laners	3/3/43	111	8D	Turlock	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Kau Kau Laners	3/3/43	72	1D	Woodland	Merced	11	1

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Intermural Basketball Team - Kau Kau Laners	3/3/43	91	11C	Colusa	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Zephyr	3/3/43	91	5C	Colusa	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Zephyr	3/3/43	94	7D	Cressey	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Zephyr	3/3/43	73	5D	Courtland	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Zephyr	3/3/43	91	1A	Modesto	Merced	11	1
Intermural Basketball Team - Zephyr	3/3/43	91	11C	Colusa	Merced	11	1
Ko-Nut vs Scrapper	7/14/43	122	5B	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	102
Ko-Nut vs Scrapper	7/14/43	112	6B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Ko-Nut vs Scrapper	7/14/43	72	5E	Yuba City	Merced	11	102
Ko-Nut vs Scrapper	7/14/43	83	4E	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Ko-Nut vs Scrapper	7/14/43	112	9C	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	71	9C	Woodland	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	74	91	Courtland	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	73	122	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	91	8C	Alameda	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	94	61	Winton	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	101	9B	Turlock	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	71	1D	Guinda	Merced	11	

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	71	6D	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
National League Baseball Team	7/1/44	91	4C	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	72	55	Yuba City	Merced	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	62	33	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	82	112	Grimes	Merced	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	91	121	Colusa	Merced	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	72	75	Colusa	Merced	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	61	34	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	71	64	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	93
National League Grid Game	12/2/42	111	105	Turlock	Merced	11	93
Ping pong team	2/16/43	81	5C	San Francisco	Santa Anita	11	113
Ping pong team	2/2/43	115	81	Culver City	Santa Anita	11	113
Ping pong team	2/16/43	94	101	Livingston	Merced	11	113
Ping pong team	2/23/43	71	1E	Woodland	Merced	11	113
Ping pong team	2/2/43	123	2C	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	113
Ping pong team	2/9/43	113	12D	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	113
Ping pong team	2/23/43	114	5C	Long Beach	Santa Anita	11	113
Ping pong team	1/12/43	113	12B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	113
Playoffs	8/25/43	71	9C	Woodland	Merced	11	102
Playoffs	8/25/43	71	6D	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	102
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	63	4F	Colusa	Merced	11	103
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	72	8A	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	103
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	95	11C	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	123	1F	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	82	121	Sausalito	Merced	11	103
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	85	72	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Rec League Basketball	12/25/43	85	8C	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	103
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	115	104	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	64	75	Turlock	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	94	74	Cressey	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	91	73	Reedley	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	101	13	Turlock	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	71	21	Isleton	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	101	105	Cressey	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	94	11	Terminal Island	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	72	75	Colusa	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	96	22	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	91	15	Colusa	Merced	11	1
Roster of boys basketball team	11/26/42	101	62	Turlock	Merced	11	1
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	112	5E	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	82	10A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	122	4D	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	112	5C	Santa Rosa	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	112	6B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	122	12C	Graton	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	112	9C	Petaluma	Merced	11	102
Scraps vs Rambos	8/14/43	111	4C	Cortez	Merced	11	102

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	81	3E	Winters	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	125	9D	Penryn	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	91	5B	Colusa	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	74	3B	Ukiah	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	72	81	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	72	81	Walnut Grove	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball All Stars team	3/22/44	121	3C	Berkeley	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	111	2E	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	8C	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	11B	Alameda	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	8C	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	74	81	Ukiah	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	2B	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	5C	Cotati	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	4E	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	122	111	Sebastopol	Merced	11	
Womens Baseball Ramblerettes team	3/22/44	112	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	

Activity Detail	Layer Date	Source BIK	Source Apt	Source Hometown	Source Assembly Center	Layer Act	Layer Place
Women's Intermural Basketball Team - Sepol Ramblerettes	3/3/43	122	8C	Sebastopol	Merced	11	62
Women's Intermural Basketball Team - Sepol Ramblerettes	3/3/43	95	1E	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	62
Women's Intermural Basketball Team - Sepol Ramblerettes	3/3/43	85	11B	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	62
Women's Intermural Basketball Team - Sepol Ramblerettes	3/3/43	112	2A	Sebastopol	Merced	11	62
Womens softball team	4/24/43	11G	5E			11	113
Womens softball team	4/24/43	113	91	Los Angeles	Santa Anita	11	113
Womens softball team	4/24/43	82	6C	Forestville	Merced	11	113