

Number 52 | March 2023

CALIFORNIAN

*California History Center
& Foundation*

A Center at De Anza College
for the Study and Preservation
of State and Regional History





**Support California History Center and
the Euphrat Museum of Art
De Anza Visual and Performing Arts Center (VPAC)
March 25, 2023 4:00pm - 7:00pm**

- "Spaces of Belonging" explores our relationship to the land we live on. De Anza College President Lloyd Holmes will present student and community awards.
- Author Anne Marie Todd will speak about sense of place in the Santa Clara Valley, with excerpts from her new book, "Valley of Heart's Delight."
- San José native Jackie Gage, with guitarist Kevin Goldberg, will perform original songs about San José, the Santa Clara Valley and California.
- Guests can enjoy delicious snacks, desserts and wines from local producers, and view the current Euphrat Museum of Art exhibition, "Spaces of Belonging".
- De Anza College Planetarium will host a 7:30 p.m. showing of "Wayfinders: Waves, Winds, and Stars."
- Proceeds support art classes for at-risk youth, and De Anza student projects that preserve and share our local history.

Tickets: \$150 per person; sponsorship rates available
To Register, go to: <https://www.deanza.edu/tasteofhistory/>

Calendar

Winter Quarter

JANUARY

- 9 **First day of Winter Quarter**
- 16 **Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday**

FEBRUARY

- 17-20 **Presidents' Day Holiday**
- 27 **Day of Remembrance / Global Issues Conference Part 1**
Campus Center, 10:30–12:30pm

MARCH

- 6 **Day of Remembrance / Global Issues Conference Part 2**
Zoom session, 10:30–12:30pm:
<https://fhda-edu.zoom.us/j/4965395064?from=addon>
- 25 **A Taste of History: Spaces of Belonging, De Anza College**
Visual and Performing Arts Center (VPAC) 4–7pm
- 31 **End of Winter Quarter**

Spring Quarter

APRIL

- 10 **First Day of Spring Quarter**
- 27 **Not Your Masi's Generation**
Art Exhibit Welcoming Reception, CHC, 5–7pm

MAY

- 6 **Beyond Silicon Valley: Civil Rights**
Speaker talk, mini-doc, and conversation, CHC/MLC, 1–4pm
- 25 **Not Your Masi's Generation**
Art Exhibit Closing Reception, 5–7pm
- 27-29 **Memorial Day weekend**

JUNE

- 1 **Ethnic Studies Summit: "Californian Counter-Narratives,"**
CHC, time TBD
- 19 **Juneteenth Holiday**
- 30 **End of Spring Quarter**



California History Center & Foundation
A Center for the Study of State and Regional History
De Anza College

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www.DeAnza.edu/CalifHistory

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Cover photo: Cover photo shows a mature apricot tree planted in 1977 by Charlie Olson. The photo was taken by Lori Clinchard at Orchard Heritage Park, Sunnyvale, mid-January, 2023.

Director's Report



Lori Clinchard

Listening to Grandpa's Stories

When I was in my early 20s, I started visiting my grandparents and listening to their stories. My Grandpa Bill, especially, loved to talk about the time he spent with his grandparents in the small town he grew up in – Mt. Vernon, Washington. He would talk about his granddad, William Smiley, who was a jack-of-all-trades, doing a little bit of everything to support his family of ten children. He collected scrap metal to sell to the junk man, raised and sold rabbits for their meat and fur, and opened and closed the gate that ran across the Skagit River when the logs came running down the river on their way to the mill. My grandpa's granddad taught him many skills that he then used throughout his life, such as how to keep bees for their honey, how to grow vegetables and graft fruit trees, and how to talk to and negotiate with people in the community

in a way that kept relationships strong and full of humor.

I would sit and listen to my grandpa for hours, asking just enough questions to keep the stories flowing. In the evenings, I would pull out my notebook and write down everything I could remember, checking back with him the next day to make sure I had all the names and dates right. It was during one of these confirmation sessions that he paused and gave me a concerned look. "You know," he began slowly,

"this is all true...." He paused again. "I've told these stories many times over the years. And each time I tell it – well, I don't exactly make things up.... But, you know, maybe I give it just a little embellishment to make a good story. And now, I have to admit, I can't always remember which parts are embellished and which aren't!"

That night, I lay in bed pondering his confession, and wondering how to think about all the specific details I had been writing so carefully in my journal: Aunt Stella, who had bright red hair, was a "fireball", and had left her troublemaker husband; Uncle Johnny, who was a bookkeeper, visited once a year from California, dressed like a dandy in his suit coat and tie, and even wore his suit in the boat when my grandpa took him fishing. All of these details were told to and received by me as "Truth" – with a capital T. The admission that some



William Smiley

details might have been added or removed confused me. Should I even be writing them down?

I tossed and turned with my dilemma, until the answer came to me all of a sudden: the important thing was not whether or not my grandfather's stories were 100% accurate. What mattered was that I was sitting with my

grandfather, listening to his stories. That moment, and that realization, have continued to affect the way I think about history and the stories we tell. When we want information, we look to an approved source – an academic journal, a book by an expert in the field, or a reputable online site. But when we want wisdom, we need mediated information — knowledge that has been passed on person-to-person, through relationship, with the added value of intention. My grandfather, like grandparents around the world, passed on his values, world view and life lessons through his stories. He wasn't just telling me facts about his childhood. He was sharing with me what mattered to him, offering a perspective through which to understand life, human relations, hardship and happiness.

The California History Center (CHC) has been a place of storytelling for over 50 years now, since its inception in 1969, just two years after the opening of De Anza College. Within CHC collections are over 400 audio tapes that focus on Santa Clara Valley's agricultural and viticultural heritage, along with its transition to "Silicon Valley." Among these special oral history collections are 40 interviews devoted to Santa Clara Valley labor history and 80 interviews covering the history of De Anza College as it celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1992. There are also video oral histories that include discussions with champions of the open space movement, and interviews with Valley cannery workers and some of the last local farmers. These oral histories bring the past alive through the human voices of people who were interpreting their own experi-

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Audrey Edna Butcher Civil Liberties Education Initiative

Continuing the Audrey Edna Butcher Civil Liberties Initiative at CHC

By Tom Izu

“Equal rights,
fair play,
justice, are all
like the air:
we all have it,
or none of us
has it. That is
the truth of it”

— Maya
Angelou

Our new CHC director, Lori Clinchard, asked if I would be willing to submit articles and ideas for the Audrey Edna Butcher Civil Liberties Education Initiative page of the newly-resurrected *Californian* magazine on an ongoing basis — and she did this knowing of my retired state of mind and being. I, of course, agreed not only because I deeply respect Lori and appreciate her confidence in me, but because I do plan to volunteer for CHC and continue the civil liberties project I helped start in 2014: I feel that the educational work the initiative can do is just as relevant now as it was back then.

So, I am excited to be a contributor for the newly resurrected *Californian* magazine and happy to see it going to press once again! In honor of the re-birth of CHC’s wonderful publication that has always been able to find in local history, stories that teach and share important lessons about who we are and what we can become, I’d like to share a story. It goes like this:

A young grammar school teacher who taught in a Cupertino area school, became witness to an act that would trouble her for many years to come. It was 1942 and some of the children in her class and under her care, one day, “disappeared,” never to come back to her classroom. They were the children of immigrants of Japan whom the US government had declared to be “enemy aliens” and the children themselves, enemy “non-aliens” of their own country of birth. Pearl Harbor had been attacked by Japan and the

US had entered World War II and soon to follow came the government-ordered mass expulsion and incarceration of Japanese Americans from the West Coast states. This young teacher undoubtedly knew some of the families of these children since many, like her own family and most everyone else in the Valley back then, were connected to the land as agricultural workers and farmers. This fact only saddened her more deeply and made her wonder how something like this could happen, especially to her students.

