

Jan. 7, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your letter of Jan. 5. We hadn't heard from you for a while and were wondering whether you'd become engrossed in some bit of exciting research, or were having difficulty shaking the ill effects of Chicago. From your vehement remarks concerning our beloved surroundings, I take it that it's rather been the latter that's bothered you. We're all sorry to learn that both you and W.I. had trouble with the flu, and hope that by the time this letter reaches you, both of you will have recovered from it.

I am enclosing a copy of the Individual Resettler card which was sent to us a couple of days ago. I hope you will agree that it looks all right. It has been arranged that we shall start work on these cards on Monday morning at the WRA office with Louise and her sister-in-law to start the work. I shall go along to mess around with the material a little and find out what it's like. After talking to Togo about the possibilities of starting the copying work at the Friends' office, it was decided that the WRA, with its completer files, would be the better place to start. There is also the problem at Togo's office that they lack typewriters and office space in which to work, but the WRA offers us its facilities. If things go off on schedule, I hope that we may complete this work within a fortnight. The work of checking the addresses and of completing missing information on the cards will, of course, take much longer. I shall also send a few hundred cards to Matsunaga for the St. Louis study.

I have made out an instruction sheet for filling the cards. It was hurriedly done, and I failed to consider the matter of "definitions" as carefully as I should have. Will you kindly go over the thing and rewrite it wherever necessary.

Regarding our relations with Jacoby and the report which Provinse has asked us to write, I feel that we should not have too great difficulty in the matter. From Tom's report of his conversation with Jacoby, I had the impression that Jake was asking much more than we'd originally agreed to, but a conference which the staff held with him two day's ago has clarified matters considerably. I don't know whether I do Tom an injustice, but I think he may have exaggerated the difficulties of our relations with Jacoby a little.

In the next day or two, one of us will work up an outline of the proposed report on the basis of our recent conversation with Jacoby. Jake wants a copy of this so that it may be submitted to Spicer and Provinse to clear up any misconceptions of the scope of the report. We should submit the outline to you first for your approval, but since it is desirable to clear up some of these matters as early as possible before the Washington office gets any new ideas of what we may do for them,

like to do some work along lines that would be useful to the study as a whole. After all, practically all the material to be used was gathered under your supervision and I think you ought to have something to say about what happens to it. Master's thesis or no, I still think that somebody has to work over that pre-evacuation stuff pretty soon so that we can fill in the gaps by interviewing out here before everybody forgets everything. It's hard enough now and it will be worse after the war is over. I agree with Blumer, though, that concentrating on the rumors would make everything a lot easier for me and I could have a better thesis because I have better material in this field. Anyway, I'll make up my mind soon. If you have any suggestions, I should appreciate hearing them. Incidentally, when you have some time could you give me hell from your point of view? Blumer criticized the paper quite a bit but he concentrated his fire on my thinking, organization, and raising of irrelevant problems. He has suggested some new problems to work on that are damn good. I'm pretty sure that you'll raise some questions about reliability and representativeness, etc., and I'm anxious to hear them.

I've been spending this week working out an interview schedule which will cover the kind of things I'm interested in in the study of individual resettlement in Chicago and some of the collective aspects. Some preliminary reports on social groups and some preliminary remarks on social stratification (incipient) are now ready, and I'll send them along as soon as I get them into respectable shape. Hope you find something to bite into in these reports. By the way, I received the forms to be filled and have started using them. Will make a copy for you on every group we get here if you want one. I don't suppose the names mean anything to you but you may be interested in the other characteristics of group members.

I think I'm in ~~are~~ a rut again, but I can't afford to take a vacation now. I'm trying to convince myself that the rut is only in my mind. I think it's just that I'm not particularly enthusiastic about going through all this lousy and unreliable statistical junk from the WRA. I guess it's the feeling of wasting time and energy and seemingly getting nowhere that gets everybody.

Best regards to W.I. Take good care of yourselves--even if you are in God's country--for weather. Regards to Morton.

Sincerely,

*Tom*

PS. Please ask Morton to send the Nichi Bei whenever he is certain that he won't need them any more. We'll probably keep it here for about a half year at least so he'd better get everything he wants out of it. I may get around to working on the material sooner than I had expected.

January 12, 1944

Dear Tom:

I was glad to get your letter of January 6. We are getting along well now, although it certainly took an awfully long time to get rid of the after-effects of the flu.

I am sure by this time you have got the difficulties with WRA straightened out and hope you are not letting them worry you. At no time was anything said about the staff taking off two months to work for them, so just dismiss it from your mind.

I am now going over your report on rumors, and will shortly send it to you with my comments, although I have a notion that they probably won't be harsh enough really to please you. Morton says he will send you Nichi Bei in a week.

All here send regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

January 13, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for the letter giving us the low-down on your struggle against the Chicago bug and telling us to hold our ground on Jake. I take it that by now the bugs have decided that their cause is hopeless and have sought some soft touch somewhere else. How is W.I.? We certainly hope that you're through with your misery now.

Strangely enough, the bugs have not bothered us at all lately, but I suspect that the office morale is falling. My hypothesis is that as soon as we get off the field and get stuck in this office, nobody feels like doing anything. We have the feeling that we're earning at least part of our salt when we're interviewing, but sitting here is kind of hard on all of us. We've finally reached an agreement with Jake and we're resolved ourselves to fate. We begin working on the report in a few days and expect to have the damn thing done in first draft by the end of next week. Frank handled the whole affair tactfully and managed to get all of us to work on it. There are no kicks about chapter assignments in spite of plenty of kicks about the WRA.

The thing that makes the work hard for us right now is the news of the impending draft. As Jacoby pointed out, all rumors from the more reliable sources point to the reinstatement of the draft in the very near future. None of us here in the office seem too concerned about going into the Army. This is something that surprises me a great deal since all of us were so opposed to going in before. Even I feel that going to the Army won't be so bad. That means that we are either being swept by a wave of something or another or else that all of us are getting into a rut. I think that this is true of many Nisei men here. They don't mind going into the Army either and are not too concerned about the draft even though the rumors are flying all over the place. They feel that if they have to go they will go, since their present setup isn't worth sticking too anyway. Of course, we in the office are not that low and are worrying about getting our work done, etc., etc., but nonetheless there is not much opposition to going in--none of that plotting ways and means of dodging the draft that was common last year during registration. We probably won't be called at once even if these rumors do turn out to be true, but in the event that everything goes wrong, my personal feeling is that we ought to finish up as much field work as possible rather than the write-ups. I know that this is contrary to the instructions that you left, but I suspect that in the long run the study will be better off if we get a lot of information. It's true that we can write up this stuff much better now than we could after the war, but it's something that can be done after the war whereas the field work must be done now. If the draft does come in, that means that there will be plenty of things going on around here--it will be a major crisis in the Chicago Nisei community and I think we ought to get a

good coverage of it. I suppose this is more your headache, but it's just my opinion. *Just the opposite to our arguments last summer. Kick me if you're sore, please.*

I am writing partly to accompany the stuff that I'm sending with some explanation, but mostly to submit for your approval some decisions I have made about my work in Chicago in view of the fact that our future is rather indefinite. There is nothing we can do about the uncertainty, but I think we ought to meet the situation the best we can. I don't know what the others plan to do, but here are my decisions.

- 1) I don't think that it is wise to spend all the time necessary to work on the literature on past migrations of other ethnic groups to Chicago and the manner in which they settled in this city. This can be done if we have time later, or it can be done by whoever is available after the war.
- 2) I shall throw myself into the work on residential and occupational groups as soon as the cards are ready--which means a few weeks. I'll try to turn out a preliminary report ahead of schedule.
- 3) I shall continue interviewing people about their activities in Chicago and on the period between Pearl Harbor and evacuation, but will leave out almost everything else--except for essential information that we will fill out on the schedule. I can get a wider coverage this way. My new interview schedule contains a number of questions about groups the individual is familiar with, and after a sample run I shall send you a copy.
- 4) Unless we have some definite assurance about our draft status, I won't waste my time doing anything that can be done after the war.
- 5) I shall continue to work for my master's degree unless the whole thing looks hopeless. I'll work on rumors for a thesis because it won't take as much time.
- 6) If, after all this, I still have some time left over, I'll work on my pet project: Pre-Evacuation. I'll do my darndest to get a first draft of this in shape. Some of it I'll have to do for the rumor section anyway.

Enclosed with this letter you will find the first draft of the appendix to the rumor paper and a few odd notes that I found in my desk today. The group study and the cases I finished up will be coming with the next load.

On rereading the letter I find that it sounds very ominous. It isn't as bad as all that.

Our best to W.I. and Morton,

*W.I.*

January 15, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Am enclosing with this letter a new rumor form. We have made these changes in accordance with the kind of information we have been getting and the kind of information that we have found ~~helpful~~ ~~the~~ in the study of pre-evacuation rumors. We have also changed the form so that it can be used to greater advantage in Chicago. Please have about a hundred of these dittoed. We have only a couple of rumor forms left here and have plenty of rumors recorded in our field notes. I don't know that we can make any intensive study of rumors here, but we can try.

Also, please send about fifty more of the group schedule forms. We are ~~making~~ them out in triplicate so that you can have one to ~~use~~ play with statistically if you want to. Maybe on second thought you had better send about a hundred. We can fill them in pretty rapidly here and I think we'll be filling quite a few when we get through with the residence cards.

Have been knocked out by the WRA report. Just finished the first draft of my section. I think I'll turn it in with minor modifications. It's so horrible I wouldn't think of turning it in to you, but the WRA won't know the difference.

Best regards to W.I.

Sincerely,

Long

January 17, 1944

Dear Tom,

I have been thinking about your work and problems all week-end, and was just getting around to writing you when your letter of January 13th arrived. This letter saves me a lot of trouble, for you have, independently, arrived at almost the same conclusions I had, namely, that anything that is of an historical nature, that must be done from secondary sources, should be postponed, if possible, until after the war. Naturally, I would make some exceptions to this generalization. For instance, we have to examine some of the historical records, and obtain current data from secondary sources on the setting of our problem in order to fully evaluate our own records. Because of the pressure of getting full coverage of the immediate, and rapidly changing situation, however, we are forced to sacrifice perspective, and to count on building up our background a posteriori. This is because of the unique nature of our project. If we had had better foresight (i.e., realized how important the Japanese minority group was going to become, sociologically speaking) we (and other social scientists) would have been working long before the war on the history and behavior of the group. Well, we didn't. So our problem is to "capture and record" what is happening from day to day, and hope that we can synthesize our findings with others that can be culled from the inferior secondary sources that do exist and with such background as we can accumulate as we go along.

My apparent change in emphasis was not due to the imminence of the draft, about which I knew nothing until letters from you and Frank arrived today. It was, on the contrary, due to considerable thought that I had given to a chance remark of Frank's, namely his regret that more basic, behavioristic data had not been collected on Tule Lake, and his feeling that his difficulties in writing up the report were due primarily to this. It seemed to me that things of such importance were happening so rapidly in the resettlement process that you were going to face the same danger unless considering more basic data on day-to-day happenings and behavior were collected. I felt that Charlie was getting the intensive side of this, in his individual life histories, and that he had his hands more than full; and that Frank obviously has to devote most of his time to completing the Tule Lake report, which is so important to the Study as a whole. Therefore, I envisaged more and more of the burden of extensive collection of current happenings falling on you, at least for the time being. I felt that you would find it best, in the long run, if you kept your University work at a minimum during this crucial period. I therefore approve the decision which you have reached yourself, to work on rumors for a thesis and pretty much let it go at that. I would say that you should not try to take more than one course (not even auditing). Drop the idea (my pet) of working up the ecological material, except as it may become essential for your present analysis of neighborhood and residential groups. Drop the 1

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

January 19, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I'm sorry to have pestered you so much with my problems. Thank you for the quick reply; I feel a bit guilty about taking up your time when you have so many worries of your own.

Your decisions hit me just right, and Frank feels that it's for the best that things should be that way. Of course, all this doesn't mean that I'll ignore my books altogether, but I won't be concentrating on write-ups based on secondary sources. So, I shall concentrate on the groups forming out here, although naturally these will in the main be based on individual interviews. I'm planning to abbreviate further my interview schedule in order to get a wider coverage. As things stand now, I'm interviewing individuals on the following points:

1. Pearl Harbor to evacuation ~~ex~~ experience
2. Rumors during that period (1)
3. Reasons for resettlement
4. Major preoccupations and activities in Chicago
5. Groups they are familiar with

I shall cut down (1) and (2) more. (3) is very brief. (4) I think is very important, and (5) will provide leads to work on. I'll send a schedule for interview as soon as I have it down pat. We're still experimenting with interview schedules and haven't found the answer to our prayers yet.

I'm only taking one course at a time, and it does not cut into my interviewing time at all. Right now, I'm working under Blumer and there isn't much reading to do, but next semester I'll have some problems when I go back to Wirth again. My major worry is not <sup>the</sup> passing <sup>of</sup> the courses, because they are quite easy to pass; what concerns me is the fact that I'm coming up for my comprehensive exams this winter and I'll be expected to know quite a bit for them. My thesis will have to be finished before the exam, but I don't think that will take much time. I've been taking it for granted that you don't mind my reading now and then since you had always encouraged our studying in the past. We can turn in better reports and do better research when we are even slightly less ignorant. That is the way in

which I have always interpreted your position. If I'm wrong, please let me know.

There is one other problem, but I think that it can be patched up in some manner. Each of these courses require term papers, and I have been working on some report that you can use for each course. As far as possible, I'll try to make arrangements so that I'll be writing papers on the resettlement phase, but now and then I may write on some segment of the pre-evacuation stuff if there is no other way to arrange it. It'll mean extra work, but it shouldn't be wasted effort. Right now, for example, I'm taking a course on Social Movements. I'm planning to write on the resettlement migration as a mass movement. This will mean that I'll have to do some work other than the regular field work to which I'm assigned, but the whole project should be of some value in giving a better preliminary picture of the resettlement than the report that we are preparing for the WRA. I plan to make the project as brief as possible, documenting only those parts we have not done for the WRA.

With reference to the Salt Lake City conference, I don't think the idea hit the Chicago staff very favorably. In a way this is a good sign because it means that everyone is too anxious to get some work done to be willing to take time off for the meeting. We do have a tremendous amount of work to do, and none of us are happy when we get behind too far. Conferences do knock us out, and the after-effects are terrific. When we were in camp we really looked forward to them, but out here it's a funny thing that we're not too enthusiastic. At any rate, Frank was rather skeptical whether we would have anything done by May or June to talk about. I haven't seen Charlie yet, but he has been griping about not being able to work for the past month. With specific reference to your question, neither Charlie nor I will have any vacation until September. I don't have a catalog here, but I'm reasonably sure that the summer quarter begins the Monday after the spring quarter. We get two weeks off in September and two weeks in December; that's all. We can cut classes for the two weeks or so that the conference will take, but I think September is better. May is too early for another meeting. Well, that's for you to decide. If I'm wrong about the vacations, I'll let you know, but I'm pretty sure.

It was good to know that all is well down there again. We knew you could do it. Best regards from the whole crew here.

Sincerely,

*Tom*

*He just came in & doesn't like the idea. Maybe later, he says*

*Unless we take a half load for summer.*

January 19, 1944

Dear Tom:

I had made arrangements to send you <sup>the</sup> a bound volume of "Nichi Bei" when your letter arrived telling Dorothy of your new plan to concentrate on current data, rather than upon the pre-evacuation period. I presume that your new program will call for a postponement of your use of "Nichi Bei." Since we do have continuous use of the volume here I, therefore, have called off my immediate plan to send it to you. The enclosed memo, however, is an evidence of my good faith. If you still want the volume, I will send it to you, of course.

Ruth joins me in sending our best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

January 27, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Enclosed are a set of rough field notes and a couple of preliminary reports on groups (very brief and inadequate) taken between September and now. I have another stack of notes on the period between December 7 and today that have not yet been typed up. God damn, one thing after another comes up and makes the typing business very difficult. Guys are always dropping in either at home or the office and while we get some good notes now and then we just can't work. I've been having relative troubles again and I've been sore for the past week. Now that several of my in-laws are visiting in town I make a point of staying away from home so that I get plenty of interviewing done. I can't afford to go home and antagonize them any more. If they hang around long enough, I ought to be able to complete two cases by the end of next week. Louise has been awfully busy typing up the ~~report~~ report for the WRA and so we have to do our own typing. It's good for us, but awfully tedious and time-consuming. Well, so much for the beefs.

And another  
batch of apish  
May, & June '43  
notes.

Charlie got official word from the WRA about the draft. No doubt it will have been announced by the time this gets to you. As it stands we don't have to worry too much.

Two things happened that I'm sure will make you happy. I'm elated because I've finally seen the light. When you were here it occurred to me that we ought to stress empirical data more and do less thinking (although we must do some), but it didn't hit me in the same manner that I was hit this week. I was roped into taking an evening off to attend a meeting of the Society for Social Research by Eleanor Torell and heard a lecture on chicken society by Dr. Allee. I didn't give a damn about the social pecking order among the hens, but what impressed me was the terrific emphasis on established facts and Allee's unwillingness to say anything without evidence. It just struck me, that's all, in a way that I had not thought of before. I'd read about that sort of thing but never really digested it. The next day Togo's report arrived and again I was amazed at the tremendous collection of factual data he had. You ought to see it; it's magnificent. All this set me to thinking and I think it will be a good influence on me.

Please thank Morton for his letter. I can't write him right now because I haven't made up my mind on some things yet. I really don't know about the Nichi Bei, but I think he ought to keep it. I'll yell if I need it, but right now I don't have any time. Sometime before I finish my rumor paper I'll have to go through the Nichi Bei, but that's months in the future.

Staff is rather demoralized. Please don't let WRA pull another sandy like this one on us again. It's really knocked us out. I know Frank doesn't complain, but he's had to devote a hell of a lot of valuable time to this report. It's going to be pretty good, I think, too good for those dumb bastards. (pardon me for my lack of objectivity.)

Best regards,

*Tom*

February 2, 1944

Dear Tom:

I have been a little slow in answering your letters, partly because I am still suffering the after-effects of the flu. A little sunshine would be helpful, and maybe these rains will let up soon.

I am glad indeed to hear that you have seen the light about the necessity for getting empirical data. It seems to me, however, that you are really suffering from a misconception about what you call "thinking." The mere indiscriminant collection of facts without any organization does not lead to useful results. You formulate your tentative problems and go on out and organize your data in connection with them. At the same time, you keep your eyes open for things which do not fit into your preconceived categories and as you get more data you reorganize your own thinking and develop new hypotheses that arise out of the data themselves. What you mean by thinking seems to be speculation not based on data, and to that extent I would agree with you, but I certainly don't approve of a strike in regard to thinking and I am sure you don't either.

Shirrell is supposed to be here in a day or so, and we will get more information from him about the changes in WRA.

In regard to your rumor paper: my major criticism is one that I think with your new point of view you will agree with, namely, that you have very little concrete data and have overworked it to a tremendous extent. There is too much speculation and too few facts. I have a number of minor criticisms which I will send along to you. I read over all of your notes and am glad to see that you are beginning on group analyses. That Maywood group will make an excellent case history. In regard to some of the other documents that you are sending. I don't see at the moment exactly how some of them are going to fit into your general organization. A good many of them seem to reflect important attitudes and Nisei ways of thinking, but there is not enough concrete documentation regarding people and situations. Until I see how you are going to use them I can't give any further criticisms.

I am delighted to hear that the Chicago report is

Tom

- 2 -

about ready. Remember that it wasn't done just for the WRA but that we also need a summary of the situation as to the present, so I don't think you should regret the time that has been put into it.

Everyone here sends regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

January  
February 4, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd. I was sorry to hear that you were still suffering from the after-effects of the flu. Had I realized that you had not yet recovered I would not have pestered you so persistently. Please don't feel that all my letters have to be answered. I often write on impulse and then work out the questions I raise by myself. I guess you ought to be pretty disgusted by now with the amount of postage I've wasted since May 1, 1942.

You raised some questions in your letter which indicated that you were rather puzzled at the kind of thing I'm aiming at in my collection of data. Frankly, I'm not sure and I want to find out before long. This unfortunately is going to change our plans slightly but both Frank and I feel that it might be for the benefit of all of us. The situation is as follows: I cannot possibly begin on my residential group analysis for another month at the rate the copying is going on. Louise's sister is doing a swell job, but there are just so many cards that it's taking her much longer than any of us had anticipated. She won't be through with the WRA for at least another week or so and we have several other agencies that have to be checked against. That means a lot more work for her. After that work is done, I have to go through and with the aid of a map code all the cards by districts. Then I have to separate them and start working on the stuff. I had planned to go out to interview on some of the cards that looked interesting. At any rate, I can't work on this report (due April 1) until the cards are ready. In the meantime, here are the other developments. Last week I finished up all the longer cases that I had started ~~last week~~. I think that if you'll put together all the field notes I have sent in and classify them by document number, some of them are almost completed cases. They are certainly not comparable to Charlie's either in length or quality, but that's all I'm going to do with them at present. CH-103AB and possibly CH-102 will be dropped. CH-101 and CH-105 will be complete with what I'm sending in this time; CH-104, CH-106, and CH-107 are completed. I'm using the rest for abbreviated interviews and leads. You have probably noticed that I have sent a lot of field notes that were not numbered. More than once you have raised the question of what I intended to do with the stuff and in the last letter you wrote that there is not enough concrete documentation regarding people and situations. I'm not quite sure that I understand what it is that you want; if you could give me a better idea of the kind of thing you have in mind I could tell you whether I could get it or not. At any rate, thus far I've done no systematic work here on the resettlement. This is the plan that we worked out and it may solve several problems for us at the same time. I have

to write a paper for a course on Social Movements. I can't possibly continue working on the rumor paper for credit in this course; so we thought that I may as well work on a systematic study of the resettlement. I don't know how much time it would take but I have a general idea of what I would do because I've been thinking of it for a long time. Since this report will include considerable documentation, you can see the manner in which I shall use some of my material--in fact, most of it. On the other hand, you can also see what is missing and we can get it right here on the spot ~~or~~ and not be doing retroactive interviewing after the war--like we are doing now for the pre-evacuation period. The plan is to elaborate on the last two chapters of the report we did for the WRA. Some of these points, we feel, are crucial in the study of resettlement and yet we made the discussion quite brief because Jacoby and the WRA were not particularly interested. Both Frank and I feel that our treatment in the WRA paper was much too fragmentary to do justice to the very important matter of (1) restlessness and (2) emerging features of a new society. Furthermore, we did not include any documentation. This paper may take a lot of effort, but it has to be done by the end of the quarter--end of March. At best it may give us a perspective from which to view the whole thing and tell us what's missing in this particular phase of our work; at worst, I can find out to my own satisfaction what I haven't got. This report, I feel, will answer your questions--if you'll approve of my spending some time on it.

Please be patient on this group business. You can't just go in and find out all about a group of people in two or three interviews. The Maywood report was based on several interviews and you can see how sparse that was. You have to waste a lot of time on these guys before they open up and tell you what they really think. I doubt if you will get a decent and finished group analysis from me this year, although I intend to send in dozens of preliminary and fragmentary reports. I can't press these people too much yet. I'm not completely in and I can't afford to be left out.

The rumor report is coming along slowly because I've been spending all my evenings interviewing. I feel rather happy because I'm back in the groove of interviewing almost nightly, but Tomi doesn't like it. Can't blame her, but she says she understands. Unfortunately, I'll have to work up some of the pre-evacuation stuff systematically before I can work on rumors--so that we can have a background that's documented. I'll send the alarm for Nichi Beis one of these days. I've indexed the spare copies that you sent me before and shall send them back as soon as I'm through with them. Then I'll make all the necessary preparations for using the other material before sending for the bound volume. That will be months from now, I suspect.

I hope that the report I'll start working on will answer your inquiries about the use of my field notes. It'll also give you something to bite your teeth into.

Regards from the gang,

*Tomi*

PROBLEMS AND PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH

I. General Problem

What are the processes by which a group adjusts to a crisis?

Human beings in general act together by virtue of the fact that they share common expectations of what each is supposed to do in given situations. In a stable society the web of mutual expectations are relatively crystallized, and there are general patterns of expected behavior and institutionalized roles for each individual. We may refer to these webs of expectations as the structure of a society. In a crisis the web of mutual expectation becomes disturbed, and the society is thrown into a condition of social unrest or disorganization. This condition is generally followed by some collective definition of the situation and a collective adjustment. New expectations crystallize and there develops a new social structure.

We should be interested in some of the following questions: How have the patterns of expectations changed? How have the expected patterns of behavior been affected? How have the anticipated roles of the individuals changed? How has the personal organization of the individual adjusted to the new roles or to the condition of having no defined roles? How are the new situations defined? What is the nature of social unrest before the new situation is defined collectively? What is the role of communication in bringing about a collective definition of the situation? What new web of mutual expectations and patterns of behavior eventually develop?

II. Problem Stated in Terms of the Specific Situation

Among the Japanese in the United States, the traditional symbols have been affected by a series of crises. How did the group adjust to these crises? There were some conflicts within the closely-knit communities as the younger generation came of age, but the real crisis came with the attack on Pearl Harbor, the evacuation and relocation, and, for some, the voluntary migration or resettlement.

What was the nature of social unrest in the Japanese group following each of the successive crises? Were there any collective definitions of situations and adjustments? How did the personal organization of the individual change during the period of social change?

### III. Procedure

There are certain activities which human beings engage in in association with others. In each group, there are certain areas of group activities which have more significance than others in the life-organizations of the individuals. It seems wise, therefore, to select certain areas of activity among the American Japanese which seem to be of greatest significance in the life-organization of the Nisei. A large portion of the lives of most Nisei seemed to be occupied in playing roles in engaging in four major types of activities. The emphasis will therefore be placed on these areas of activity, the expectations that grew up around them, and the associations in which they were pursued:

- ✓ 1. The family and kinship groups
2. Religious activities, institutions, and associations
- ✓ 3. Recreational activities, institutions, and associations
- ✓ 4. Making a living, economic institutions, and associations
5. Educational activities, institutions, and associations
6. Political activities, institutions, and associations

*Using functional analysis - therefore religious & political assns. will be treated under recreation - the real function.*

In this study, the emphasis will be placed on the first four types or areas of activity, since for most "typical" Nisei, personal organization centered around institutional roles played in connection with spending leisure time, making a living, and being a member of the kinship group. The major emphasis in this study will be placed on the younger generation, although naturally the Issei must also be considered.

The emphasis in this study will be placed on the adjustment to the resettlement to the Mid-West. The adjustments made prior to this time will be dealt with only in a cursory manner. Therefore, considerable attention will be paid to the absence of Issei and the lack of sources for the reinforcement of the traditional expectations by which the people had lived. However, since the Nisei did not have definite expectations except within specific groups and communities, on the whole, a fairly detailed analysis of the pre-war social stratification will have to be made.

The study will be concerned chiefly with those individuals who identify themselves with other Nisei and who have lived within Japanese communities. Marginal personalities and those who have always lived among Caucasians will be only of secondary interest.

In an effort to study the processes by which collective adjustments are made, if they are, an attempt will be made to give an analysis of the nature of social unrest, both within the center and in the area of resettlement. An attempt will also be made to study the facilities for communication and the content of communication in the hopes that some light might be thrown in the processes by which collective definitions of situations arise. This is chiefly a study of a period of flux and the processes by which crystallization takes place in certain areas of activity which are carried on in association.

Although this is a study of social change, no effort will be made in the traditional manner of studying change: i.e., analyzing the social structure at two different periods and then trying to account for the differences. Rather, the effort will be made to trace the group activities and the life organizations of the individuals--the changing trains of experience--following a series of crises that have disorganized the existing web of mutual expectations.

In the main, the technique employed will be that of collecting personal documents--letters and life-histories, and if possible, diaries. This will be supplemented by other interviews, government records, statistics, and spot observations.

1. The resettlement phase of the Nisei migration may be viewed as a social movement beginning in the various relocation centers. There was a certain amount of discontent and as the movement to the outside began, some of the discontents began to crystallize and the voluntary migration out was in a way a collective adjustment to the situation which was collectively defined as undesirable. Some Nisei came out with definite objectives in mind; others came out simply because their friends came and because leaving the project had become in a sense a fad.

2. There is a tendency for the personal adjustment of the individual to be made in terms of the preservation of the social self--to maintain one's personal organization.

- a. If the adjustment was successful, what are the patterns of adjustment manifested? If the adjustment was unsuccessful, what are the patterns of demoralization?
- b. Outstanding characteristics of adjustment
  - 1) Restlessness and discontent about jobs, housing, the future, the social life, etc.
  - 2) High occupational mobility
  - 3) Formation of small social groups among resettlers with little effort to seek association among the majority group.
  - 4) Sense of impermanence about staying in Chicago; general tendency towards orientation to California.
  - 5) Dependence upon the agencies (WRA, Friends) and upon earlier resettlers for initial aid in readjustment.
- c. What are the main problems of the resettlers, how do they define these problems and what possible solutions do they see?
  - 1) Housing, finding jobs, building social life, loneliness
  - 2) Integration into community
  - 3) Adverse publicity
  - 4) Draft
  - 5) Marriage
  - 6) Resettling parents
- d. What are some of the barriers and frustrations felt among resettlers? What rationalizations are used to explain away these problems?

3. The entire situation can be viewed in terms of the personal organization of the individuals. Since the Nisei have been uprooted from a stable community in which they had a definite status and had certain expectations and mutual claims of each other and other outsiders, it seems that the Nisei are trying to get a conception of their status in the new community, where their position is undefined, and where they are unable to anticipate the behavior of others. However it seems that the treatment of the Japanese by the city people differs with the individuals and their personal prejudices.

- a. Is there any variation in the reaction of the Nisei to these conditions, and if there are, what are the relationships to their life-organization?
- b. The Nisei lived in a community with a chain of mutual expectations. Now that there are forced to make new conceptions of these expectations, there seems to be

random behavior. What is the nature of this random behavior?

- c. Have any new conceptions begun to appear and if so what are they? Is there enough intercommunication between the individuals to make possible a crystallization of these conceptions?
- d. Have any outsiders helped in the formation of these conceptions of the roles the individuals are to play in the community? Have the church groups, university groups, clubs, or official agencies or sponsors done anything to find a place in the community for the Nisei?

4. Are there the beginnings of a Nisei society or community? What are the possibilities of communication? Is the Nisei society opposed by anyone? If anyone is aware of their problems, there tends to be a collective definition and collective adjustment. What awareness is there of problems among the Nisei? Is there sufficient communication for a collective definition? If there are any collective adjustments, are they made through voluntary association, inspiring leadership, or haphazardly?

5. What are the peculiarities of St. Louis and Chicago? How are the service organizations different? How do the facilities of communication differ, such as, the existence of socials? Does the difference in the size of the population or the nature of the economy make any difference in the adjustment of the Nisei? Is there any other factor, such as the Negro problem, that would tend to make a significant difference? Are there any differences in the attitude of the public? Are there any other factors that might account for differences or similarities?

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
February 4, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Have received your letter of January 31. It certainly takes a long time now for letters to get up here. I'm sorry to hear that Morton has received his 1-A classification and the Study stands a chance of losing a key man. I hope you are successful in your battle to keep him as an essential worker, which he certainly is.

Concerning my own status, I have the following information on hand:

Order No. 1281  
Local Board No. 67, Alameda County  
884 Colusa Avenue  
Berkeley, California  
Chairman: Louis J. Hardie  
Secretary: Bert Jordan  
Member: Charles F. Graeber  
Chief Clerk: L. Basil Hewetson  
(As of June 2, 1941)

Original Classification: 1-B (Date unknown, About  
July, 1941)  
Reclassification: 4-C, January 27, 1943

Marriage: November 20, 1943

I am glad to hear that you are enjoying the material on the boilermen walkout. I sent some material along with my journal for the latter part of the month. I have some lengthy minutes of a couple of meetings to send to you as soon as I can get hold of them and have them copied. You notice that I am filing these material away in my journal according to the date, giving each separate item a number. Although the documentation is very sketchy at points, it has unearthed some interesting material. I am writing a running comment on the material, which I have cut up and sorted them out according to topics and keeping the reactions of Tuleans separate from those of Minidokans. The contrast is very interesting. If you want me to, I could send the material as I have sorted them out along with my notes so that others can see what I have done. Different persons ought to be able to see different things in the same material, and it will be significant whether we agree or do not agree on our interpretation. If we don't agree, it means that that particular viewpoint should not be pressed too hard at the present moment.

The whole works is just starting to become interesting, and it will be too bad if we can't all ~~xxxxxxxx~~ hang on.

February 9, 1944

Dear Tom:

I was very glad to get your letter of February 4. My reaction in general is this: Don't assume that you have all the time in the world. The draft may catch up with you any day, although, as you will see from the enclosed memorandum, the situation is somewhat more cheerful than I had anticipated. Nevertheless, as a practical working procedure, you should assume that the worst is going to happen and arrange your work in such a way that both for your sake and ours you are going to have complete segments ready if, and when, the blow falls. Morton has been able to use this technique with extreme success, and even if he had to leave in a couple of months, which may very well happen, he will have given us a relatively finished product, which means that his status on the study is well established because, even if he doesn't get back until the end of the war, his manuscript is really in the state where it can be used and later revised by him. In regard to your specific points though, I agree that you are going to have to put off the residential group report for a short period, since I appreciate the fact that the copying and organizing of data take a long time.

You are absolutely right in saying that you were not supposed, up to the present, to do any systematic work on resettlement and that, therefore, I am somewhat unreasonable in criticizing your random notes. I think the best thing to do is to go on ahead and meet that dateline for your course, as you suggest, and systematize your documents in the best way possible, then I will, as you suggest, be in a better position to see what is missing. I am very anxious indeed to receive a copy of what you have all done so far on the Chicago paper. I am delighted to know that you are back in the groove of interviewing, though naturally I sympathize with Tomi. I agree that it will be a long time before you will probably need the Nichi Bei, for the pressure to finish these current projects in view of the draft situation is certainly going to be very great.

Charlie mentioned in his letter of February 2 that you had not received the rumor sheets and the group residence blanks. This was due to the stupidity of the office downstairs, I regret to say, for they did not send them out for a matter of some ten days after they were finished. Believe it or not, there was a shortage of stamps in this area after Christmas,

Tom - 2.

February 9, 1944

and all sorts of things were held up for this reason. However, if they had told us what they were doing, we could have supplied the stamps. I don't believe this will happen again.

Regards to all,

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Feb. 17, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

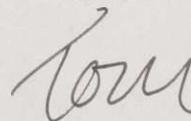
Thanks ever so much for the last letter. It was very encouraging. Unfortunately I don't have a copy of it with me and I've forgotten some of the points which you raised.

With reference to the draft, I must say very frankly that I'm worried about it as you are but from the point of view of the Study, it might be a good thing because the only effect that it has had on me as far as overt behavior is concerned, is that it has made me work a little harder. If I'm drafted in the near future, I doubt if I can have anything in even semi-finished form for you. I think that in six months I may possibly have something, but if I go before then, I doubt if I can finish anything. I'm planning to continue taking one course per quarter in school, but I'm selecting courses in which I can work on certain segments of the Study for the term paper. I haven't had any opportunity to do any reading for the past month or so and so it looks very doubtful whether I can qualify for my degree as soon as I had anticipated.

For the past couple of weeks I've been interviewing at night and working on the Chicago paper (for us) during the day. This is taking a little more time than we had expected, but I think it's the smartest thing that I have ever done. I've turned in so many lousy reports during the past two years that I began to wonder how it would feel to turn in a documented report with plenty of empirical data for a change. I've only finished a half of a chapter but so many gaps have appeared that I have a fairly good idea of the kind of field work that I shall have to do when the first draft is finished. I have every intention of meeting the deadline of March 25. Certain problems in method and organization have arisen that I had not thought of before. I'll discuss these in the last part of the paper. I'm quite happy working on this report because it gives me something to bite my teeth into and it is much more systematic than anything we had planned to do. Incidentally, I don't think Blumer will like it, so perhaps you will.

Best regards to W.I.

Sincerely yours,



Tom Shibutani

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Mar. 14, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your long letter of a month ago. I didn't realize it but my report has taken much more time than I thought. It took a week to organize my material, one week to write it, and two more weeks to copy the damn thing. I feel quite relieved now because I have finished and I am sending a copy to you with the pious hope that it will be worth at least one-fourth of the time it took. This will make the third Chicago report that you have received and I trust that you will get a fairly decent picture of what is going on around here. I have only interviewed on about ten evenings during the past month and have spent all my days working on the report. I intend to get back on the field because I feel myself losing touch with what's on the air.

With reference to the report, you will find that somewhere or another in the manuscript you will find virtually all of the field notes that I have taken during the past year. Most of them you have copies of already. I have not yet analyzed the notes that I took between April 10 and the middle of August. Some of the material which has been quoted are from field notes that I have taken since Christmas which has not yet been typed up. These documents were copied directly from my notebook and I shall not send additional copies with the next batch of field notes.

Now that Uncle Sam is beckoning, I find myself looking back over my obligations to the Study. I don't know how much you actually want me to finish before I go to the Army, but I find the following commitments unfinished. I have about 20 family documents on Tule Lake which have not yet been dictated. My report on the Family in Tule Lake has not yet been started and I do not anticipate working on it in the near future. I think that the best thing to do is to give Frank my notes and let him do whatever he wishes with them. I find also that my field notes and diary for Tule Lake from November, 1942 on is still in notebooks. I don't know when I can get back to typing them but I think that some of them ought to be worked up soon because I have quite a bit of information on the registration period.

My problem at present, in the face of the draft, is as follows: It seems that my chances of getting an occupational deferment are pretty slim since I have a long ways to go before I am 26. You stated in your last letter that you wanted us to finish certain segments before we go in order to establish our status in the Study. As you can see, my work in Chicago is still in an exploratory stage and I am only beginning a systematic analysis. There are two other reports that I could work on but there is a question of time. For the purposes of the Study, it may be most advantageous if I tried to put in decent form my report on the period between Pearl Harbor and Evacuation. For my own purposes, it would be more advantageous for me to complete my study of rumors since I am using that for my

Master's thesis. These are the only reports that I could possibly finish if I am drafted this summer. Of course, in the event that I do work on either or both of these reports, I do not intend to ignore the Chicago situation. I do not feel that I should stop doing field work in Chicago until Frank has finished his Tule Lake report and is able to get around. One of us should be on the field. Because of the new requirements here at the University for the Master's degree, I may have to work on the pre-evacuation material a little bit anyway. Instead of a foreign language, they are now requiring two pieces of field research other than the Master's thesis and I may hand in the report I just finished and the pre-evacuation one for satisfaction of this requirement.

I don't know exactly what to do about my degree. Although I am very anxious to get it after coming this far. I have only a couple of courses to go for my residence requirements and I can whip up my thesis in about a month. I am quite sure that studying part time as I am now on week-ends and mornings (when I get up), I can be prepared for my examination ~~by~~ November or December of this year. I suppose I could finish sooner if I studied full time. Incidentally, since I shall be thinking about my thesis in the months to come, I should appreciate your sending your comments about the rumor report when it is convenient for you. If you are too busy please forget about it. In the event that you want me to drop out of school altogether and to spend full time working, please let me know so that I can make adjustments at once. School does not take much time now but I suspect that for a month before my examinations I shall be studying quite a bit to make up for everything I should have done last year.

As you can see, my report on Chicago differs considerably in organization from the conventional approach used in sociological studies. Maybe I'm on the wrong track. I honestly think that this approach lends itself far better to the analysis of what is happening to the resettlers than anything that I have seen in the literature anywhere. My plans for the future are, aside from my school work and the report that I mentioned above, are to make detailed analyses of topics touched upon in Chapters IV and V of this report. If you still feel that I should make a study of residential groups, I shall do so although I now feel that there are other things that could be studied much more profitably. The cards that Louise's sister has been working on are not adequate for the kind of study that we have been planning. They will be no doubt be useful for other purposes but for a study of residential groups they are practically useless. I personally doubt whether such a study will give us too much information anyway, and I feel that perhaps a study of groups in general of the nature that I mentioned in Chapter VI may be more worthwhile in that it will provide a broader basis for other studies. I have not drawn up any ~~schedules~~ schedules to be used in the months to come and do not intend to do so until I hear from you. My personal feeling is that we ought to concentrate on the study of restlessness for the time being. I am quite sure that a detailed analysis of the discontent of resettlers will be very revealing. I have changed my mind so many times during the past couple of years that it must be very exasperating for you. I'm sorry that I'm so flighty but I will appreciate your comments about this.

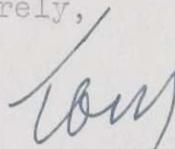
*And they will take another month at least to copy.*

Various personal problems have irritated me during the past month. I had to pay a terrific income tax and we're practically out in the gutter again. My father is getting very restless in camp and I don't know what to do about him since he insists on coming out whereas the doctors advise him not to work because he has a heart flutter. Only my mother's operation has kept him in Granada. I guess he can't get used to the idea of having to be dependent on a brat like me.

Please let me know what you think I ought to do before Uncle Sam calls. I'm taking your advice and working on the assumption that the worst will happen. I'm willing to do almost anything although naturally if I disagree with you I shall not hesitate to say so. I guess I've been doing more than my share of yelling for the past couple of years anyway. The only thing that I really want is to somehow finish up my work for my degree before joining the Colors, but, if the interests of the Study dictate full time work please don't hesitate to tell me.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you. Regards to W.I. and Morton.

Sincerely,



Tom Shibutani

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

March 15, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

This is a postscript to yesterday's letter. There are a couple of things which I wanted to say which I had forgotten for the time being. The main thing is that I suspect that perhaps we have not reached an understanding as to what we meant when we agreed that I was to concentrate on the collective aspects of the resettlement program. As I remember from our discussion during our conference last December, you had in mind the study of various types of groups--residential, occupational, religious, recreational, family. As you can see from what I have written, however, I do not view the study of collective behavior in that fashion. I have concentrated more on types of social inter-action, social contagion, the development of in-group feelings, and similar collective phenomena. All of these things, no doubt, have considerable relationship with the study of groups but the orientation is very different. As you recall, I stated that if I should study groups I should prefer to study them in terms of a rise of collective definition of situations, and as I recall, you raised some objection to this. At that time I said no more, but since doing the report I feel more strongly than ever that we will not be spending our time to the best advantage if we work on the formation and structure of groups life. I don't know if there is any great disagreement; perhaps, I am becoming too much under the influence of the Chicago school. I am not saying that there is a collective mind or anything of the kind, but, what I am saying is that there is developing in Chicago certain patterns of behavior which are the results of the nature of the situation and the nature of the inter-action between individuals. Perhaps I'm all wrong but I think that that is the most fruitful manner in which we can make the study, and I think that Frank agrees with me.

*or did I suggest it?*

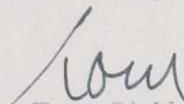
After this morning's announcement concerning the draft status of everyone between 18 and 25, it seems that I won't have to worry about this until after the war. I guess my only chance would be the Army's maintaining the present policy of taking nisei only for replacements in combat units. I don't feel very badly about going, and I only hope that I can finish up something before I go. I had a long talk with Blumer this morning, and he suggested that I clear up my Master's thesis before I go so that the material on rumors would not get cold during my sojourn. It seems that the question of getting a degree is becoming a matter of time, for I discovered today that I shall fulfill all of my other requirements sooner than I had anticipated, because of certain errors in the catalogue. Blumer also suggested that as far as my Ph. D. was concerned, I ought to set up my problem in such a fashion that I could carry on the field work at the end of the war. He said something about getting the study set up in such a way that I might be eligible for a Fellowship after the war in the event that I cannot get back on the staff. It's far off in the future but I guess I'll have to think about it.

Tomorrow night I am going to interview a girl who was employed by the Bloomfield Manufacturing Company. In the event you have not heard about this from Charlie or Frank, there is some racial tension developing in this plant. The management, which has a reputation for having a terrible labor policy, has apparently been firing Negroes and replacing them with nisei. As might have been expected, the Negroes are very resentful and Kennedy is apparently quite alarmed over what might happen. There is some talk about pulling all the nisei out of the plant unless something is done immediately to solve the problem. Since reading your letter to Frank of a couple of weeks ago, I have been snooping around the Stockton houses trying to find out what is happening in Rohwer. One fellow, who is very ob-servant, took a trip back to camp and I was hoping to interview him upon his return. However, he seems to have been caught in the tide of events and apparently his parents will not allow him to return to Chicago. I have managed to get hold of some letters written by people in Rohwer and I shall send along copies presently. Apparently, the resistance to the draft is organized in much the same manner as was the resistance to the registration. I was struck by the similarity in the demand of the Rohwer people and those that were made in Granada and Topaz. It is quite possible that the demand of security before induction arose spontaneously but the wording of these demands is so much alike that I have other suspicions. The Rohwer people seem to have reacted in two ways. The young fellows who are subject to the draft are now coming out to see the world before joining the Army, whereas, those who are out in Chicago are going back to camp to see their parents before joining the colors. Apparently ~~this-all~~ mess hall meetings are being held quite frequently and agitation is going on. As soon as I get more detailed information, I'll send it on to you.

Frank just received a letter from a guy named Arnold who is the chief of the relocation division, saying that our opus has arrived safely in Washington. The guys says that it will help him in his work. I only hope to God that he reads it. Nothing else is new around here.

Regards from all the gang.

Sincerely,

  
Tom Shibutani

March 17, 1944

Dear Tom:

I received your letter of March 14, and almost at the same time the long report that you have prepared. I am hastening to write even though you will understand that I have not, of course, read the report. In fact, it will be about ten days before I can give detailed attention to it as there are several other long manuscripts and documents ahead of it. I did look at it hastily, however, and felt that the organization was very good. I read your concluding chapter in detail and felt however that your plans for future research were far too inclusive and far too vague to lead to realistic procedures. Almost any one of the seven points that you list on page 245 is a thesis in itself. In fact, it is difficult to see how some of the sub-headings could be developed properly without a great amount of work. It is perfectly obvious to me that you are going to have to limit yourself and set about the process of collecting more data and organizing them systematically.

Now to take up the various points that you raised in your letter.

I telephoned the University War Council and asked what chance I would have if we put in an appeal for deferment when you are reclassified. They are very pessimistic about the outcome for anyone under 26 years of age. They say that their appeals are now being disregarded for such classes of persons as chemists and even engineers, so I am afraid the poor social scientist of this age group is just going to be out of luck. Needless to say, this will be a blow to me as well as to you. You are the only one on the study who has the misfortune to be so young, and I really am distressed that we shall be in such a helpless position about you. The others at least stand a reasonably good chance, but the situation is tightening for all of them without any question. Therefore, I think you must assume that you will be drafted and that it may come rather quickly. The only things that will keep you out will be: (a) if you are by any chance 4-F, or (b) if they really have no intention of drafting a great number of Nisei.

To go back now to the points that you raised about your procedure in view of the fact that the draft really seems imminent:

1. I agree that you will not have time to do anything

with the Tule Lake material. Therefore, turn the notes over to Frank and let him do what he wishes. It would certainly be helpful if you could dictate your notes, particularly on the registration period.

2. I am puzzled with regard to what you want to do for the study in the time that is left. I thought we had a clear understanding that anything that could be done after the war should not be emphasized now, and you made this very definite in your letter of January 13, of which I approved. That is, our last decision seemed to be that you would not work on the pre-evacuation period now. Likewise, I thought we had settled the question about the study of rumors. It seems to me that you have worked up that material to the maximum degree that would be profitable for the study, and that it will not be worthwhile from our standpoint for you to spend time on that now. I am indeed apologetic that I haven't sent in my notes on the rumor report. As you may have guessed, I put it aside sometime ago. I have a number of detailed points but must take a little time to try to pull them together into a few major categories.

3. I do, very decidedly, think that you should go ahead with your studies of the various groups that are forming among the Nisei in Chicago. I was pleased with the outline that you have made and the categories that you have formed in the brief report for WRA, and as far as I can see from a cursory examination you have followed some of those points through in your present report. I agree that the residential group analysis will be just one part of your general analysis, but it looks to me that it will be one of the very few in which you will have a coverage that actually represents many types of Nisei in their adjustive process. You will remember that the reason we had the records copied was definitely to give you the basic data you want and to have you change your mind at this time is rather disconcerting, so I would say that you should by all means go ahead with this group analysis, and I would like to hear from you again as soon as possible about this.

4. I think we should have a very clear understanding in view of the pressure under which you are working about the relationship of the work you are doing for us and the work you are doing independently as a student. You are perfectly correct in assuming, as you have in the past, that I wanted you to continue with your university work. To the extent that you can do papers for your courses which fit clearly and definitely into the scheme that we have worked out for the study, I have no objection at all to your using your work time on that sort of paper. To the extent, however, that the work you are doing for your courses doesn't fit in with what I want for the study, then I feel that you should ~~with~~ your private life and not let it encroach in any sense on your work time. I certainly would hate to see you miss out

*Consider That*

on your Master's degree. On the other hand, it is more important for you to do the parts of the study that you have in hand without too much distraction in the very limited, <sup>the</sup> time that may be available to you. You are, of course, <sup>one</sup> who will have to make the ultimate decision in this matter. But under our arrangements, the study must be given the consideration that would normally be required of a full-time worker.

I certainly am sorry to hear that you have had so many difficult personal problems. This isn't an easy time for anybody, but you certainly seem to be getting it on several sides. