STUDY OF THE EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE ON THE WEST COAST

HISTORY

The enforced mass migration of Japanese enemy aliens and their descendants from the West Coast, which is just now (July, 1942) being completed, marks a unique and dramatic episode in American social history. Following Pearl Harbor, there was a period of six weeks in which the position of these minority classes was undefined, and not until January 28 was the situation clarified when the army requested the United States Department of Justice to make and carry through plans for evacuating enemy aliens -- Japanese, Germans, and Italians -- from a limited number of strategic areas. From this date until February 19, 1942, the voluntary evacuation of these three classes was encouraged, and no restrictions were set upon the freedom of movement of citizens of alien ancestry. On February 19, however, President Roosevelt signed an executive order authorizing the establishment of zones from which any or all classes of persons, irrespective of citizenship, could be excluded. Authority to define both areas and classes of the population to be affected was delegated to General DeWitt of the Western Defense Command. In successive proclamations General DeWitt designated extensive areas in the Far West for evacuation and defined the classes to be affected in such a way as to cut across citizenship lines; that is, priority was given to Japanese aliens followed by American citizens of Japanese descent with other classes of enemy aliens listed for later consideration. Until March 27, 1942 the policy established earlier by the Department of Justice of encouraging voluntary evacuation was continued by the military authorities; but on this date a proclamation was issued freezing voluntary movement. Thereafter, migration was channeled to government controlled and government designated assembly and relocation centers.

PURPOSE

From the inception of evacuation, several members of the faculty of the University of California have been working closely on the problem in the belief that this evacuation and the subsequent resettlement not only represent an extremely important social experiment the progress of which will throw into clear perspective many of the sociological, economic, administrative, and political hypotheses on which social scientists have been working for decades, but also may have practical implications. For although this is the first recent instance of forced mass migration in the United States, the phenomenon has occurred frequently in Europe and has shown a marked increase in recent years. Post-war Europe will unquestionably witness further controlled mass movements of peoples, if for no other reason than the necessity of relocating those who have recently been forced to migrate. And with the rapid dislocations and new concentrations of population that are occurring in connection with our own war effort, it is by no means improbable that we shall face the necessity of wide-scale planned or forced mass migration after the War in order to avoid the dangers of serious maldistribution of population in relation to economic opportunities. Thus it is hoped that the proposed investigation of this particular instance of forced mass migration may uncover principles which will be helpful from this long-range point of view.

The investigation is being pursued both in the relocation centers and in the communities affected by the evacuation. Included in the project will be analyses of economic factors, governmental-administrative aspects, and socio-anthropological problems.
On the economic side, we hope to throw light on the effect of the removal of Japanese labor on West Coast agricultural production; on the types of occupational changes and adjustments made by the evacuees during their period of internment; on the problems arising in connection with the efforts of the government to protect the economic interests of the evacuees, etc.

On the political and administrative sides, we are approaching such questions as the legal implications of the move in regard to the constitutional rights of citizens and persons; the political effects of moving voters from one place to another; the intergovernmental relationships involved in the process of Federal, State, and local cooperation, etc.

On the sociological side, emphasis will be placed on changes in institutions and behavior of the Japanese, following their relocation. Included will be analyses of the formal structure of the relocation communities; the interest and association groups that are formed spontaneously; the political and economic conflicts; the struggle between the generations; the various types of disorganized behavior; the impact upon the family, class structure, religion, etc.

RELATION TO OTHER PROJECTS IN THE SAME AND SIMILAR FIELDS

Although this study is related, in a general way, to numerous studies of minority groups, mass movements of population, and race relations, it has no exact parallel. In America there has never before been an opportunity to study such a situation. In Europe a similar study would be at present impossible. While there is a widespread interest among social scientists in the problems raised in this connection, no project of the scope of our study has been proposed, and ours is the only one having the full approval and cooperation of the War Relocation Authority and other governmental agencies concerned.

PERSONNEL

Five members of the faculty of the University of California comprise the senior staff. Their services on this project are accepted as part of their duties at the University and they therefore receive no other compensation. The Director of the project is Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Professor of Rural Sociology. Other senior staff members are Professors Charles Aikin, political science; Milton Chernin, social welfare; Frank Kidner, economics; and Robert Lowie, anthropology.

Research assistants to the senior staff include two full-time and one part-time worker in Berkeley, and one Fellow of the Social Science Research Council (of Japanese ancestry) at Tule Lake. In addition, there will be ten field workers (both Caucasians and Americans of Japanese descent) working as participant observers in various relocation areas. Finally, personnel will include a secretary, and part-time stenographical, clerical, and statistical assistants as specified in the budgetary statement.

EQUIPMENT

Office space and equipment is supplied by the University of California.

OTHER RESOURCES NEEDED TO EXECUTE THE PROGRAM

Since this is a field study covering a wide area, a liberal travel allowance
is essential for the senior staff and the Caucasian assistants. The major part of this amount should cover frequent visits to the relocation centers in order that instruction can be given to the Japanese observers and that the Caucasian staff can check and supplement the observations made by the evacuees. In addition, at least one trip per year to Washington, D.C. will be necessary in order to follow closely the relationships of the national and regional organizations.

The remaining items in the budget consist of a modest appropriation for supplies and a rather generous contingency fund. The latter is considered essential in order to provide for unpredictable events. The evacuation situation is in a fluid state and will probably remain so for some time. Important problems whose specific nature is impossible to foresee will undoubtedly arise. A large contingency fund is therefore essential.

**DURATION OF THE STUDY**

The study should continue for the duration of the war. Approximately six months after the end of the war will be required for the preparation of manuscripts. Several volumes will emerge from the project.

**FUNDS REQUIRED**

A budget of approximately $24,000 annually for three years has been drawn up. This covers the political-administrative and the sociological-anthropological segments listed above. Additional support is being sought from other sources for the major part of the economic segment. About half of the $24,000 budget has been secured for the first year from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the Giannini Foundation. A sum of $1,650 for the first year is being requested from the limited budget of the Institute of the Social Sciences of the University of California. The balance of $10,000, approximately 40 per cent, per year is being sought from the Columbia Foundation.
A flexible budget, not to exceed $45,000.00, will be required for the first year. The budget for subsequent years would be planned after the project is under way.

The proposed budget is as follows:

**Central Staff—Headquarters University of California at Berkeley**

1. On the governmental aspects (Dr. Milton Chernin) no salary
2. On the sociological aspects (Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas) 
3. On the economic aspects (Dr. Frank L. Kidner) 
4. On the interrelations among governmental, economic and sociological aspects (Dr. Charles Aikin) 
5. Executive assistant to central staff $3,000.00
6. Clerical, stenographic, statistical assistance for central staff $3,000.00
7. Part-time research assistants for central staff (4 at half-time) $4,000.00
8. Travel and maintenance (when away from headquarters) for central staff and assistants $5,000.00
9. Supplies and miscellaneous $1,000.00

**Staff in the Field**

10. Supplements to salaries of part-time workers in resettlement areas $20,000.00
11. Assistance for collaborator in Washington $4,000.00

Total $40,000.00

12. Contingencies $5,000.00

Grand Total $45,000.00
EXPLANATION OF ITEMS IN THE BUDGET

Items 1, 2, 3, 4: No compensation will be required for the senior staff members. Work on this project will be accepted as part of their duties at the University of California where they are full-time members of the faculty. (Should it be necessary to supplement this staff with other members of the faculty of the University of California, their services, also, would be rendered without special compensation.)

Item 5: A competent executive assistant with experience equivalent to the P2 or P3 level in the Civil Service will be required. This assistant will be responsible for carrying out procedures developed by the senior staff; for keeping in close contact with the field staff; for hiring and directing the clerical, stenographic and statistical assistants.

Item 6: It is planned to employ one full-time person, competent both as stenographer and computer, at about $2,000 per year; and to supplement her services with temporary assistance, as required.

Item 7: It is planned to utilize qualified graduate students on a half-time basis. These assistants will be directly responsible to the senior staff members.

Item 8: As many as three trips to Washington, D. C. may be required by members of the senior staff. Since it may be necessary to spend two or three weeks in Washington on these occasions, the cost of travel and maintenance is estimated at $500 per trip or $1,500 in all. It is further estimated that the staff and assistants will spend 500 man-days away from headquarters in the western area. At $5 per diem, maintenance will amount to $2,500. To this is added $1,000 for railway, bus, or other transportation costs in the western area.

Item 9: It is planned to use University equipment including office space, typewriters, calculating machines, as far as possible. Purchases will, however, be necessary in case of shortages, and paper, postage, duplicating materials, etc. will have to be provided from the budget.

Item 10: A minimum of twenty, but possibly as many as thirty, field workers will be required. As indicated, these will be on a part-time basis under the government payroll. It is estimated that the supplement to their part-time salaries will average $750 per year, with a range that may extend from as little as $50 to as much as $1,200 in individual cases. An estimate of this item is $20,000.

Item 11: It is assumed that the eastern collaborator (a) will work largely through research assistants and that (b) he will require some clerical, stenographic and statistical assistance. Item (a) may run to $2,500 and (b) to $1,500.

Item 12: Because of the impossibility of planning the study in greater detail at this time, a contingency fund of at least $5,000 will be required, to be allocated to any one of the items 5-11, inclusive, at the discretion of the senior staff.
On January 22, 1942, the Army requested the United States Department of Justice to make and carry through plans for evacuating about 25,000 enemy aliens from areas which were being designated as "prohibited" for these classes in the coastal areas of California, and, at the same time, to plan the enforcement of certain restrictions on the activities of enemy aliens in other areas of strategic importance. On January 31, Attorney-General Biddle delegated to Governor McNutt, Coordinator of Defense, Health, and Welfare Service "the task of facilitating the transfer of alien enemies from areas designated by me and to relocate and reestablish such aliens in appropriate places and in appropriate activities." Governor McNutt in turn asked Mr. Richard Neustadt, Western Regional Director of the Federal Security Agency, to handle the details of the evacuation procedure. Evacuation deadlines were set for February 15 and February 24.

The two weeks' period preceding the first evacuation deadline was one of intense confusion, engendered by uncertainty as to procedure on the part of the various agencies concerned; conflict between local, state, and federal authorities; activities of pressure groups of various sorts. Rumors were rampant, and the local press and radio issued dramatic and conflicting statements from day to day -- on certain days, even from hour to hour. In some of the local communities the threat of vigilantism developed, and official and private groups in neighboring communities and states passed resolutions and took other measures to prevent the influx of individuals or families from the evacuated areas. No property custodian was appointed and, as a result, alien property was liquidated privately, and often ruinously. The feeling of insecurity engendered by this situation spread rapidly from the groups immediately affected to those in contiguous areas and, finally, to the American descendants of the alien Japanese.

Before the second deadline was met, President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, signed an executive order authorizing the Secretary of War, and military commanders whom he might designate, to delimit military areas from which any or all persons (irrespective of citizenship) could be excluded. On the following day, the Secretary of War named General de Witt as the military commander to carry out the provisions of the Executive Order. Events then moved swiftly. In successive public proclamations, General De Witt designated military zones in the states of California, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Utah. From some of these zones, evacuation of specified classes would be required; from others, restrictions on activities would be imposed. Classes of the population to be affected were listed in order as, (1) Japanese aliens, (2) persons of Japanese ancestry, (3) German aliens, (4) Italian aliens.

The first two of these classes were urged to evacuate voluntarily from prohibited areas as soon as possible. Voluntary evacuation, however, proved to be slow and ineffective. A War Relocation Authority was thereupon set up, areas for reception and resettlement were found, and on March 27, 1942, an order was issued "freezing" all the classes of people mentioned above in specified military zones as of midnight March 28, 1942. Orders followed establishing dates by which classes (1) and (2) must move to government-controlled and government-designated locations.

The above indicates, in broad outline, the beginnings of a unique and dramatic episode in American social history; migration of masses of people enforced by government action, selective of specified classes of the population -- a marked departure from the historical pattern of migration largely individual in nature on a voluntary basis and more or less random in its selectivity.
From its inception several members of the faculty of the University of California have been working closely on the problem in the belief that this evacuation and resettlement not only represent an extremely important social experiment, the progress of which will throw into clear perspective many of the sociological, economic, administrative, and political hypotheses on which social scientists have been working for decades, but also may have practical implications. For although this is the first recent instance of forced mass migration in the United States, the phenomenon has occurred frequently in Europe and has shown a marked increase in recent years. Post-war Europe will unquestionably witness further controlled mass movements of peoples, if for no other reason than the necessity of relocating those who have recently been forced to migrate. And with the rapid dislocations and new concentrations of population that are occurring in connection with our own war effort, it is by no means improbable that we shall face the necessity of wide-scale planned or forced mass migration after the War in order to avoid the dangers of serious mal-distribution of population in relation to economic opportunities. Thus it is hoped that the proposed investigation of this particular instance of forced mass migration may uncover principles which will be helpful from this long-range point of view.

Thus far the investigators have devoted their efforts largely toward building up a record of the setting in which policies of evacuation and resettlement were developed. To this end they have had extraordinary cooperation from several of the agencies involved, representatives of which have made their confidential files available, permitted the investigators to be present at policy-forming conferences, and submitted with good will to interviews and informal questioning.

The scope of the problem is obviously too great for the investigators to carry without financial assistance, and the situation is changing so rapidly from day to day that valuable data will be lost unless some assistance can be made available immediately.

Although the investigators had originally conceived of a project with three main segments, namely the governmental, the economic, and the sociological, and had later added a fourth, the anthropological, and although they are convinced that a project including all these segments is the goal towards which they must continue to strive, they have given the undersigned full authority to modify the larger project in order to obtain financial aid for some particular segment or segments at the present time. Under this authorization, therefore, she is applying to the Rockefeller Foundation for the amount of $14,000.00 for assistance in carrying forward certain of the sociological and anthropological segments of the study during the next year, and is respectfully requesting assurance of a continuation of the support at the same rate for the two following years.

The scope of the segments for which support is requested may be described briefly as follows: analysis of the persistence, modification and change in the social institutions, social behavior and social attitudes of Japanese and of Americans of Japanese ancestry, during their transition from California communities to temporary reception centers to areas of more permanent resettlement. Included under these headings will be an analysis of the impact of this transition upon the family with particular emphasis upon the relationships between the first and second generations; upon education in its broader sense; upon class structure; upon religious behavior and beliefs; upon the formation of associations of various sorts; upon political and economic attitudes and activities.

These segments cover only part of the total process of relocation.
are (1) the governmental and administrative aspects, including analysis of the pressures of various sorts that led to the formulation of evacuation policies, the constitutional and legal issues raised by evacuation, and the role played by the various branches of the government on each level in policy making and execution; and (2) the economic aspects, including the economic conditions predisposing the formation of policies, the economic consequences of the program in respect to localities affected, and in respect also to broader relations to the national economy and financial considerations arising out of the custodianship situation. The ground has already been broken in an approach to each of these segments which are being omitted from the present proposal. Not only will the investigators continue in their efforts to seek support from other agencies for the further development of these segments in order to round out the picture of the whole relocation process, but they hope also to stimulate and assist the government agencies to obtain data bearing more directly and completely on many of these points.

In developing the sociological-anthropological segments, Professor Lowie and the undersigned, who would be in direct charge of this aspect, would expect to cooperate closely with Professors Aikin, Chernin, and Kidner, who would be directly responsible for the governmental-administrative-economic segments. The procedure planned by Lowie and Thomas would involve the use of participant observers, selected mainly from among former students or associates. Candidates for these jobs -- both Americans of Japanese ancestry, who have been or will soon be evacuated, and Caucasians, have already been tentatively selected. Both types of observers will work part time in the reception centers or resettlement areas (in the main as teachers, social workers, or recreation leaders), part time on a research basis. They would be paid at the usual University rate for half-time research assistants, namely $750.00 per year. The approval of Mr. Eisenhower, of the Relocation Authority of this plan has been obtained in principle. It was understood that details would have to be worked out with the Authority for approval when and if financing were assured.

Lowie and Thomas are developing detailed schedules and outlines for the observers, following in general, established principles of sociology and cultural anthropology. Records will be of the case-history, controlled-interview, documentary type. It is distinctly not planned to use attitude scales or other similar measuring devices. On the socio-statistical side, however, data regarding the demographic history and status of the selected sample of evacuees will be obtained and these will be related to similar data obtained by government agencies for the evacuees in general.

The amount of $14,000.00 requested would be allocated as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ten participant observers</td>
<td>$7,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and secretarial assistance in Berkeley</td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel for Lowie, Thomas, and assistant</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$14,000.00</strong></td>
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It is the opinion of the undersigned that this amount is needed for the sociological-anthropological segments. The travel allowance cannot be cut without seriously hampering the contacts between the central staff and their field workers. Cutting down the number of field workers would obviously reduce the amount of data.
collected. It might be possible, however, to get along with six field workers, thus lowering this item to $6,500.00. It might also be possible to reduce the research-secretarial item to $2,000.00 on the assumption that the University would supplement this item. Thus the minimum seems to be $9,500.00.

It has been tentatively decided, subject to the approval of the Relocation Authority, to devote effort in the main to the reception center recently opened at Tanforan Race Track and the resettlement center planned at Tule Lake, California. This decision was reached because of the fact that Tanforan has just been opened as a reception center and the area at Tule Lake has been selected as the site at which these people will, in all probability, be relocated. Thus it will be possible to observe the whole process of transition at these two centers.

Three points should be emphasised about the proposed project:

(1) The administrative and research personnel of the University of California are interested in this project because of its significance as providing a documentary account and an analysis of an important sociological event, which they believe will be the precursor of other enforced mass migrations. This research project is in no way connected with the interests of the administration or of individual faculty members in the welfare of the Japanese group as a whole or of the students of Japanese ancestry.

(2) The proposers of this project have been in close touch with the plans of the government for documenting the situation. The type of study they have in mind will not and cannot be carried on by the government agencies (a) because these agencies — even the branches devoted to research — are overburdened with details of administration and have neither time to formulate research procedures nor personnel to carry them out, and (b) because the persons being observed will not cooperate with governmental appointees to the extent that they will with university personnel.

The proposers are convinced that the only way in which the government could sponsor such a project would be through a contract with the University to enable university personnel to carry through the study. This solution is impractical at present because of the slowness and reluctance of government agencies to make such contracts. If the project is accepted, however, the staff of the study will gladly cooperate with governmental agencies in advising and assisting in the preparation of schedules designed to obtain the best possible data covering other aspects of the process from both the long-range and the short-range points of view.

(3) As has already been indicated, the University of California will continue to make efforts to get additional financing from other organizations. The project proposed here represents a minimum. The University Council of the Institute of Social Sciences has already allocated $750.00 of its meagre resources to enable the investigators to begin the project. Additional support on a small scale will probably be obtained from this source in July. The University is also, of course, paying the salaries of the senior investigators, is contributing office space and equipment, and can be counted on for a limited amount of clerical, stenographic, and statistical assistance. The Gannini Foundation of the University has contributed $600.00 for investigation of a small part of the economic aspect. The Bureau of Business and Economic Research of the University has loaned a research assistant for a short period and has volunteered to administer the funds. It is highly probable
that the Social Science Research Council of New York will appoint as a fellow, a Japanese-American sociologist who will work under the direction of the senior staff to obtain comparative data outside the evacuation area (probably in Colorado). The government agencies have cooperated in every way except the financial and can be counted on to give further invaluable support. The present request to the Rockefeller Foundation, then, envisages their support as a link in the chain of support and cooperation from various agencies, but a link that is absolutely essential if the study is to succeed. For the segment which they are asked to support is the one which must be begun immediately and carried on continuously, while the other aspects can be cared for in the course of time.

Submitted by

Dorothy Swaine Thomas
Professor of Rural Sociology
University of California
Berkeley, California
PROPOSED OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF JAPANESE EVACUEES IN THE ASSEMBLY CENTERS

Social reality seems to be complex and its many constituent elements seem to be interrelated; therefore, it is virtually impossible to describe the process as a whole. We must limit the sphere of our investigation and seek data that are significant to the problem that we have defined for research. Even in our investigation of the adjustment of the Japanese evacuees to their new camp life we find that there is so much material that it is very easy to lose or to overlook valuable data. This series of frames of reference has been drawn up in the hopes that they may serve as guides on what to seek and in the hopes that the outline may suggest some tentative organization of the data. Obviously human behavior cannot be pigeon-holed, and several items of interest will no doubt occur that have no counterpart in the outline. Every item of interest should be preserved. Observers should not stick to any hard and fast outline and work deductively but rather should work out specific problems for study whenever the material suggest them and add to the nucleus with which we are beginning.

Our experience in attempting to study the life in the Tanforan Assembly Center has left us convinced of one thing; we must have some notion of what we are looking for and some preparation before we begin our investigation. We come to Tanforan with an open mind and with nothing set and consequently spent many valuable days deciding what to do. The dangers of setting down a definite pattern before studying are many; nonetheless, the danger of losing so much valuable data on the initial adjustment phase is much greater. Furthermore, some division of labor and definite assignments must be made to the various research workers and their assistants. Otherwise, the coverage will be so haphazard that the material on the initial phases will be virtually worthless. Recommendations on the assignments may run somewhat along the following lines:

1) Individuals on the staff could be assigned to cover the activities of definite social groups (formal and informal). The various cliques should be picked out immediately and someone who cannot along with the members of that clique should be assigned to work on that group. Some cliques can be anticipated some one should be assigned to cover them ahead of time.

2) Members of the staff should take some theoretical problem of interest for intensive study. Material gathered by the staff should be available for all other members of the staff so that those concentrating on definite problems can have a fairly comprehensive coverage of the camp. For example, someone could study the nature of the social structure in the camp; someone else could work on the problem of social disorganization; others could work on the problem of the formation of new social classes; the shifting of class lines, the social effects of a non-money economy, etc.

3) All observers should be on the lookout for the following things:
   a) rumors of all kinds, with the following information if it can be had: Initial of the individual spreading the rumor, his age, sex, former occupation and occupation in the camp, his citizenship, his place in the social structure (cliques to which he belongs, his probable motive for spreading rumor, and if possible, the original source.
b) Verbal expressions of attitudes (with the same information if possible)

c) Spot observations of any item of interest (investigators should cooperate and get information for other members of the staff if they happen to be at the place where it is available)

d) Systematic summaries of the findings should be made at least once a month by all staff members

e) All staff members should keep diaries and also encourage everyone else to do so. A list should be kept for all individuals with diaries so that they will be available later when the diaries are needed.

f) A list of individuals who are willing to donate their letters to the study should be compiled by everyone

4) Individual personalities for study and observation should be selected if possible before they arrive in the camp so that the case-workers are ready for them as soon as they arrive in the camp. If this is not possible, they should be selected immediately when they arrive. Of course, many personalities of interest will not be discovered until the study gets under way, but whenever possible they should be selected ahead of time so that their initial adjustment can be studied.

The following outline is presented in the hopes that it might provide some convenient frames of references for organization of material as well as point out certain items of interest that might have been overlooked. It is far from adequate and items must be added to it as we go along; perhaps the entire outline will have to be replaced by one that fits the situation better. It will be quite obvious on reading the outline that various sections have been taken from some standard works in sociological and social psychological literature.

I. A general study of the camp life
   A. Orientating background
      1. Brief history of the evacuation program
      2. Geographical setting
      3. Physical features of the camp
   B. Broad features of the administration of the camp
      1. Caucasian administrative heads and their functions
      2. Nisei assistants and their functions
      3. Organization, efficiency, coordination, and problems
   C. Economic system within the camp
      1. The employment office
      2. Wages paid and wage scales
      3. Basis for selection of workers
      4. Types of occupations available
      5. Where money can be spent and on what
      6. Sources of consumers' goods
      7. Initial signs of private enterprise
      8. Substitutes to a money economy
   D. Self government and political organization
   E. Welfare work and individual care (house-managers)
   F. Recreational and educational facilities available
   G. Medical care and sanitation in the camp
   H. Diets and mess halls
   I. The maintenance of order in the camp (political control)
J. General social structure of the camp Japanese
1. Social morphology
   a. Formal groups
      1) Administrative and maintenance groups
      2) Educational groups
      3) Service groups
      4) Religious groups
      5) Family groups
      6) Occupational groups
   b. Informal groups
      1) Cliques
      2) Language groups
      3) Territorial groups
      4) Common responsibility groups
      5) Mutual aid groups
2. Group interaction
   a. The relationships between the factions
   b. Relationships between group members and Caucasians
3. Mechanisms of social control
K. General adjustment of the Japanese to camp life
1. Initial adjustment
   a. Attitudes and rumors
   b. Ingenious inventions to meet unexpected problems
2. Attitudes and behavior patterns after the first week
L. Social problems in the camp
1. The problem of unmarried men
2. Apathy and demoralization
3. Sex difficulties
4. Delinquency
5. Conflicts of the generations
6. Personality maladjustments
II. The study of social groups
A. General description of the identifying features of the group
   1. Ecological setting (geographical position, wind, light, type of room, convenience of facilities for sanitation, etc.)
   2. Occupational setting (occupation in the camp and the type of work engaged in before being evacuated)
   3. Descriptive features
      a. Religious affiliation or belief
      b. Language used
      c. Nature of the family (underlying concept, constituent elements, functions performed)
   4. Historical background of the group
      a. Parental history
      b. Former activities (economic and social)
      c. Recreational and intellectual interest
      d. Socio-economic faction before evacuation
   5. Position of the group in the social structure
B. Material culture
   1. Initial adjustment to barren conditions
   2. Ingenious inventions to solve unexpected problems
C. Uniform behavior patterns
   1. Getting a living
      a. Reaction to voluntary work system
      b. Reaction to the wage scales
      c. Who earns the living?
      d. Types of jobs sought and general attitude
2. Reproductive ways
   a. Seeking and selecting a mate
   b. Marriage (organization and rituals)
   c. Family organization
   d. Home relations (parent-child relationships)

3. Training the young
   a. Socialization in the family
   b. Influences outside the family
   c. Mechanisms for perpetuating ways of the group

4. Spending leisure time
   a. Type of material used in reading
   b. Sports
   c. Other recreational activities

5. Engaging in religious activities
   a. Reaction of the group to the unknown
   b. Dominant religious beliefs
   c. Religious observances

6. Engaging in community activities
   a. Interest of group in political activity
   b. Community spirit and cooperation

D. The social solidarity of the group
   1. Relationships between members of the group
   2. the in-group character of the group

E. Other aspects of the culture of the group
   1. Rituals of the group
   2. Taboo ways in the group
      a. Food taboo
      b. Sex taboo
      c. Property taboo
      d. Taboo on personages
   3. Verbal symbolisms common in the group (stereotypes)

F. Mechanisms of social control in the group
   1. Limits of social acceptability
   2. Treatment of non-conformity to group ways

III. The study of an individual personality
A. Cross-section analysis of the personality
   1. Capacities (intelligence, abilities)
   2. Temperament (emotionality)
   3. Traits (extraversion-introversion, ascendant-submissive)
   4. Attitudes and interests (values)
   5. Ego (level of aspiration, insight into self)

B. Family background (general analysis of family)

C. Developmental analysis of personality
   1. Childhood
   2. Adolescence
   3. Adulthood

D. General adjustment to camp life

It must be emphasized that these frames of references are by no means complete and other items must be completed. Camp life can be studied under the three divisions of: General camp life, analysis of social groups, and the study of individual personalities.

Respectfully submitted,

[Signature]

Tamon Shibutani
Revised Outline for Preliminary Reports, with some Annotations by DST

I. Introduction
   A. Relocation Center and the Outside World
   B. Physical facilities and the setting
   C. Population and ecology
   D. Initial Adjustment to the camp

Shibutani is listed as responsible for the main part of the introduction. Spencer has already prepared section on B. In his report, D is not a separate section. C will at present be handled in a cursory way, on basis of housing statistics known to be of doubtful reliability. Later, Billigmeier will be responsible for developing C in full both for Tule Lake and for Gila.

II. History of the Relocation Center
   A. Chronology of events
   B. Social changes
   C. Summary and analysis

Shibutani responsible in Tule Lake. Kikuchi will prepare comparable section for Gila. Desirable for Shibutani to submit this section as soon as possible, so that Kikuchi's can be made comparable in certain respects. Request Shibutani to submit outline on what he has in mind under B at his early convenience.

III. Administrative Organization
   A. Formal organization and functions of various divisions
      (including analysis of changing functions, new divisions, etc.)
   B. WRA policy
   C. Army policy
   D. Relation of project to WRA (regional and national) and to Army
   E. Relation of project administration to the colonists (part played by colonists in administrative functions)

Included here would be an analysis of the extent to which functions are delegated by the Caucasian staff to the colonists in each and every one of the divisions of the project.

Under formal organizations would be included sections 7, 8, and 9 from the original outline, with the exception of 9 b and c, which should properly be treated under "customs" or, in part, under use of leisure time.

Spencer has prepared a section on A, D, and E for Gila. Billigmeier is now completing similar sections on Tule Lake. Thomas or Grodzins or Tauchar will handle B, through contact with the SF office.

Sections included as 7, 8, and 9 under the old outline will be done by Shibutani and Sakoda for Tule Lake, while Kikuchi and Yusa will prepare similar sections for Gila.

In regard to the hospital section, it is urged that special reports be obtained immediately from...
insiders, because of the probability of changes in personnel and loss of informants. Spencer is planning an immediate analysis at Gila, and will pick up reports from the doctors who leave Tule Lake for Gila. However, Miyamoto is requested to get these reports in hand from the Tule Lake staff as soon as possible.

IV. Collective Adjustments.
A. Social structure of the community
1. Totality in planning
2. Social stratification.

Spencer has prepared part of a section on social stratification. Miyamoto listed as responsible for this section in Tule Lake.

B. Institutional adjustments.
1. Political organization
   a. Groups formed by administration
   b. Voluntary associations
   c. Types of leadership.

   This is a section on which Spencer has at present very little. It would be most helpful if Miyamoto could present a rough draft of this section for Tule Lake as soon as possible, in order to coordinate the work of the Gila crowd in this respect, and to give them further "leads."

2. Economic organization
   a. Community enterprises
   b. Cooperatives
   c. Work Corps
   d. Money and wages
   e. Sources of consumers' goods
   f. Beginnings of private enterprise
   g. Outside economic groups (in camp)
   h. The farm

   This again is a section on which the Gila people have done very little. A draft on this from Miyamoto would be appreciated. Hajima's analysis of the farm will be extremely helpful.

3. Religious organization
   a. Christians (various sects)
   b. Buddhists (various sects)

   Sakoda is responsible for this section at Tule Lake. An early report will be appreciated even if in rough draft. Included should be not only an analysis of formal organizations but of the dogmas, methods of preaching, antagonism between Buddhists and Christians, antagonisms towards minority cults, extent of proselyting, festivals, etc. Part of the material planned for C 5 should be here. Billigmeier will work out a special section.
4. The family
   a. Courtship
   b. Marriage
   c. Husband-wife relationships
   d. The mother-in-law
   e. Parent-child relationships
   f. Family developments and histories
   g. Family disorganization
   h. Mixed marriages
   i. Household arrangements

This section is assigned to Sakoda in the original outline, but I have included several other sections. All should give material for f, even though this may be quite incomplete at present. Shibutani will probably handle g and h. Billigmeier hopes to get data on some of the sections. Spencer has written a preliminary section on this for Gila.

5. Educational organization
   a. Formal education
   b. Informal education, including adult education
   c. Higher education
   d. Student relocation

At Tule Lake, Shibutani and Billigmeier should get together as soon as possible and arrange a division of labor (possibly Shibutani on b and d and Billigmeier on a and c)

I suggest that "libraries" be included in Miyamoto's recreation section.

So far there is little on this for Gila, except from the administrative standpoint.

6. Recreational organization

This has been almost completed by Miyamoto. A comparable report is in process for Gila (by Spencer)

2. Tule Lake Customs

We suggest that the following topics considered here be treated in various places throughout the report. Spencer, in his Gila report is handling the topics in the following way: Washroom ways under housing; messhall ways appear in a discussion of food and eating arrangements; Japanese customs naturally come out in every section; a discussion of crisis rites is relegated to the description of the family; architecture and landscaping are included under housing; attitudes and behavior on Sundays and holidays are divided between the discussions on religion and recreation.
D. Forms of collective behavior

We suggest that this heading be broken down. Have a section on Rumors, gossip, public opinion and propaganda

Mass action properly belongs under "social conflict"

Social attitudes should be treated under various sections, e.g., attitudes towards cooperatives, etc.

Social groups is sufficiently important to have a separate (and eventually a very extensive) section. Spencer has prepared a section on social groups for Gila. It is possible that there are different definitions of a "social group". We shall send the Spencer ms. to Tule Lake, and would appreciate criticism and any outline you have that covers a different approach to social groups.

V. Personal adjustments

A. Personal roles and the effect on the community

B. Caucasian-Japanese relationships

Part of this appears in the section on administration. Spencer has treated this for Gila; Billigmeier will do so for Tule Lake.

Obviously, however, the record should be further documented from the reports of all the observers.

C. Life organization following crisis

It is expected that, eventually, this section will include a number of case histories.

VI. Social Conflict

A. Process of social disorganization

B. Does not the process of social disorganization come out under various of the other topics, e.g., religious organization, family, and, in fact, under most of the topics analyzed above?

B. Conflict situations

Group conflicts come out in the section on social groups; family conflicts in the section on the family; religious conflicts under religion, etc. personal disorganization in case histories in V above, etc.

Therefore, it seems as though this section should be concerned with two main topics:

Community disorganization

Beginnings of social reorganization

and this should be the title of the section rather than "social conflict"
Outline of University of California Study of Evacuation and Resettlement


I. Social history of the Japanese minority group in America.

II. Activities of various segments of the American majority group directed towards the Japanese minority prior to evacuation.

III. The mechanism of evacuation.

IV. The impact of evacuation, relocation, and resettlement
   (A) upon various segments of the population (other than the Japanese minority) and upon social institutions in sending and receiving areas
   (B) upon the Japanese minority

The procedure and types of records being obtained under heading (B) are explained in the following paragraphs:

The records at present cover three assembly centers, namely Tanforan, Pilare, and Santa Anita (Tanforan in great detail, the others less completely) and three relocation projects (Tule Lake, Gila, and Topaz).

Basic reports as of a given date and continuing records of changes in structure and functioning are being prepared under the following headings:

1. Surroundings and physical facilities
2. Population: stratification and ecology
3. Administrative organization, policy, and personnel
4. Community organization
   (a) Political groupings and activities
   (b) Economic groupings and activities
   (c) Religious groupings and activities
   (d) Educational groupings and activities
   (e) Recreational groupings and activities
   (f) Communicative institutions
   (g) Protective institutions

Under each of the subheadings of category 4, groups are analyzed in terms of
(1) those formed by the administration
(2) spontaneous or voluntary groups formed by evacuees
(3) groups formed or stimulated by persons or organizations from the outside world

Within each group, types of leadership and the roles assumed by specific persons are analyzed.

An attempt is being made to record the development of all conflicts and to analyze the solutions achieved. As far as possible, these are classified under the following headings:

(a) Caucasian-Japanese conflicts
(b') Issei vs. Nisei, with particular reference to the marginal role of the Kibei (or "Japanese-American" conflicts).
(c') Political conflicts
(d') Religious conflicts
(e') Sectional conflicts
(f') Class conflicts
(g') "Moral" conflicts
These conflicts are to be analyzed in intragroup as well as intergroup terms and also as between individuals and the prevailing social code. Special attention is being given to the nature and extent of disorganization concomitant with evacuation and relocation and the process of reorganization in the new environment.

Cutting across the group and conflict categories will be an analysis of public opinion and propaganda, and the nature and effect of rumors and gossip in promoting mass action.
Evacuation and Resettlement Study

Resettlement Phase

The study is oriented around the forced mass uprooting of a minority group (persons of Japanese ancestry) from the area of primary settlement (the West Coast of the United States). It follows the group from the time of their temporary concentration in government camps, through their subsequent release, dispersal, redistribution, absorption and readjustment, on an individual basis, into new areas of settlement (the remainder of the United States). It is focused on the disruption of their established social, political, and economic institutions, caused by the act of evacuation; on the collective adjustments to the way of life imposed by the government controlled camps; and on the institutional reorganization and individual readjustments following their release and dispersal.

The data on which the study is based are obtained partly by participant observation of the situations developing on the West Coast from the day of the Pearl Harbor attack to the time of evacuation; of the social structure and social changes in Assembly Center and Relocation Projects; and of the patterns of settlement and adjustment in the Mountain States, the Middle West and the East. In addition to utilizing records obtained by participant observers, the resettlement phase of the study will draw heavily upon the interview and upon experiential documents prepared by the settlers.

The interview and document will be directed towards records of the changes in status, behavior and attitudes concomitant with the process of settling in and adjusting to a new environment. To this end, a retrospective account of status and way of life prior to the crisis of evacuation will be obtained from resettlers. And, in a limited number of cases, the train of experience will be carried retrospectively, to the period of immigration to America (in the case of Issei) or to early childhood (in the cases of Nisei and Kibei).

Families, groups, associations and individual resettlers will be studied, but the sampling will be done on the basis of individuals by a rule-of-thumb method of stratification. For sampling purposes, stratification will be achieved on the basis of three cross-classifications, namely generation, sex, and occupation prior to evacuation. Thirty-four compartments will be formed, and an attempt made to accumulate a minimum of 10 cases per compartment. The compartments are the following:
The reasons for this stratification are: (1) to enable us to draw inferences about the whole of the resettling group by weighting our compartments by the proportions these compartments bear to the "resettling universe" (i.e., all resettlers, as determined from comparable WRA records); (2) to test the extent to which resettlement is selective, by comparing our weighted data with (a) the universe of all evacuees, and (b) that portion of the universe of evacuees which is not resettling but is remaining on the projects; and (3) to guard against selection of cases merely on the basis of ease of contact, accessibility of informants, or community of interest of informants with our staff members.

Having selected a sample of individual evacuees, experiential documents will be prepared for each of these resettlers, in an attempt to build up a body of data on the effect of the crisis of evacuation upon the individual and upon the collective behavior of this population group.

The following outline will be used for individuals. It will be amplified and revised as the inquiry progresses:

I. The Individual on December 1, 1941 (approximately), i.e. just before the outbreak of War.

A. His demographic characteristics: birth date, birthplace, (ken for Issei), place of residence, sex and marital status, household.
B. His physical characteristics (size, "looks," disabilities)
C. His educational status (amount of education completed in Japan
and in America; his use of the Japanese and English languages)
D. His occupational status (job actually held at that time; pay
received for the past month; his "usual occupation," by census
definition; for whom he worked; Japanese or Caucasian employer;
nature of industry and job; his fellow-workers.
E. His religious connection (Christian, Buddhist, none)
F. His political connections (Japanese Association, JACL, YD, etc.)
G. His recreational interests (his voluntary associations and
clubs; his hobbies; how he spent his leisure time generally;
his friendship groups).
H. His plans for the future (occupational, marital, educational,
desired place of residence, desired associations).

II. The Individual on December 7, 1941

What was the immediate impact of the Pearl Harbor disaster? The
individual should be asked to reconstruct the day, indicating his
activities; the contacts he made; the fears he experiences; the
rumors he heard; the tentative realignment of his plans for
the future, regarding marriage, education, residence, job, etc.

III. The Individual between the Day of Pearl Harbor and the Day of Evacua-
tion, with particular reference to the following time-identified
events:

- Period of early restrictions on enemy aliens
- Period of FBI roundups
- Period of Filipino incidents
- Period of evacuation of enemy aliens from restricted areas
- Announcement of evacuation of American citizens of Japanese
ancestry

Where relevant, freezing of the Free Zone

A. Effect upon the individual in his relations with his family;
Did he attempt to rejoin other family members, assume added
responsibility for relatives, break away from family?
B. Effect upon his schooling and education: Did he stop school,
lose interest in studies (did his grade averages decline?); what
were his relations with teachers and fellow students?
C. Effect upon his personal and marital plans; did he become en-
gaged or break off an engagement? Did he hurry up a contem-
plated marriage? Did he separate from his wife? etc.
D. Effect upon his residential status and plans; Did he move?
Was the move forced?
E. Effect upon occupational status and plans; Did he lose or
give up his job, or change jobs? What were his relations with
his employer, with his fellow workers or with his clientele?
F. Effect upon his property interests: Did he sell out his holdings
and his personal property, let his insurance lapse? To whom
did he sell, and by what mechanism was the sale accomplished
(government agencies, friends, relatives, personal initiative)?
What losses, if any, were incurred? What measures were taken
to safeguard property interests, savings and insurance?
G. Effect upon voluntary associations and friendships: What changes occurred in his relations with his neighbors, with the Japanese community, with Caucasians?

H. Effect upon his identification with America or Japan (i.e., upon his "patriotism" or his feeling of belonging to or being loyal to the interests of Japan or of America), and upon his identification with a minority group in America (i.e., upon his feelings of sympathy, community of interests, or repugnance towards others of Japanese ancestry), upon his political interests and activities.

I. Effect upon his "conduct" (drinking, gambling, personal disorganization).

J. Effect in general upon his "morale": Hopes or fears for the future.

Having reconstructed the pattern of behavior and attitudes during the crisis periods, a reconstruction of the major experiences and attitudes during the Assembly Center and Relocation Project period (i.e., periods of involuntary concentration) should be attempted.

IV. The Individual in the Assembly Center

A. Preparations for entering center (selection of things to take with him; anticipations of life in the center; official directives (from WCCA, etc.); rumors).

B. Activities in center.
   1. Job activities
   2. Education
   3. Recreation
   5. Religious activities
   6. Political activities
   7. Making friends; romantic-sexual activities

C. Attitudes
   1. Towards administration
   2. Towards other evacuees
   3. Towards visitors and other Caucasians
   4. Towards America and Japan
   5. Towards outside world in general

D. Changes in plans for future while in center (See listings under I and II.)

(Note: a modification of the above outline should be used for those who evacuated to the Free Zone instead of to an Assembly Center, emphasizing particularly the economic aspect, getting a home, setting up business or getting a job, and the social aspect, i.e., relations with other Japanese in the Zone, relations with Caucasians.)

V. The Individual in the Relocation Project

A. Preparations for entering the project (were efforts made to go to a particular project, and why; rumors about the project to which the Assembly center population was to be sent; fears regarding conditions in the project; attitude towards WRA versus WOCA prior to entering project.)

B. Activities (as in IV)

C. Attitudes (as in IV)

D. Inception and development of plans for resettlement.
VI. The Resettled Individual

A. Reasons for choosing particular destination

B. Mechanism by which resettlement was accomplished

1. How was the decision to resettle reached; effect of letters, personal contacts and reports, newspaper accounts, rumors of economic success of others, desire for adventure or to see the world, fear of family being caught "on the reservation" for the duration unless resettlement was started; fear of being branded an "internee"; dissatisfaction with physical and social conditions of camp; conflicts or fear of consequences if remaining in camp ("inu" situation, beatings, etc.); opportunity to break away from minority group; opportunity to break away from family.

The factors listed above (and others) may be thought of as positive influences "pulling" the individual to his destination, and as negative influences "pushing" him away from the relocation project. Parental or group pressures against resettling and how they were overcome, should be noted.

2. Sponsorship (individual initiative) religious or welfare group -- hostels, etc. -- WRA; friend on outside; family on outside; associational contact on outside.

3. Extent to which plans that were broken or goals that were temporarily abandoned were resumed; extent to which new goals were established.

C. History of Resettling in Chicago (or elsewhere)

1. Initial adjustment to life in Chicago; reconstruction of activities, attitudes, fears, in first week. Whom did the individual seek out? Who helped him? What were his relations with and attitudes towards Caucasians? Did first impressions fulfill or fall short of anticipations, and in what respects?

2. Finding a job and making a living: What sort of job was first obtained? By what means was it obtained? Was it obtained before or after arriving at destination? Description of job, wages, hours, employer, fellow-workers, work conditions, organization of workers. Relations with employers and fellow-workers (particularly interracial contacts). Satisfactions or dissatisfactions in connection with work.

Note: If several jobs are held successively, detailed record of each to be obtained. Why were jobs given up? Account for all periods of unemployment. Who helped out during periods of unemployment?

Patterns and level of consumption in relation to income received. Extent of saving for the future (including negative saving, or falling into debt.)

3. Getting or completing an education (including night school, vocational school, extension, correspondence school in addition to the regular media of formal education).
Finding a school
Getting credit for past work
Problems in regard to residence qualifications
Relations with teachers, advisors, school-mates
Contacts with Student Relocation Committee, with Social agencies, with schools, teachers, etc., in communities of previous residence.

4. Participating in religious activities
   Attendance at Japanese church or neighborhood church
   Why was a particular church selected (e.g., was there any previous connection with minister?).
   What, specifically, do resettled Buddhists do in connection with their religion?

5. Spending leisure time:
   How much leisure does the individual have, and what does he do with it:
   Reading (what sort)
   Visiting (Caucasians or Japanese?) Previous or new contact
   Writing letters (to whom?)
   Radio
   Movies or theatre
   Gambling or games
   Sports
   Boy-girl relationships or sexual activities (including prostitutes and other extra-marital relations)
   Etc., etc.

The important thing in regard to the use of leisure time is to discover not only what the resettler does, but with whom he does it, with special reference to interracial contacts or limitation to intraracial contacts.

6. Finding a mate, establishing a family or continuing family relationships (See later section for analysis of the family)

7. Participating in political activities

8. Participating in other voluntary associations (See later memorandum on group analysis).

9. Changing attitudes towards the war, democracy, American citizenship, Japan, Japanese communities in America, Caucasians (persistence or change of "keto" concept), relief or government subsidization (wards of the government), informers (izu concept), education, the family, etc.

10. Establishing status or attaining prestige: What are the resettler's ambitions or aspirations? Does present status satisfy these ambitions? What is the mechanism by which attempts are made to achieve desired status? What, specifically, does the resettler plan to do after the war, e.g., return to West Coast or establish himself here? What are his plans for family, education, occupation?
In a limited number of cases, retrospective accounts of the whole train of experience of the individual will be obtained from "representatives" of the various strata noted on Page 2. Here the Shibutani-Miyamoto outline (See appendix) will be used as a guide.

Since each individual is a member of a family group (whether other members of the family are resettling at the same time or not) studies of families will be built up by using the individual as the focus of the family group. The following outline will be used to determine the characteristics of the family group:

VII. Composition and Characteristics of the Family (family defined as household, i.e., individuals living together at specified time, except in heading A) on approximately December 1, 1941.

A. Resettler's concept of the family
B. Demography of the family (age, or birth date, sex, marital status; headship, relationship of other members to head; place of residence; birthplace, indicating ken for Issei)
C. Educational and cultural status of family members
   1. Grade completed at time of evacuation for American educated.
      Follow WRA procedure for education in Japan.
   2. Cultural (very briefly): Language used by members in addressing each other; etiquette and rituals; celebration of American or Japanese festivals
D. Occupation of family members. Usual and factual occupation
E. Religious connections of family members
F. Physical characteristics: notes about general appearance and defects
G. Standard of living of family: home ownership, neighborhood characteristics

VIII. Brief history of the family

A. Immigration: when, how, with whom, from where, to where?
B. Economic history of family in America; resources when they arrived in America, first job of immigrants, history of rise or fall on occupational scale, periods of depression and prosperity, who helped out in periods of depression, job mobility?
C. Educational history of family in Japan and America: schools attended, educational goals and achievements
D. Interpersonal relationships of family members; headship and authority; roles of each member in family management; Conflicts (marital, parent-child, sibling, nature of family solidarity; birth, marriage, death crises) How, in brief, do the family members get along with each other?
E. Relations of family with Japanese community in America; professional relations; connections with associations; social activities
F. Contents of family with members remaining in Japan
G. Relations of family with Caucasian community in America: Same headings as for E. In general, as for individual resettler, evidences of identification with Japan or with America (See III-H)

IX. The Evacuated Family

A. Preparations for evacuation (disposal of property, changes in family plans for future, integration or dispersal of family members). Supplement the individual record (III).
B. Experiences in Assembly Center or in the Free Zone.
   Supplement the individual record (IV).
C. Experiences in Relocation Projects.
   Supplement the individual record (V).
D. Changes in composition and characteristics, i.e., under headings
   listed in VII, during period of evacuation and in Assembly Center
   and Relocation Projects.
E. Changes in interpersonal relationships (as above, for headings listed
   in VIII-D)

X. The Resettled Family (Supplement the individual record, VI)
A. Mechanism of resettlement
B. Initial adjustment
C. Activities in Chicago, or wherever resettling
D. Nature of associations
E. Changes in composition and characteristics
F. Changes in interpersonal relationships

In the family analysis, effort should be made to shift the focus from the
individual resettler, who was arbitrarily chosen first as the "center", to
other members of the family group, i.e., to get a picture of the family
as viewed by each of the family members in turn.

Since each individual is not only a member of family groups, but is also a
member of various voluntary associational groups and cliques, studies of
these other groups will also evolve from the individual records, again using
the individual resettler as the arbitrary center of each of the groups in
which he is involved, and again shifting the emphasis to cover as much of
the membership as possible. Attempts will be made to analyze the structure of
the group, to determine the type and nature of sponsorship, the role of the
various members, the type of leadership, the cognized function of the group,
the nature of group activities, intergroup conflicts, etc.
An outline for group analysis is being prepared and will be appended.

In addition to the study of individual resettlers, their families, and their
groups, an over-all picture will be obtained of the larger community in which
resettlement is taking place, with particular emphasis on acceptance or re-
jection of the resettlers, and of the structure and shifting policies of the
various agencies aiding in or impeding resettlement: WRA, Friends Service,
Student Relocation, etc., on the one hand; "pressure groups" of various sorts,
on the other hand.
EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

Resettlement Phase

In the hope that a better understanding of the problems faced by persons of Japanese ancestry will result if a complete and accurate history of their experiences can be obtained, the University of California is sponsoring a study of evacuation and resettlement. The study is focused on the crisis in the lives of this whole minority group when, after Pearl Harbor, they were forcibly uprooted en masse, and forcibly concentrated in government controlled centers and projects, and on the aftermath of this crisis, when part of the group was forcibly segregated and the other part encouraged to disperse and resettle.

The University considers it especially important to follow up the careers and experiences of those who are at present relocating for they are, in a very real sense, pioneers. It is important to know what led these pioneers to a decision to relocate, how they have found jobs, how they get along with their employers and fellow-workers, whether their conditions of work are satisfactory or unsatisfactory. It is equally important to know of the difficulties they have met, and perhaps overcome, in finding a place to live, and what sort of experiences they are having with landlords and neighbors. Their social adjustment must also be studied; what friends they are making, what contacts with Caucasians, and with people of other national and racial origins.

These problems of relocation cannot, however, be completely understood unless they are related to the earlier experiences of the resettlers, particularly their experiences and attitudes during the crises that made relocation necessary: the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States which automatically made the Issei "enemy aliens"; the curfew and other restrictions that were placed on the citizen group; the mass evacuation of aliens and citizens; the early experiences in Assembly Centers and Relocation projects; attitudes toward registration, etc.
Finally, these facts must be evaluated against the background of the more remote history of the group. Unfortunately, the history of Japanese in America has been largely unrecorded. To build up this background it will, therefore, be necessary to question the Issei about their early experiences, and to question the Nisei about their parents' history in America.

The emphasis in the University study will, then, be upon the experiences in relocation, and these experiences will be related to the crises of evacuation and to the pre-war history of the group.

The University staff is making an effort to obtain a wide sampling of life histories of this sort, so that all types of people and careers can be represented: persons who formerly lived in the Northwest, in the Bay Area, in Central California, in Southern California; those who were in the pre-war days, farmers, business men, laborers, white collar workers, domestics, housewives, students, etc.; those who were rich and those who were poor; Issei and Nisei; those who were educated in Japan and those who were educated in America; men and women; the young, the middle-aged, and the elderly.

The University has no interest in the actual identification of any person whose experiences are included in the Study. All facts which might identify an individual or a family (such as birthplace, place of residence, names, etc.) will be changed and completely disguised by the interviewer. The persons who are contributing to the Study by telling their life histories are, however, requested to give a complete, frank and undisguised account of these experiences, with the assurance that the University will hold the identifying details in the strictest confidence.

The outline which follows gives, in summary form, the main topics around which the University staff will direct interviews which will serve as a basis for these life histories.
I. Brief History of the Individual and his Family (before Pearl Harbor).
   Background of immigration; economic activities and relationships;
   extent of family unity; friends and associates; residence changes
   and travels; schooling, religious activities; political activities;
   leisure time activities; plans that had been made for the future.

II. The Individual on December 7, 1941.
   The individual will be asked to reconstruct his experiences and attitudes
   on that day, indicating his activities, the contacts he made, the fears
   he experienced, the rumors he heard, the tentative reorganization he
   made in his plans for the future, for example, in regard to his job,
   his residence, his marriage, his education, etc.

III. The Individual Between the Day of Pearl Harbor and the Day of Evacuation.
   Changes in plans, activities, and attitudes, for example, moving to
   join other members of the family, leaving school, losing or changing
   jobs, disposing of property, breaks with old friends or formation of
   new friendships, joining organized groups, etc.

   Having reconstructed the pattern of behavior and attitudes during these
   crisis periods, a reconstruction of the major experiences and attitudes during
   the Assembly Center and Relocation Project period will be attempted.

IV. The Individual in the Assembly Center.
   Anticipations of life in the center, and preparations for entering.
   Life in the center; job, recreation, friendships, relations with
   appointed personnel, contacts with friends from the outside world.
   In general, what the individual did with his time in the center, what
   he liked about the center, and what he disliked.

V. The Individual in the Relocation Project.
   As above, for Assembly Center. In addition, attitudes towards regis-
   tration; and segregation; beginning and development of plans for
   resettlement.

   Major emphasis will, of course, be placed upon the history of relocation.

VI. The Resettled Individual.
   Reasons for choosing a particular place for relocation, for example,
   Chicago; who helped or hindered the individual in his plans to relocate.
   Problems met in finding a job, finding a home, building up friendships.
   Satisfactory and unsatisfactory aspects of relocation.
   Relations with family and friends still in camp.
   Relations with Issei and Nisei, with Caucasians and with persons of
   other racial ancestry in Chicago. Plans for the future and attitude
   towards outlook for future.
THE MATTER OF COOPERATION

Success of the study is dependent, of course, upon the full cooperation of various civilian and military agencies. This cooperation has been obtained to the fullest possible extent.

In the very beginning of the negotiations, Mr. Milton Eisenhower, at that time National Director of the War Relocation Authority, expressed a sympathetic interest. After the Rockefeller Foundation agreed to the exploratory grant, Mr. Eisenhower telegraphed Mr. Willits his approval and promised to cooperate fully. Soon afterwards, Mr. Eisenhower delegated to Mr. John Provinse, National Chief of the Community Management Division, responsibility for acting as liaison officer between the War Relocation Authority and the University group. In a letter to Dr. Thomas of May 21, 1942, Mr. Provinse expressed his personal pleasure at the active interest of the University in this problem. He made several helpful suggestions in regard to research procedures and emphasized the fact that "thought should be given by all of us to the opportunities afforded for establishing and utilizing rather continuous records on the relocation projects."

Mr. Provinse then telegraphed Mr. Fryer, Director of the Western Regional Office, asking him to facilitate the work of the University group.

On May 30 Drs. Thomas and Aikin had a long talk with Mr. Harvey Coverley, Assistant Regional Director, who reacted most cordially to the plan of controlled observations within the camps, and who gave his approval of the selection of the Tule Lake Relocation Center as the main locus of the study. He immediately recommended to the army that four evacuees (who had been selected
as observers) and their families be moved to the Tule Lake Center. This was soon accomplished. Previously, Dr. Thomas had conferred with Colonel Ira Evans of the Western Defense Command, who had assured her of his interest in the project and his approval of moving the observers so that they might be placed in the most advantageous positions possible for the study.

The final link in the chain of national-regional-local cooperation was established by Mr. Elmer L. Shirrel, Acting Project Director at Tule Lake. In a memorandum of June 9 he wrote to Mr. Fryer, who was kind enough to send a copy of Mr. Shirrel's communication to Dr. Thomas, as follows:

"I do not think anything has happened on our Project that has made me quite as happy as the news in your letter of June 5 regarding the research study to be made at this Project under the direction of the University of California. Mr. Jacoby, Chief of Internal Security, and myself have had a long conference on the subject and it is our desire to cooperate in every possible way. As soon as the four evacuees and their families arrive at Tule Lake we shall notify you by wire in order that Dr. Thomas may visit us at an early date. All the staff of Tule Lake Project rejoices with me in having our project selected for this very important and timely study."

When Dr. Thomas visited the Tule Lake Center on June 23, she found the fullest measure of cooperation being given her Japanese observers by Mr. Shirrel and his staff and she was assured that visits by herself and other members of the research staff would be welcomed at any time.

FINANCING

When the details of a budget on the basis of the first Rockefeller exploratory grant of $7,500 were worked out, it became clear that the grant was inadequate for a thorough exploration of even the limited socio-anthropological segment of the study. Efforts were therefore made to supplement the Rockefeller
Grant from local sources. The Giannini Foundation had already given $600 towards field expenses. Dr. Harry Wellman, Director of the Giannini Foundation, agreed to allocate $3,260.00 additional for the fiscal year 1942-43. The Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California had given $700.00 of its meager resources to the study prior to July 1, and an application is now pending for an additional grant of approximately $1,650.00. A request to the Rosenberg Foundation for a grant to match the Rockefeller stipend was refused.

At this time, the Columbia Foundation is considering making a grant to the project of $10,000.00 annually for three years. There is every indication that this grant will be made if the Directors of the Columbia Foundation have reasonable assurance that the project will continue for a three-year period. To guarantee this continued existence, the University of California has indicated that its various research funds (including those of the Giannini Foundation) can be drawn on to the amount of $5,000.00 annually for three years. Thus all that is now needed to assure the success of the study is a statement from the Rockefeller Foundation that a request for a continuation of its grant for a three-year period will receive favorable consideration.

PERSONNEL

The outstanding need of a project of this sort is the gathering of data in the field. The project has fortunately secured the services of persons thoroughly competent to supplement the activity of the senior staff. In the Berkeley office an assistant working on the sociological and political segments has been given access to the confidential files of the War Relocation Authority and the Federal Security Agency (this information, itself, is confidential), as well as to the complete records of pressure groups operating both for and against the Japanese. Another assistant has been allowed to examine the records of the Farm Security Administration. A third assistant, trained in anthropological techniques and with a knowledge of the Japanese language and culture, is now
preparing to spend a year in residence at the various relocation centers.

Obviously, a great deal of the necessary information can be obtained only by the evacuees themselves. The second-generation Japanese are, in general, a more highly educated group than any other in the American population, and from the more highly trained of these we have obtained the services of ten competent young social scientists. One of these, a former instructor in sociology at the University of Washington and the author of an excellent study of the social solidarity of the Japanese in Seattle, has been awarded a Social Science Research Council fellowship under the sponsorship of Dr. Thomas. Three others, former students of Dr. Thomas, are working in the fields in which they have had their training, namely, sociology, rural economics, and social psychology. A fifth, a student of Professor Lowie, has already passed her qualifying examinations for the doctorate in anthropology. The others are less experienced but are all University graduates and are being given intensive instruction by the senior staff in connection with their frequent visits to the nearby Assembly Center.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK

Members of the staff outside the camps have collected as complete records as possible on a rapidly changing scene. The shifts of public opinion, the activities of pressure groups, the impact on agricultural communities caused by the withdrawal of Japanese farmers, represent types of problems on which immediate record-taking has been considered necessary in order to assure the validity of the final results of this study. But the most important preliminary task has been the organization of observations within the temporary assembly centers to which the evacuees were moved prior to relocation. Exploratory field studies were made in four of these centers, namely Tanforan, Puyallup, Tulare, and Santa Anita.

The organization of the Tanforan report will indicate the procedure:
Three observers at Tanforan prepared a report on their first month in the Assembly Center, from the day of evacuation to the day they were sent to Tule Lake. The report was organized under three main headings: Administrative Organization, Social Organization, and Social Maladjustments. Under the first of these topics are included analyses of policing, housing and mess division, maintenance division, service divisions of various sorts, the economic system, and rules and regulations. Under the second, Social Organization, are included analyses of the following basic social institutions:

- **Economic institutions**: spending money, working, beginnings of private enterprise, substitutes for the money economy, etc.
- **The family**: marriage, courtship, parent-child relationships.
- **Religion**: organizations, rituals.
- **Recreation**: daily routines, spontaneous groups.
- **Political groups**: self-government, internal intrigues, types of leadership, relations with administration.

Also included in the study of social organization are analyses of specific social groups, social stratification, relationships between factions, accommodation to the Caucasians, Issei-Nisei relationships, specific events and crises. Under the third heading, that is, Social Maladjustments, are included conflicts between parents and children, the problems of the unmarried men, sex difficulties, theft and other forms of delinquency, destitution, and personality maladjustments.

The persons who prepared this report were sent to Tule Lake along with the first colonists in that area in order to continue similar record-taking from the very beginning of a relocation community. Before leaving Tanforan, however, they gave some training to a group of five of their fellow evacuees who are now continuing observations on the later stages of community life in the
temporary Assembly Center. Each of them has been assigned a specific topic
and is also keeping a record of the course of his own daily life.

In addition to these formal reports, the staff is in constant corres-
pondence with Nisei at various centers and is receiving as many as twenty letters
a week. The staff also has had access to several confidential diaries. All of
these are being used to supplement the formal reports.

At the Relocation Centers, beginning with Tule Lake, the observational
procedure is now being systematized. In these places, in addition to observations
by the Nisei, records are being obtained from Caucasians, i.e., from cooperating
members of the administrative personnel of the camp and from the project staff
members. These observations by Caucasians will be used to check and supplement
those of the Nisei.

The foregoing is sufficient to indicate the scope and importance of
the project, the procedures involved, and the character of the data up to the
present. But every day brings new and often wholly unexpected developments
inside the relocation areas and demonstrates the necessity of continuing intensive
study of America's first enforced mass migration.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas
Professor of Rural Sociology
This is the sixth of a series of confidential memoranda, the purpose of which is to keep the collaborators in the Evacuation and Resettlement Study informed of the activities of the central office.

FINANCING: As you will remember (see Fifth Project Report) application was made in July by President Sproul to the Columbia Foundation for a grant of $10,000 annually for three years "to complete the financing of the sociological, anthropological, and political segments of the evacuation study." On August 5, 1942, President Sproul received notification of the approval of this grant on condition "that funds of approximately $14,188.90 annually or $42,566.70 total estimated cost of the study will be secured also for a three-year period." It is believed that these conditions will be met through the guarantee of certain funds by President Sproul and through the action of the Rockefeller Foundation as indicated by the following letter dated July 27, 1942 from Mr. Willits to President Sproul:

I am very happy to say that a decision has been made to present to the Executive Committee the application of the University of California for a grant of $7,500 a year for two additional years beginning June 1, 1943. If the Executive Committee should decide to make the grant, the grant would be contingent upon approval by the Columbia Foundation of a grant of $10,000 a year for three years and $5,000 a year in addition from the University funds.

I am delighted that the study has gone so well. . . . I am sure that it will be one of those cases of society acting more wisely and more humanly as a result of the labors of scientific people.

As for the financing of the economic segment of the study, Mr. Elkus of the Commonwealth Club informed Dr. Thomas by telephone that a committee has the matter under consideration. No further details are known. Virginia Galbraith has begun a study of the Japanese in California agriculture that will cover a considerable segment of the economic picture. Her work should be supplemented by another research assistant since the field is so large; but until further funds are available the appointment of the second assistant in this field is impossible.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Robert Billigmeier has been appointed as a full-time research assistant to join the staff at Tule Lake. He will supplement and check the
observations of the Nisei observers at that camp and in addition will carry on ecological studies. Dr. Jacoby (formerly Professor of Sociology at the College of the Pacific, now Chief of Internal Security at Tule Lake and a most cooperative collaborator in the study) was anxious for a Caucasian to join the staff at Tule Lake and strongly recommended that an ecological study be made. Mrs. Billigmeier will teach at Tule Lake and Mr. Billigmeier will be in an advantageous position as a member of the administrative community with time unencumbered by official duties. In addition, his presence as a liaison between the Nisei observers and the Berkeley staff will be invaluable.

The WRA has finally approved plans for the movement of technical assistants Earl Yusa and Charles Kikuchi from Tanforan to the Gila War Relocation Center, where the control study is to be maintained. Further, permission has been received from all parties concerned for Research Assistant Robert Spencer to establish residence at Gila. The Nisei observers there will do work comparable with that being done by the group at Tule Lake; Spencer, working principally under Dr. Lowi, will concentrate on aspects of culture conflict as manifested in patterns of behavior of Isssei and Nisei respectively, and will pay special attention to the marginal status of the Kibei group. He will act as the leader of the study group in the South. He plans to leave for Gila Monday, August 10. The army will probably move Yusa and Kikuchi within the week.

Mari Okasaki, technical assistant, has been relocated at Manzanar where she will make check studies under Dr. Thomas's direction.

Morton Grodzins will leave for Washington, D. C. the first week in September to attempt to collect data from the Tolon Committee, the Pacific Congressional Delegation, and the central office of the WRA. Members of the senior staff are asked to inform any of their friends that might be useful in supplying material that Grodzins is coming, and to advise him about such contacts.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL. The Council has informed Dr. Thomas that the funds of Frank Miyamoto's fellowship will soon be made available to him. Upon inquiry the Council also indicated that the fellowship was renewable for a second year.

POLICY ON PUBLICATIONS: The policy on publications of the study, formulated at a previous meeting, has not been circulated in previous reports. It follows:

There shall be no publication of any material gathered by this study until after the war. Any exceptions to this general policy may be made only with the unanimous consent of the senior members of the project. Publication plans after the war will be decided by the senior members of the project when such decisions are necessary.
TULE LAKE VISIT: Thomas, Galbraith, and Grodzins visited Tule Lake on July 15 and 16. Seminar meetings with the staff were held and cordial relations with the administrative staff continued. Dr. Thomas plans to visit the center again within the next two weeks; before that time she will complete a comprehensive working plan for the study inside the camps, so that the many reports being received will begin to take shape as an integrated whole.

* * * *

TANFORAN MATTER: Due to a misunderstanding over the policy of the WCCA in regard to reports about the camps coming from the evacuees, Grodzins was refused permission to take some collected material from Tanforan at his last visit. Dr. Thomas immediately conferred with Major Durbin and the following quotation from her subsequent letter to him should be noted carefully since the restrictions imposed apply to all members of the staff:

I have agreed that I will neither give any instruction to my students at Tanforan, nor take any written reports or other materials from them, nor quiz them on matters of internal policy when I visit them. The same restriction applies to my associates, my assistants and all other visitors to Tanforan who are acting in any way for me. You have agreed that it will be appropriate for me and/or my associates and assistants to continue to visit these students at Tanforan, at the regular visiting hours. The purpose of such visits will be to maintain our connection with these students until such time as they are relocated and can begin to work seriously on our project. I have agreed to be personally responsible for seeing to it that, in all such visits, the spirit as well as the specified details of this agreement are adhered to without exception.

The matter of correspondence was not clarified completely. My understanding is that no restrictions are placed on correspondence but, as a matter of record, I wish to state that I should like to feel free to receive communications from my students by letter of the following nature: completion of the autobiographies and family histories which they have begun; continuation of personal records of a diary type; continuation of analysis of "clique, " (religious, political, and social) of which the students are members.

* * * *

STAFF MEETING: It was agreed at the last meeting that another meeting would be called as soon as the members of the staff had an opportunity to examine some of the material in the office. As soon as members of the staff have availed themselves of the opportunity, this meeting will be called. If any member of the staff believes a meeting should be held at an earlier date, it is requested that he communicate with Dr. Thomas.
## EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
### ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION BUDGET

**$7,500 Grant: July 1, 1942 to June 30, 1943.**

### FIELD WORKERS

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<td>$7,522.45</td>
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EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

COLUMBIA FOUNDATION BUDGET

$10,000 Grant: September 1, 1942, to August 31, 1943

FIELD WORKERS

Haruo Majima 12 mos. at $22.67 $ 268.00
Mari Okanaaki 6 mos. at $32.50 195.00
James Sakoda 12 mos. at $62.50 750.00 1,195.00

SALARY ADJUSTMENTS

Morton Grodzins 400.00
Robert Spencer 300.00 700.00

SECRETARY-STENOGRAPHER (Mrs. Paquette) 1,580.00

EXTRA STENOGRAPHIC ASSISTANCE

Tule Lake 480.00
Gila 750.00
Berkeley 500.00 1,730.00

HONORARIA FOR SPECIAL REPORTS

Poston (Mitch Kunitani) 25.00
Gila 250.00
Tule Lake 250.00
Utah 200.00
Manzanar 100.00 825.00

TRAVEL AND TRAVEL MAINTENANCE

1,700.00

SUPPLIES

200.00

TOTAL 7,810.00

CONTINGENCY SURPLUS, Columbia Grant 2,080.00
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<td><strong>Giannini Foundation ($5,250.00 Grant)</strong></td>
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EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL BUDGET

Fellowship award to Frank Miyamoto
(Takei Lake) $1,800.00
## EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
### BUDGET Recapitulation

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**TOTALS:**
- Grants: $24,500.00
- Expenditures: $22,282.45
- Contingency Surplus: $2,017.55