Many years later, this same woman, named Audrey E. Butcher, sat in the back of a room at De Anza College, packed with students. The year was 2004 and I had organized a February “Day of Remembrance” program similar to the ones Japanese American communities held annually to commemorate the signing of Executive Order 9066 that led to the mass expulsion and incarceration. Many students must have been wondering who the elderly white woman was and what she was doing there. Her silvery grey hair and bright red festive-looking knit sweater made her conspicuous among the youthful students and might have reminded them of someone’s grandmother. While I was also surprised to see her in attendance, I knew her as a former board member of the California History Center Foundation and a well known and respected local history advocate. I also knew she and her husband had had ties to the elders of the Japanese American community, having

Audrey Edna Butcher is seated far right in audience attending Day of Remembrance commemoration at De Anza College, February 2004. Photo by Jean Libby.





De Anza College Academy Civil Liberties class. July 31, 2019. Students are shown with instructor Jorge Pacheco, Jr., and guest speaker, Shay Franco-Clausen.

Here she was, sharing stories from her own personal past and making them real to a new generation, even if it was painful to do so.

witnessed them calling out to a few of them after a tour I led of San José Japantown. The Butchers and Japantown elders shared memories about farm life, telling each other stories that brought laughter and joy even though many years had passed since they had last seen each other. It was not a surprise to me to see her on campus since she was always so supportive of CHC, but what she did at the end of the program was a surprise. Audrey got up and made a very tearful and emotional plea to the students, sharing what she had witnessed so many years ago and how it had hurt her. She told them, “the point of learning about this story of what happened to Japanese Americans so long ago is not to subject you to some sort of homework assignment about the past – it is about now and the future.” She then described how it made her feel to know her students were being taken away when she felt she could do nothing. She told them she sincerely hoped they would learn from this and pledge to stand up against things like this happening to anyone else, ever again. Audrey told the room of young students that someday they may be called on to do something that she couldn’t do back in her younger days, so “please learn and be ready to do something!”

The students were shocked and did not quite know what to say. Seeing someone who had been a witness to what happened back then share something so emotional and raw was probably a bit overwhelming for them: it was not something you’d expect from a regular, possibly boring, history lesson. But rather than shock I felt a sense of deep gratitude that I could be connected to someone like Audrey through the work of the CHC.

Here she was, sharing stories from her own personal past and making them real to a new generation, even if it was painful to do so. She had created a lesson she had learned after many years of reflection.

When I think back on that moment now, I believe it rekindled a sense of duty in me to keep doing educational work about civil liberties and rights as inspired by what I had learned about my family and community’s experiences during

World War II. I had begun to wonder if it was worth doing Day of Remembrance programs anymore since it seemed like old news, and hearing Audrey on campus was like a kick in the pants – the work was worth it and must go on.

Fast forward this time to 2014. After Audrey had passed on, her children made a tremendous gift to CHC after they learned that the economic downturn and cutbacks in public education had led to cutting off funding for staffing at CHC and that the center would be on its own to figure out its future survival. They knew that their mother had been an ardent supporter of the center and wanted to give it time to transition into a new form that could sustain itself. I suggested that we create an educational initiative centering around civil liberties in honor and memory of their mother. I shared the story I just told which they had not heard, and they wholeheartedly agreed to the naming.

And so CHC’s Audrey Edna Butcher Civil Liberties Education Initiative was born! Little did I know how painfully clear the need for civil liberties education would become soon after 2014 came to an end and the 2016 election cycle kicked into gear. In a short span of time, we witnessed such things as the “Muslim Ban”, the increased threats against immigrant rights, the separation of families, the suppression of voting rights, and the rise in hate crimes to name just a few.

In response, CHC designed and participated in outreach presentations to K-12 schools, other colleges, and for classroom activities here at De Anza. We hosted exhibits based on civil liberties related themes including “Wherever There’s a Fight: the History of Civil Liberties in California” as well as encouraged the development of curriculum for classroom instruction.

With the help of the Community Education Division, we hosted a summer enrichment course on civil liberties for local high schoolers. We also branched out into doing community outreach presentations by participating with other civil rights and liberties advocates and their organizations. Lastly, we continued the annual observation of the Day of Remembrance

He was teasingly telling them with much glee, that they had all “failed!” when they answered it that just wasn’t possible.

program that Audrey had participated in so many years before.

Throughout this tumultuous and brief period of time, I learned that as a society, we do not fully grasp what upholding, defending, and expanding civil liberties is about. I will end with one last story I witnessed while working at the CHC:

My office (now Lori’s) was right next door to the CHC classroom. One morning I overheard, to my growing concern, loud arguing and debate going on in a political science class that seemed to be increasing in volume and energy. I was worried that I would need to intervene somehow, but as I listened more closely, I realized that what was happening was not a fight or in anger: the instructor had given his students a pop quiz on whether rights could be abridged by using a presidential executive order. He was teasingly telling them with much glee, that they had all “failed!” when they answered it that just wasn’t possible.

The students, with much dismay and excitement, were arguing that it would be unconstitutional to take rights and liberties away and that you just can’t do that, “it’s obvious — look at the Bill of Rights!” The professor dressed them down good naturedly. “Look, President Trump just did that, aren’t you paying attention?” The professor also reminded them of what had happened to Japanese Americans under Executive Order 9066 many years ago and how they “need to evaluate what’s going on now.” When I talked to the instructor afterwards, he seemed happy and not upset or mad. We talked about how students (and the public) were quickly learning that the Bill of Rights is not “self-enforcing,” that civil liberties and rights require action and effort to make sure they are protected as well as enforced, and that dissent and protest have always been needed in civil society — it’s part of the process of democracy.

I look forward to working with Lori to create new activities for the initiative and, with her guidance, explore something very close to my heart that I learned from Audrey — the power of intergenerational sharing and connection. Let’s explore a way to use the traditional oral history process to help both old and young reflect and share their experiences related to civil liberties issues and concerns. I believe it can help us connect and build a sustainable, two-way bridge between generations and between communities. This is needed if we are going to protect our rights and freedoms in the difficult days ahead. This type of work is what “resilience” really means in my mind: it isn’t about standing on anyone else’s shoulders, but standing together, across generations, bringing the past and present together in order to work for a better future.

Director’s Report

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ences subjectively, as we all do. They don’t offer us any final truth — but they do show us how people at the time lived life, and how they viewed and made meaning of their life. This is especially useful to us as we attempt to expand awareness and understanding of all the peoples of this region, and to include those whose individual voices have most often been left out of official histories.

This academic year — 2022-23 — The California History Center has reopened its doors and revived its programs. As the new Faculty Coordinator and Center Director, I am working with faculty and students, the CHC Foundation Board, and our Social Sciences and Humanities dean Elvin Ramos to support valuable existing programs and to develop new ones. For example, we are creating new oral history and digital storytelling workshops for our De Anza students and faculty. Our beloved executive director emeritus Tom Izu, is still involved as a board member and volunteer, committed to the Audrey Edna Butcher Civil Liberties Education Initiative (see article in this issue). Our long-time librarian and archivist, Lisa Christiansen, still works one-on-one with student and community volunteers, interns, researchers, visitors and community members, helping them do primary-source research and often sparking or encouraging in people an excitement about the history of the land, peoples and stories of this region.

The California History Center is a special place, and people feel that when they walk through the doors. The white-pillared portico entrance to the high-ceilinged salon; the exhibit hall and classroom; and the library, with its skylight and curved wall — these all create a sense both of grandeur and of intimacy. The building itself still feels like someone’s home, and over the years, many people have come to feel at home here. Our hope today is that a new generation of students, faculty, staff and community will continue the worthy tradition of passing along their stories here, person to person, with all of their unique subjectivities and wisdom intact.

Welcome back!

The California History Center is a special place, and people feel that when they walk through the doors.

From Farmland to Metropolis

The Transformation of the Valley of Heart's Delight

By Anne Marie Todd

Santa Clara Valley was the premier fruit-producing region in the United States from 1860-1960. It was the largest orchard the world had ever seen, with ten million fruit trees blooming each spring.¹ Its temperate climate, protective foothills, and ten feet of alluvial soil created premium growing conditions for outstanding fruit. At the valley's productive peak in the 1920s, Santa Clara County grew one of three prunes in the world;² 7,000 farms grew 130,000 acres of orchards.³ Ten million trees produced 250 million pounds of fruit per year.⁴

Fruit defined the economy and also the community and identity of Santa Clara Valley. Summertime was simply called "the Season" because from May to September, nearly everyone in the valley was working on the harvest or the pack or supporting the fruit industry in some way.⁵ The rhythm of the

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Anne Marie Todd is a Professor of Communication Studies and Associate Dean of Academics in the College of Social Sciences at San José State University. The topics in this article are expanded in her 2022 publication from UC Press, *Valley of Heart's Delight: Environment and Sense of Place in the Silicon Valley*.

Season influenced the visceral sense of place—the smells and sounds of fruit production were identifying markers of place that fostered a strong connection to the land and community.

During the Season, life in the Santa Clara Valley coalesced around the harvest and the pack. Weaving together community and the land itself, entire families worked in the canneries and the orchards. Even for families not directly involved in the fruit industry, the Season framed the year.⁶ Those who didn't work in the orchards or the canneries worked in a business that supported the fruit industry. Fruit drove the valley's economy. The health of the agricultural industry determined the strength of the local economy. Fruit cultivation engendered an aesthetic sense of place that promoted caretaking and stewardship of the environment. The valley's environmental aesthetic emphasized the link between the valley's ecological health and its abundance. The daily and seasonal practices of fruit work in the valley fostered a *sense of place* through embodied practices that cultivated an intense connection with the land.

Places are significant because we "come to know them and invest them with meanings, ideas, and sensibilities." Our





sense of place and attachment includes knowledge and ideas about a place and deep, emotional symbolic connections to place.⁷ Our experiences give place meaning as we develop a sense of belonging and identity shaped by our surroundings.⁸ Place is the condition of all things, a way of knowing and believing. A sense of place engenders an “attitude of enduring affinity with known localities and the ways of life they sponsor.”⁹ In the Santa Clara Valley, the sense of place was not just in the orchards, but in the way of life they supported. Fruit was a way of knowing the earth and affirming the importance of one’s own participation in that community. The Valley of Heart’s Delight cultivated a sense of place, a connection between the land and the community. Life in the valley was defined by participation in the natural environment that was an important part of one’s identity and one’s community.

A note on history: There is no universal history; the “dominant image of any place will be a matter of contestation and will change over time.”¹⁰ Histories of place must acknowledge that economic organization and social relations create “hegemonic spaces and places.”¹¹ It is crucial to acknowledge that the development of the Santa Clara Valley into a premiere

agricultural region was part of a great historical displacement and genocide of indigenous peoples. Spanish settlement and subsequent U.S. colonization of California swiftly and decisively destabilized the Ohlone way of life. The growth of industry in the valley destroyed the “resource base of the indigenous economy” and the “economic and environmental foundations of native life.” Ohlone populations suffered from the seizure of land and destruction of resources brought by colonization and state-sanctioned genocide.

Additionally, Santa Clara Valley agricultural industry practices enabled “task segregation and discriminatory wages,” and other “mechanisms of oppression.”¹² For example, Mexican and Asian immigrants made significant contributions to the agricultural development of the valley. They also faced distinct hardships and persecution based on race. Laws prohibiting the purchase or lease of farmland segregated Asian migrant workers from other groups in the agricultural community. Mexican and other Latino immigrants “suffered stunning new patterns of disfranchisement and discrimination” and experienced racist and often violent treatment in the Santa Clara Valley.¹³ Chicana cannery workers experienced

World War II sparked an industrial rush aided by government officials and developers eager for business.

gender inequality and racial discrimination in the canning industry.

Thus, histories must acknowledge the fallibility of memory, and also to account for the tendency for the past to take on a rosy glow in recollection. Stephanie Coontz refers to this as the “nostalgia trap”: one that denies a diversity of experiences and “leads to false generalizations about the past as well as wildly exaggerated claims about the present and the future.”¹⁴ Mythical concepts of place based on “abstract nostalgia” can neglect the complex relationships and experiences in a given place.¹⁵ As Lauret Savoy notes, “How a society remembers can’t be separated from how it wants to be remembered or from what it wishes it was.... The past is remembered and told by desire.”¹⁶ Histories of place must acknowledge the diverse, often harsh experiences of a region, to inform a nuanced and honest understanding of our past.

World War II

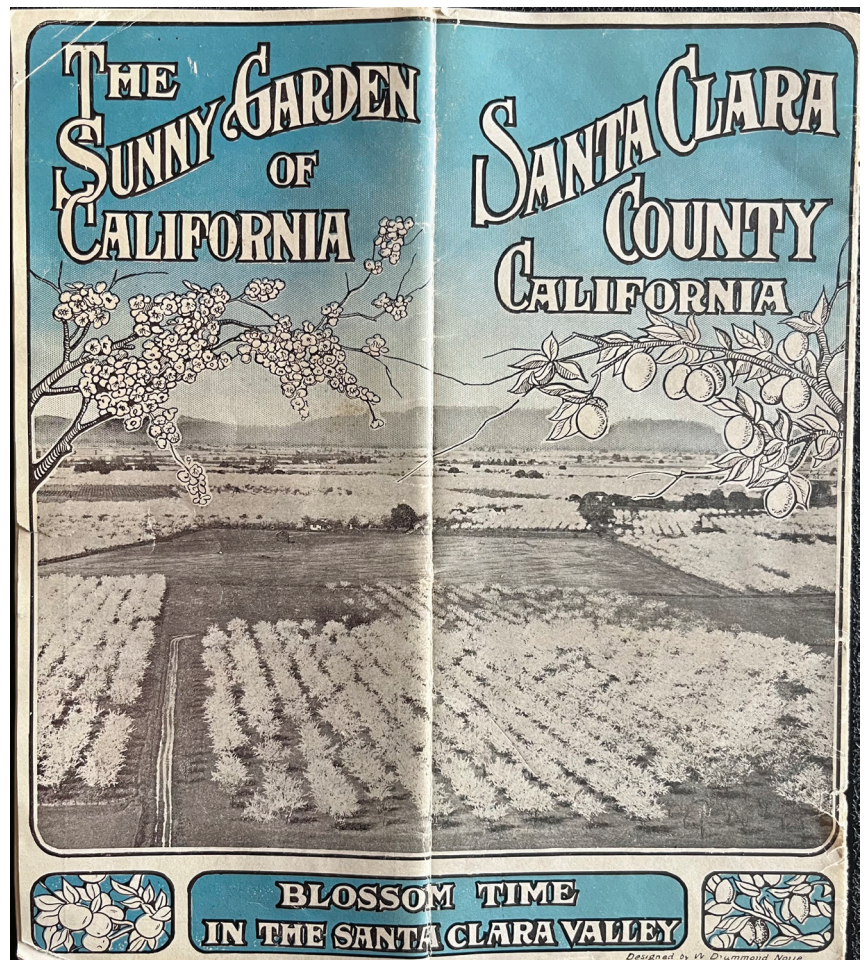
Exponential population and industrial growth after World War II disrupted the aesthetic and agricultural sense of place in the Santa Clara Valley as the foundations of Silicon Valley began to uproot the agricultural industry. As the computer industry transformed the valley, the personal and community rituals that centered around agriculture changed. As political and economic leaders promoted urban development at the expense of fruit cultivation, land became valued as space to build rather than for its extraordinarily fertile soil. The development of orchards into housing tracts and office parks signaled a shift away from consideration of the valley’s environmental characteristics and the vital role of the orchards in community health and economic independence.

World War II was a “catalyzing event.”¹⁰ The valley’s transition from agricultural productivity can be “directly traced to wartime electronic research.”¹¹ World War II opened up industrial opportunities as defense-related industries moved in, laying the framework for post-war development of Silicon Valley.¹² World War II also introduced the Santa Clara Valley to thousands of military and civilian personnel stationed in the

Pacific Theater.¹³ Soldiers remembered the temperate weather, expansive open space, and beautiful fruit trees as they passed through the valley on their way to the Pacific front.¹⁴ “For the first time, the quiet, peaceful agricultural valley was exposed to intense public view.”¹⁵

World War II sparked an industrial rush aided by government officials and developers eager for business. Fruit trees were torn up and canneries shuttered, replaced by houses, roads, and office parks—the infrastructure to support the burgeoning electronics and computing industry. Between 1945 and 1964, 17,000 agricultural acres were bulldozed per year; 340,000 acres of farmland was gone in 20 years.¹⁶ The latter half of the 20th century saw the decline of the fruit capital in a swiftly changing economy instigated by the rapid growth of the computer era. The advent of computing sparked an industrial rush and subsequent housing boom that priced out the orchards and canneries.

Excitement about new technologies abounded. In response to the Great Depression, San José business leaders wanted their city to be more than a cannery town. Half the city’s workers were employed in canneries, so a common refrain was that San José “feasted in the summer and starved in the winter.”¹⁷ City Hall held “extensive disillusionment with



Brochure Santa Clara County, The Sunny Garden of California. Blossom Time in the Santa Clara Valley. [1915] Designed by W. Drummond Norie.

agriculture”¹⁸ and campaigned to build “a new metropolis, in the place of sleepy San José.”¹⁹

Growth and Speculation

In 1944, San José’s Chamber of Commerce spent nearly \$80,000 to attract industry.²⁰ The Chamber placed ads in *Business Week* and *Fortune*, and prepared a 40-page promotional booklet that advertised opportunities in the Santa Clara Valley.²¹ The campaign worked, creating an “industrial rush” to the valley,²² as propaganda and industrial incentives attracted hundreds of thousands of new residents: the region saw astounding population growth for the next twenty years. The Santa Clara Valley population tripled from 1948-1950.²³ As people streamed into the valley, a “vigorous real estate market emerged.”²⁴ From 1950-1970 San José’s growth “can only be described as staggering.”²⁵ San José’s population grew from 92,000 to 460,000.²⁶ The city annexed 1,377 parcels of unincorporated land to grow from 17 to 137 square miles in 20 years. For comparison, after 1970, San José grew 40 square miles in 50 years to reach its present area of 180 square miles.²⁷

The key player in San José’s growth was, A.P. “Dutch” Hamann, appointed City Manager of San José in 1950: a “dynamo of a man”²⁸ and “a skilled politician and a public relations expert.”²⁹ Hamann came into the manager position with a fervent growth agenda and “strong ideas about what was good for a city and what was not.”³⁰ Hamann’s arrival signaled a change in the valley and launched a campaign about what it meant to be modern city. For Hamann and his allies, that meant growth and development. Hamann accomplished his agenda with a “mix of rustic charm, saber-rattling toward opposing communities, and shrewd juggling of bond issues.”³¹ Hamann disrupted existing ways of politics and asserted his direct political influence; for example, he routinely met with the city council privately before public meetings.³² Hamann’s power and ability to push through his proposals were helped by an “unofficial kitchen cabinet that wrote the public agenda and pushed the passage of bond issues needed to finance capital improvements and make even more growth possible.”³³ Hamann and associates met for lunch at the Hyatt House in San José, jokingly referring to themselves as the “Buck of the Month” club, a riff on the “Book of the Month” clubs that were popular at the time.³⁴ The group exchanged financially beneficial information about zoning and development between government officials and bankers and developers.³⁵ Hamann repeatedly emphasized San José’s “appointment with destiny.”³⁶ He testified before a state board using the line that defined his

tenure: “They say San José is going to become another Los Angeles. Believe me, I’m going to do everything in my power to make that come true.”³⁷ As a result of Hamann’s efforts, San José’s growth and development “was absolutely unbridled.”³⁸

Urban expansion reflected the city’s reactive approach to growth: annexing land to accommodate the separate demands of each company that could be convinced to move to San José. The city limits expanded based on individual land acquisitions rather than broadly planned expansion following a strategy that became known as “strip annexation,” empowered by state law that allowed cities to annex territory with fewer than five people per acre without voter approval.³⁹ San José would annex territory around revenue-generating development projects to secure the tax revenue. In some cases, San José would merely annex the street that led from the existing city limit to a far-flung piece of land, and then pressure adjacent landowners until they capitulated and the city could acquire the land itself.⁴⁰ Known as “cherry stem” annexations, these created “serious obstacles to efficient public service provision.”⁴¹

Hamann’s assistants “fanned out across the valley, stopping farm by farm, cajoling and pestering orchardists to allow property to be annexed.”⁴² His staff became known as Dutch’s Panzer Division, named after the main offensive line of the German army in World War II, for “relentlessly plowing through farms like tanks, letting nothing impede their progress.”⁴³ Public and personal discourse framed Hamann as too powerful to fight.

Farmers who resisted saw the land around them annexed,

The Santa Clara Valley population tripled from 1948-1950. As people streamed into the valley, a “vigorous real estate market emerged.”

Below, San Jose city manager in a different role. Image from Radio-Defense Manual, American Radio Publications, 1950.



The city map looked like an “irregular spider web.” The city borders “zigzagged 200 miles to enclose just 20 square miles of incorporated city area.”

with the assumption that they would inevitably have to yield and become part of San José.⁴⁴ National reports retrospectively observed that the city “crept along highways and leap-frogged pockets of empty land, creating an octopus of a city that thrusts its tentacles into a 340 square mile sphere of influence.”⁴⁵ The city map looked like an “irregular spider web.” The city borders “zigzagged 200 miles to enclose just 20 square miles of incorporated city area.”⁴⁶ Strategies for development hinged on territorial expansion and thus the view of place as bounded and controlled. Annexation created boundaries for political and economic reasons regardless of environmental features or agricultural plots.

Newspaper publishers were giddy about population growth. In April 1955, the San José Newspaper Guild held its annual dinner. The program featured an illustration of an astronaut standing on the moon next to a sign reading “San José City Limits.”⁴⁷ The caption explained the “push to spread the boundaries of the Garden City over the earth may someday even reach beyond the stratosphere.”⁴⁸ The loudest laughs of the night came from this joke:

Can you tell me where the San José city limits are?

*No, but if you wait right here, they’ll be along any minute.*⁴⁹

These comments demonstrate the widely held belief that the growth machine was unstoppable.

The city added acres weekly. In the first week of October 1967, San José added more than 500 acres and 7200 people.⁵⁰ The *Mercury News* headlines reveled in the frenzied annexation:

“San José a little larger, expands by 249 acres.”

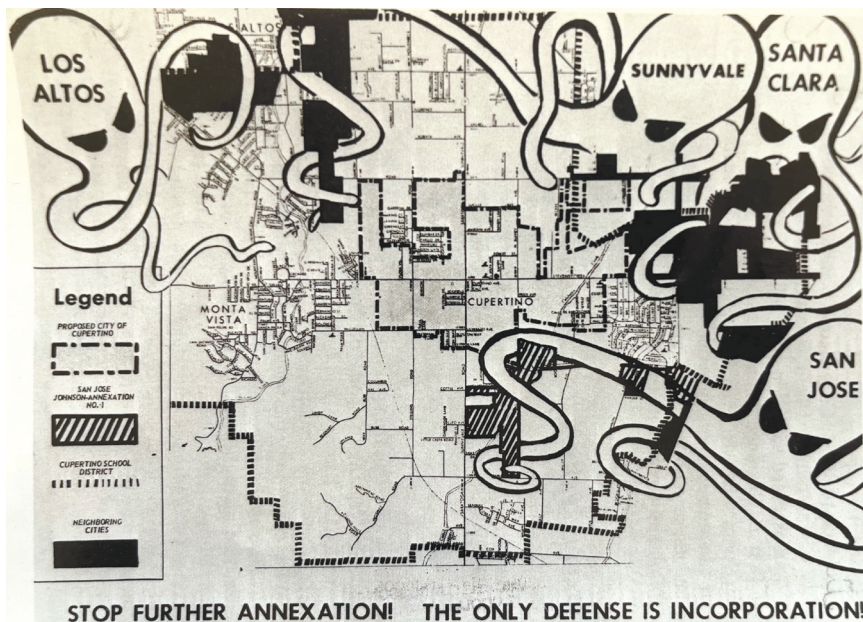
“City nudges 110 square miles in size.”

“San José to add 4,000 more acres, another blow to Morgan Hill.”

“The law and county crazy quilt.”

“San José grew by 7,200 persons, 500 acres in first week of October, 1967.”

“San José well on its way to metropolitan status.”⁵¹



“Stop Further Annexation”. Cupertino Courier, September 25, 1955. Reprinted in Cupertino Chronicle, California History Center, 1975.

These headlines position the city as the active agent: expanding, adding acres, growing, and nudging boundaries. This adds to the sense of inevitability, that growth is out of human control. One headline acknowledges the unplanned nature of San José’s growth as a “crazy quilt.” This references a quilting technique that uses patchwork without repeating patterns or discernable motifs, emphasizing the seams and stitching. The crazy quilt is an apt metaphor for the expansion of San José, where carefully tilled agricultural plots were sold piece by piece as random patches of land that were less important than the boundaries themselves.

Public rhetoric emphasized dizzying growth. In 1965, the Santa Clara County Planning Department reported, “whether by stork, train, plane or automobile, one new resident arrives in Santa Clara County every ten minutes.”⁵² Every two weeks a new subdivision broke ground.⁵³ The map of San José changed so often that instead of redoing the main map, local mapmakers issued monthly packets of stickers to place over existing boundaries and add new streets and geographical areas.⁵⁴ The *Mercury News* celebrated San José’s transition from “farmland to metropolis.”⁵⁵ The rationale that San José won a race to keep up with its own successes demonstrates the self-fulfilling nature of growth rhetoric—growth is good for growth’s sake. The phrase “from farmland to metropolis” celebrates the move to the modern city and also demonstrates there was no compromise—farmland had no place in the modern city. In most public rhetoric at the time, no tears were shed for the orchards or fruit growers.

Orchardists faced unyielding pressure. San José’s developer-friendly approach started intense land speculation. The valley’s expansive acres were an opportunity for industry and builders. Speculators bought farmland in undeveloped areas,

and resold it at inflated prices to developers, who in turn doubled or tripled the land price as profit on the land.⁵⁶ “It was not unusual for land to double in price while changing hands in a single day.”⁵⁷ Financial burdens prompted some farmers to sell the land a bit at a time. This served to increase pressure to sell the rest later. The resulting “severing of properties” doomed many farms.⁵⁸ Remaining parcels that were too small to farm profitably were passed down through several generations.⁵⁹ Strip annexation meant farmers were increasingly surrounded by housing, “creating pressure on all sides for the few remaining farmers to sell out to development, even if they didn’t want to.”⁶⁰

Development dismantled the Santa Clara Valley’s continuous orchard into disjointed plots of land with no overarching vision of the landscape. The remaining fruit growers became outsiders, holdouts from the past. The rhetoric of land speculation promoted the inevitability of annexation, portraying the sale of the land as the only option for farmers. Speculation about the future ignored the legacy of the past.

Karl Belser was Director of the Santa Clara County Planning department during Hamann’s tenure, and was his chief opponent.⁶¹ Belser had “a deep, almost spiritual commitment to the continuation of agriculture in Santa Clara Valley.”⁶² He and his staff conducted nearly thirty planning studies and surveys regarding the county’s “sphere of influence.”⁶³ He proposed a greenbelt to “preserve agricultural land” and at the same time “lend definition to the urban areas.”⁶⁴ To persuade landowners and government officials, Belser made dozens of presentations to civic organizations and farmers groups, city council meetings and town halls.⁶⁵ Belser remembers the rhetorical pressure when a developer’s request for a zoning change was brought to the county planning office for review: “Every day, someone would come in and say, ‘Karl, you have to approve this because it’s good for the county.’”⁶⁶ Belser retired “early” in 1967 after years of “frustration and disappointment and disillusionment.”⁶⁷ That summer, Belser published an article entitled “The Planning Fiasco in California,” explaining that he retired because he was “consistently countermanded in his recommendations by elected officials” and was tired of ramming his head “against the stone wall of political expediency day after day.”⁶⁸ Belser lamented, “Why is it, that in a county that had 850 thousand acres of which less than 10 percent were good, solid, agricultural acres, why is it that we had to take that 10 percent, that grassland and ruin it?”⁶⁹ Karl Belser did “more than any single individual” to slow down San José’s growth.⁷⁰

Declining Industry

Farmers’ property taxes increased sharply. As farmers sold, tax assessors “wasted no time in establishing new urban land values on adjacent lands based on the elevated prices paid to those who sold out. Thus, the entire rural community was confronted with a financial crisis.”⁷¹ Changes in industry created changes in land use and land value. As land speculation, tax increases, and development pressures mounted, struggling farmers sold their land. This was “their last and most lucrative harvest, the land itself—there seemed little reason for a landowner to worry much about, or invest much time and money in, the *agricultural future*.”⁷²

Meanwhile, orchards were aging. Many trees in the Valley of Heart’s Delight were planted in the 1880s and 1890s. Some groves of trees were nearly 100 years old. In the 1950s, many orchardists were deciding whether to start another cycle of 60-70 years of trees.⁷³ Aging trees would need to be removed, and new ones planted. Newly planted trees typically take seven years to yield a profit. The expensive process of replanting an orchard meant farmers had to survive on savings or go into debt while waiting for the new trees to produce a gainful harvest.⁷⁴

Disease limited productivity of existing orchards. In the 1960s, 40% of crops were “destroyed by disease, and farmland began to be cleared for homes and businesses.”⁷⁵ Charlie Olson of Sunnyvale explained the family’s decision to sell their land: “It’s an economic decision. Some neighbors have complained about runoff when we water. Some of the trees are dying. And the availability of farm workers has dwindled because of the cost of housing. We’re no longer a farm community.”⁷⁶ Olson cites the external pressures on farmers: “It’s very simple. Very simple. Farmers were desperate and bluntly, they weren’t making any money. They weren’t making a living.”⁷⁷ His sister, Yvonne Jacobson, expounds: a “farmer’s decision to sell precious land has been forced by harsh economic realities, increased costs of labor, fuel, water, fertilizer, sprays, equipment, and taxes, costs that have not been matched by increased profits.”⁷⁸

The march of development was relentless. For years, the sharp sounds of “cracking limbs and splitting trunks [echoed] throughout the countryside... bulldozers ripping each tree from the earth and tossing it aside....”⁷⁹ Piles of trees became “tangled pyres” with embers lighting the barren land for several nights.⁸⁰ It was easy to fell the greatest orchards in the world. They “topple easily” under “the power of a diesel engine... the trees tumbling without a fight.”⁸¹ These personal accounts portray trees

This was “their last and most lucrative harvest, the land itself—there seemed little reason for a landowner to worry much about, or invest much time and money in, the *agricultural future*.”

as victims to the powerful march of urbanization. In 1963, the *New Yorker* described the onslaught: “The subdivisions have got the upper hand... There’s no stopping them. Turn your back for an instant and there are new roads, new houses, new people.... Orchards are the primary victims of the expansion. Trees in and around San José are the first things to go. They cannot fight back.”⁸² This article depicts a battle between trees and buildings, where concrete development overwhelms natural features. In the late 1950s, an acre was bulldozed every ninety minutes.⁸³ Tim Stanley notes in his memoir that “nearly the entire Valley was covered... The ‘Garden of the World’ was laid to rest under a blanket of asphalt and concrete.”⁸⁴

First the orchards went, then the factories.⁸⁵ For some time, even as orchards were disappearing, canneries continued the pack. In 1977, the *Mercury News* described the canning industry as thriving:

One detail in the story sticks out: “Trucks from the central valley travel the state’s highways loaded with fruits and

*Little is left of the wall-to-wall orchards that once carpeted the Santa Clara Valley so beautifully, but the canning industry they spawned still thrives. The sweet aroma of peaches and fruit cocktail; the pungent smell of stewed tomatoes — fragrances reminiscent of San José’s past still waft across the valley at the height of yet another multimillion dollar canning season.*¹¹⁴

vegetables destined for Santa Clara County canneries.”⁸⁶ This scene is a stark change: trucks bringing fruit to the Santa Clara Valley.

Jennifer Wool, of E.G. Wool Cannery shakes her head as she explains how “little things kept building up. We had to go over to the valley to get the fruit instead of the fruit being in the valley because farmers had sold off their orchards... It would take a good two hours for those trucks to bring over the peaches and the pears.”⁸⁷ For orchardists who moved to the Central Valley, shipping fruit to the Santa Clara Valley for processing was expensive, and the quality of the unprocessed fruit suffered from being shipped long distances. The cost of the trucking route to San José would become too much for many canneries.⁸⁸ The disruption of the fruit industry was ongoing—economic pressures created further change in agricultural economy and community.

At the same time America’s tastes were changing. In 1986, the *Mercury News* reported, “There’s just not the demand for canned fruit anymore... people want fresh fruit. So, fruit canneries have become nearly extinct.”⁸⁹ The market for canned fruits and vegetables declined as awareness of the health impacts of sugar and salt increased.⁹⁰ The shift in American diets paralleled

the increased availability of fresh fruit from around the world.⁹¹

So, the canneries and other fruit packing plants began closing. In 1960, the Santa Clara Valley was the world’s top fruit-producing region: 215 fruit-processing plants included 85 canneries, 23 dried fruit plants, 25 frozen food plants, and 85 fresh packers. In 1985, only seven canneries remained.⁹² Between 1980 and 1984, Santa Clara County recorded 13,236 jobs lost with 118 plant closures.⁹³ By the summer of 1986, only two major canneries, employing fewer than 1,200 people, operated full time in San José.⁹⁴ One longtime resident remembered the news read like “a graveyard of canneries and packing houses.”⁹⁵ The *Mercury News* headline called the decline of the industry an “extinction,” and indeed, news of the declining industry read like an obituary. Public rhetoric highlighted the significance of the demise of the industry on the community.

More than 30,000 California cannery workers lost their jobs between 1980 and 1986.⁹⁶ Many of the displaced cannery workers were longtime employees, local men and women who had spent their adult lives working for the same cannery. As plants closed, laid-off workers swarmed remaining canneries looking for employment. Each morning, more than 150 cannery workers would gather outside the union office on Race Street, a bleak coda for a place that was “once the heart of a thriving San José canning industry”⁹⁷ In 1999, Del Monte closed its last plant in the valley. Employee Mary Lou Reyes sobbed as she explained, “We are not only losing a job, we are losing our friends.” Joey Fahey, local union president explained: “It’s not just breaking up a work crew, it’s breaking up a family. They openly care about each other.”⁹⁸ Patricia Nevarez, safety coordinator at Del Monte who worked at the plant since 1972 lamented, “more than half my life, all my youth, went into this plant.”⁹⁹

When Del Monte closed its cannery in 1999, the *Mercury News* headline read: “The Valley of Heart’s Delight came to a symbolic end.”¹⁰⁰ At 11:46 a.m., “the last can of Del Monte fruit—pineapple tidbits—rolled off the last conveyor belt at the last major fruit cannery in San José... then came a downright eerie moment. After 154 straight days of three shifts a day, seven days a week, an around-the-clock clamor stopped.”¹⁰¹ This was the final obituary for the canning industry. An industry defined by growth, progress, and production just stopped.

Conclusion

The development of Silicon Valley disrupted a sense of place cultivated in the Valley of Heart’s Delight, weakening attach-

ment to and identification with place that diminished the sense of environmental stewardship and community obligations. Growth and development that gave rise to Silicon Valley dismantled the orchards, the locus of place meaning and belonging, and now memory sustains the aesthetic and material sense of place in the Valley of Heart's Delight.

With the end of the fruit industry, the valley was dramatically transformed by the development of infrastructure—houses, office parks, roadways—to support the computer industry. The transition from agriculture to technology has produced a *placelessness* or an “insensitivity to the significance of place”¹⁰² through the dissolution of the distinctive environmental and community features of the fruit-based economy. The community ties built on the shared purpose of fruit work articulated in daily practices, dissipated with the decline of the fruit industry. Development of Silicon Valley brought changes to the strong sense of place in the Valley's agricultural community. Moreover, Silicon Valley's technology companies promote placelessness enabled by technological innovation and enhanced mobility through virtual space resulting in the loss of social rootedness and continuity and a lack of attachment to community and environment.

Silicon Valley emphasizes connectivity instead of rootedness. Silicon Valley is the place where placelessness is made possible. Computing technology allows virtual living. We spend our time in “non-places such as airport lounges, shopping malls and on the Internet, living lives increasingly without any sense of place whatsoever.”¹⁰³ Silicon Valley promotes connectivity and non-attachment. Fiber-optic cables connect our ideas, but unteether us from geographic place. “The world is marked by a speeding up of communications and information flows that leads to a bombardment of images of spaces and times other than the one a person may be immediately located in. [This causes] a shrinking of the planet due to time– space compression.”¹⁰⁴ The never-ending flow of information, and the intense connectivity of social media networks unmoor us from place. “Electronic media have... weakened the relationship between social situations and physical places.”¹⁰⁵ Our screens substitute for information and companionship: we look at our phones as we walk by our neighbors and check the weather online rather than going outside. We delight in being anywhere and everywhere: we hail rides with strangers, answer our doorbells remotely, and have packages delivered anywhere. Virtual living means that we don't think about the way we move through the world.¹⁰⁶

The tech industry transformed the Santa Clara Valley from a community rooted to the land through agricultural work to

radical placelessness and “intense mobility” of Silicon Valley. Broad changes to the landscape—erecting buildings in place of trees— eradicated the material conditions and environmental aesthetic that were the basis of a profound sense of place. The fruit industry in the Santa Clara Valley engendered a collective sense of place based on shared experiences of daily fruit work and seasonal change; meaningful participation in environment and community. This place attachment was erased by the radical placelessness and intense mobility of Silicon Valley. Technological innovations changed the materiality of place-based identity. Place is infused with dynamic relationships but the technological amplification of “processes of mobility and communication in the modern world [means] that place is becoming insignificant in a world of placelessness and non-place.”¹⁰⁷

Today, the valley thrives on connectivity, which facilitates non-attachment through a profound efficiency. Our connections are not bound to place, to the valley itself, rather life in Silicon Valley is characterized by an intense mobility. Connectivity enables non-place, an existence without regard to physical conditions or location marked by non-attachment which offers ease of movement without obligation. The technological advances of Silicon Valley have “reduced the need for face-to-face contact, freed communities from their geographical constraints and hence reduced the significance of place-based communities.”¹⁰⁸

In a world marked by placelessness, there remains a longing for place-based connection. One response to placelessness is what Stephanie K. Hawke terms heritage discourse. Heritage discourse is historical discourse with a strong sense of the continuity of place, identity, and time that offers significant contribution to sense of place.¹⁰⁹ Heritage narratives “make a case for ordinary and everyday places to be included within... the significance of discursive processes in the construction of sense of place.”¹¹⁰ Heritage discourse offers a significant and hopeful response to disruptions to our sense of place. It allows us to study nostalgia from a critical lens—asking what loss heritage discourse seeks to stem. We must study this with care so as not to romanticize connections between people and place in rural communities.¹¹¹ Heritage discourse is rooted in place, which serves as a compass for the base of human relations. The historic environment has a resonance in creating a sense of place and cultural identity which contributes to the quality of the environment in which people live and work.”¹¹² The study of history can contribute to community identity by establishing infrastructure for experiences and shared understanding of a history of place. Heritage discourse can amplify “memory of place [that] implaces us and thus empowers us.”¹¹³

Today, the valley thrives on connectivity, which facilitates non-attachment through a profound efficiency.

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- 114 Hernandez, "Orchards Long Gone, Valley Canneries Still Big Industry."

At the Center

RECENT EVENTS

Opening Day

Reigniting the Spirit of CHC

September 22, 2022

After a two-and-a-half-year hiatus, we invited our Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) faculty, community members and friends of the California History Center (CHC) to join us as we kicked off the 2022-23 academic year with a celebration of past and ongoing California History Center projects, with the intention of inspiring everyone to participate in the creation of engaging future initiatives. The history of the CHC itself — the Trianon building, and its people and programs — was on display in the Exhibit Hall, with food and festivities on the patio.



Above: Dean Elvin Ramos, addressing Social Sciences & Humanities (SSH) Faculty on CHC Patio



L-R: Robert Stockwell, Purba Fernandez, Lori Clinchard, Mark Healy, Carolyn Wilkins-Santos, Mylinh Pham; Front: Laura Chin



L-R: Duluan Green, Susan Thomas, Mylinh Pham, Marie Chelberg, Laura Chin, Elvin Ramos, Alicia Cortez

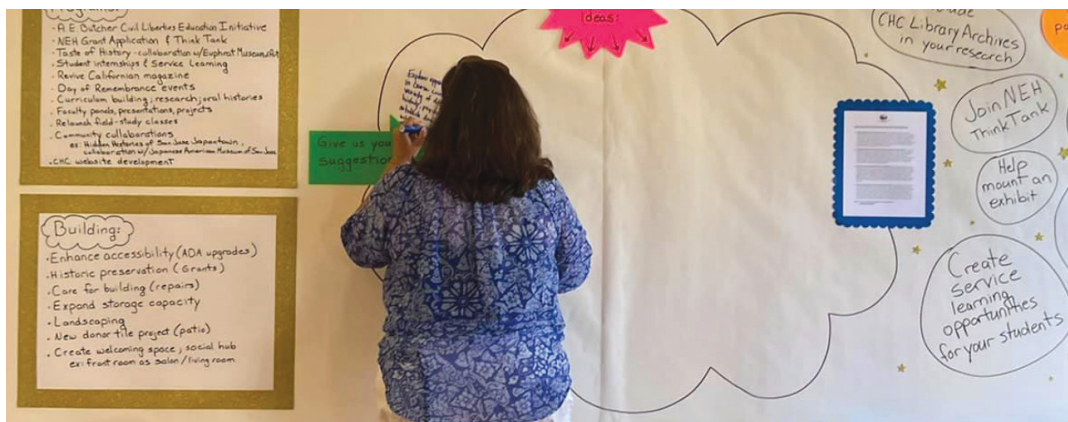


L-R: Adriana Garcia, Elvin Ramos



L-R: Carolyn Wilkins-Santos, Leslie Nguyen

Susan Thomas adding her ideas to the interactive wall



At the Center

RECENT EVENTS

Filipino American History Month

Kapamilya: The Life Experiences of Filipino Caregivers

October 20, 2022

In this MOMENTUM session, a panel of speakers from the Filipino community shared their experiences of the opportunities and challenges of Filipino caregivers throughout the diaspora and our local Bay Area region. Attendees listened to moving stories from these Filipino Mothers — of their resilience, their sacrifices, and their commitment. This special gathering included live, in-the-moment translation, and an opportunity to participate in an art project: painting quilt squares - led by the California History Center. We are grateful to PAWIS for their expert moderating and translation services, and to the three Filipino Mothers who came and bravely shared their personal stories: Epie Anisco, Tess Brillante, Lala Placides. Salamat!



Noemi Teppang introduces PAWIS moderator, Felwina Opiso-Mondina



McTate Stroman II sharing spoken word poetry and music.

1st Annual Sip & Paint

CHC Donor & Member Recognition Evening

December 8, 2022

This 1st annual festive evening brought together past, present and future CHC friends and supporters for a fun night. Each attendee had their own canvas to paint, led by local artist, Bordin Marsinkul. Jim Cargill, House Family Winemaker, kept attendees happily sipping on delicious local wines while hearing about local winemaking history. Spoken word poet, McTate Stroman II, offered up some heartfelt poetry and curated the music for the night. Tasty Italian dishes and dessert from Maggiano's kept participants warm and cozy inside, with the cold and rainy weather outside.

Student volunteers Anna Burt, Elisabeth Sepeda and Maggie Sepeda



Faculty Coordinator and Center Director Lori Clinchard thanking participants for their support.



CHCF Board member David Howard-Pitney; De Anza VP of Instruction Christina Espinosa-Pieb





Foothill History instructor Bill Ziegenhorn, with House Family Winemaker Jim Cargill.

Below: Foothill College Humanities Chair Mona Rawal and family.



De Anza Commissioner Fariba Nejat



De Anza Deans Debbie Lee, Elvin Ramos, and Alicia Cortez; VP of Instruction Christina Espinosa-Pieb, De Anza Commissioner Orrin Mahoney and Humanities Mellon Scholar Vivian Doss

Momentum Series


Guest Speaker: Steve Phillips

February 7, 2023

New York Times' Bestselling Author and Political Activist, Steve Phillips, brought in a lively and engaged crowd to the California History Center. Prof. Derrick Felton, Instructor of Psychology & Member of BFSAs, led Mr. Phillips into meaningful conversation, inspired by his new book, *Anti-Racist Organizing: Reflections on a Lifetime—from the California College system to the White House*. Mr. Phillips stayed after the conversation to sign books and talk with the audience as they enjoyed a catered lunch, provided for all participants.



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At the Center

HUMANITIES MELLON SCHOLARS

Bobby Banks

Using maps to illuminate historical exclusionary policies



My name is Bobby Banks and I am a Humanities Mellon Scholar at Foothill College where I major in Geography and plan to transfer to a four year university this fall. Entering my second stint in college I was unsure what direction I wanted to take in order to make a professional career accessible and I applied to Foothill as a geography major simply based on a childhood interest in maps and Earth as a whole. A few classes into my career as a student at Foothill I stumbled upon the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in one of my geography classes. The idea of using maps as a useful tool to manage and analyze data opened my eyes to a possible career path that has continued to pique my interest with every GIS class that I enroll in. In the accompanying map where median income is broken down across census tracts around the Bay Area, I used what I learned from these classes to build this informative tool. I began by sourcing the relevant data I needed, which in this case is 2021 median household income data and geographic Tiger/Line Shapefiles, geographic data that breaks down cities into census tracts, sourced from the United States Census Bureau website. Within ArcGIS, a mapping software by Esri, I combined these data sets using their geographic code assigned by the Census Bureau, in order to display the census tracts and their corresponding income.

Another great interest of mine has always been in history as I feel as though great lessons could be learned from the past that can be useful to society as we move forward. Having the opportunity to intern at the California History Center has enabled me to bring together these two interests of mine in a way I never saw myself doing. Starting in the Fall 2022 quarter I began conducting research on past exclusionary policies based on class and race to assist in the center's Civil Liberties Project. Thanks to Lori, Lisa, and Tom I was able to dive deep into this topic using the vast resources made available to me at the CHC. As I began my research, the main questions I wanted to answer was what effect did these policies have on the public perception of affected groups? What lasting effects can still be seen and felt today by groups who were the victims of these discriminatory government policies? And, if possible, how can the use of a map help find the answer?

When I used to think of exclusionary policies the first things that would come to my mind were segregated schools

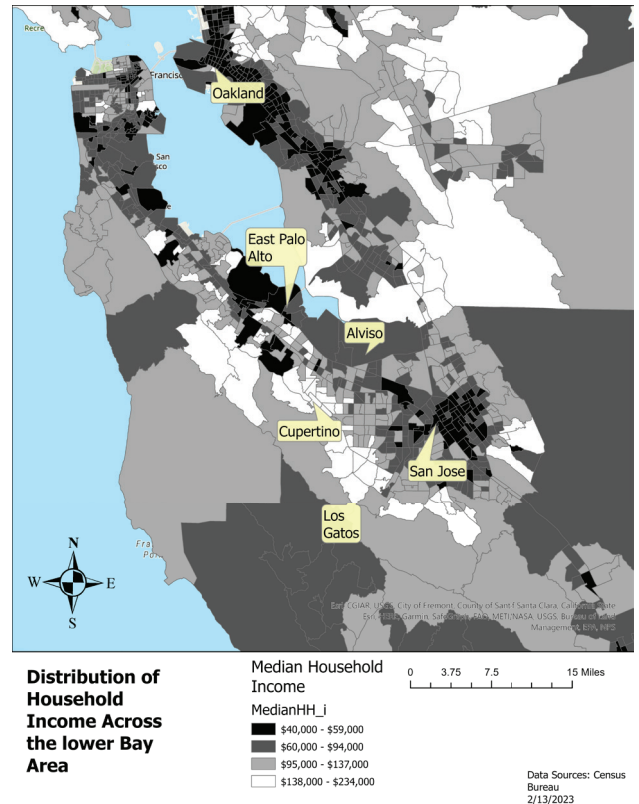
and bathrooms and Blacks having to sit in the back of buses while the front was reserved for whites in southern states. When I was taught about the civil rights movement, I never learned what minority groups had to overcome here in my home state. Growing up in the Bay Area, just by taking a look around it is not hard to tell how immensely diverse and multicultural it is. But further investigation into its past and present reveals great wrongs that have been left uncorrected. Government and financial institution Redlining, which has affected people of color all across the United States, occurred in the Bay Area and allowed for banks to refuse loans and/or insurance to people simply based on the fact that they lived in areas that would deem them a financial risk. Without the ability to secure loans to purchase homes coupled with the limiting of vital services to these communities, redlining resulted in different outcomes for high income and low income neighborhoods. High income areas were zoned in ways that increased home values for white majority areas while apartment buildings and multifamily housing which were predominantly low-income and occupied by minority groups were in areas zoned for industrial use. The result was an increase in home value in high income neighborhoods to more than two times that of low income neighborhoods. Policies such as these had short term effects, families of color unable to afford purchasing homes without loans; along with long term effects, these same families being unable to pass down wealth.

These policies and their economic ramifications allowed for a separation by class that can be seen visually on the Distribution of Household Income Across the Lower Bay Area map. I want to compare this side by side to a study conducted and published by the Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley, Racial Segregation in the San Francisco Bay Area, that dives deep into the role of exclusionary zoning and its link to segregation in the Bay Area. In this five part study, they identified the most segregated cities in the Bay Area by calculating their Divergence Index which they define as "a decomposable measure of segregation which measures the difference between the overall proportion of a group in a region and the proportion of each group in a local area within that region" (Menendian, Gambhir 2018). The most segregated city was found to be East Palo Alto, which contains a 65% Hispanic/

There begins to be some correlation between racial demographics and household income, a side effect of years of handicaps placed onto people that have created a cycle of poverty that becomes difficult to break free from.

Latino population along with 16% Black and only 6% white. East Palo Alto had been a predominantly Black community that was created as a result of exclusionary policies and still holds a high proportion of the Bay Area Black population as a whole. With it also being fairly affordable compared to elsewhere in the Bay Area, the Hispanic community has now grown to make up a large chunk of residents in the city. Also in the top ten of segregated cities is Cupertino, containing a 63% and 29% Asian and white populations, while only having a 4% and .55% Hispanic and Black populations. Comparing these cities to how they rank based on median income, we see East Palo Alto fall in the lower range while Cupertino falls in the higher end of the scale. There begins to be some correlation between racial demographics and household income, a side effect of years of handicaps placed onto people that have created a cycle of poverty that becomes difficult to break free from.

Another result of these policies are neglected and run-down communities that, from the outside looking in, look like a self-inflicted wound, enabling the public to see those affected as lazy, and just needing to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. But getting to understand what went on for decades below the surface, you understand these communities were victimized for reasons beyond their control. Growing up, I had a grandma who lived in Alviso in North San José at the southern shores of the San Francisco Bay. Once an important port city, I remember it as my mom would describe it minus some big homes in the eastern part of the town, as “ghetto”. My grandma’s home, like many others, had a dirt driveway where my mom would have one of my brothers or me unlatch the gate and check for nails before she parked. I also remember that the town did not have a mailman. In order to get your mail you had to pick it up from the local post office. My grandma and aunt did not have a car, so that proved to be a burdensome task for the two of them. At the time, I remember overhearing talk of improvements coming to Alviso and some have been seen with new businesses coming to the area such as Top Golf off of the 237 freeway. Since my grandma passed in 2018, her house was sold and renovated to be almost unrecognizable from the time I spent there. With the influx of new businesses and new homeowners coming to town, there is no doubt that Alviso has better days ahead. But it is hard to ignore who is harmed in the process of improvement and the gentrification of communities, the original residents of an area. The new businesses tend to cater to new residents who hold more disposable income, resulting in those who have



lived in the area for years becoming priced out as landlords and property owners seek to capitalize on the incursion of wealth coming into the old, up-and-coming town.

While it may be argued whether or not these policies were intentional in their outcomes, their negative effects on communities directly and their negative perception cannot be ignored and should be remedied with actual benefits to victims rather than an ultimately false appearance of improvement. In the Othering & Belonging Institute study, along with bringing awareness to the state of segregation that exists in the Bay Area, they provided policy ideas that could work to reverse the legacy of the past. There are two that I found most appealing, rent control for integrating communities and mobility strategies. When it comes to rent control, oftentimes the idea that segregation is a thing of the past can be a myth, just because “exclusionary communities” do not have existing laws that prevent people of color from integrating into their community the price of rent can still be a hurdle. As rent prices rise and wages stagnate, there is a risk of further segregation that can come with families being displaced due to high rent, especially in areas that promote gentrification as a viable solution. A more viable option that has been applied elsewhere and has shown promise are mobility strategies, which work to aid those looking to relocate by proposing communities that may seem out of reach due to price or other factors. Policies such as these can work to eliminate and prevent more barriers that are in place for people of color in the Bay area and heal the wrongs from discriminatory policies of the past.

At the Center

HUMANITIES MELLON SCHOLARS

Vivian Doss

Exploring the daily life Japanese internment camps



Vivian was born and raised in San José and she is an intern for the CHC through the Humanities Mellon scholar program. She found the program by clicking through the De Anza website and got so excited when she saw the word “internship” that she started an application in the middle of class. Currently, she’s working on investigating the everyday lives (what did they eat, what music did they listen to, what were their days like?) of those who were held in Japanese internment camps. She also enjoys testing the odd recipes she finds in the California Digital Archives.

From Vivian’s project on Japanese Internment camps:

Despite their circumstances, internees found ways to obtain a few of the creature comforts that they had been denied, namely sake. Sake, an alcoholic beverage made by fermenting rice was often smuggled through the barbed wire via friends and family or brazenly mailed in from T.K. pharmacy, the only Japanese-owned pharmacy that was operational at the time. For those who preferred not to smuggle their sake, making their own was surprisingly simple. Sake is incredibly easy to brew compared to similar alcohols. The process takes weeks rather than months or years and requires no specialized equipment that could not be improvised or smuggled in. The only ingredients required are rice, water, and yeast or koji. Water was the easiest ingredient to obtain, followed by rice which was either repurposed rice that would have otherwise been discarded, rice mailed in from the outside, or rice stolen from the mess halls. As for the koji, internees either ordered it or got their friends to mail it to them. The actual brewing of the sake required a little more ingenuity. To make it without arousing suspicion, internees would use the existing storage under their barracks when available or create their own by digging up the floors and placing their brewing setups inside. In the camps and in Amache especially, there was always an internee or several who realized that there was nothing stopping them from making alcohol.

Although internees were not technically allowed to cook or brew in their barracks, the penalty for breaking this rule was low and guards usually turned

a blind eye anyway. Even when two men by the names of Toshiharu Tachi and Kanda Okubo were caught stealing sake ingredients from their mess hall, they received the legal equivalent of a slap on the wrist. Given the low risk and high reward, sake production became so prolific that every mess hall in the camp had at least one bottle. One man by the name of Roy Murakami, who was previously interned in Manzanar, recalled the bootleg sake being used for a New Year’s celebration. They had received some bad rice, and his father instructed him to give it to the resident sake brewer instead of throwing it away. He was able to make enough to supply the entire camp for the holiday. Though they were nowhere near home that year or in the years to come, they could sip on one of its flavors.

In this way, sake not only brought merriment to the internees’ lives, but it also became an unlikely symbol of resistance. Despite the steady erosion of their food traditions brought on by mess hall dining, internees were able to make something uniquely Japanese.



Confiscated sake still. Tule Lake, c.1945. Densho Digital Repository.

California History Center

CHC WORKSHOPS

Accessing CHC Archives

Learn about the rich local collection of materials housed in the CHC Archive, and ways to access information for your own research projects.

An Oral History Series

Learn about oral history as a powerful tool for amplifying unheard voices; how to plan and produce an oral history, including interview setup, technology, question guides, release forms, transcription and post-production options.

"Spaces of Belonging" Oral History Pilot Project

Participate in oral history interviewing of local community members who help to create spaces of belonging for others.

Digital Storytelling

Learn this versatile tool for multimodal learning activities, documentation and expression.



Contact: Lori Clinchard at clinchardlori@fhda.edu

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CHCF



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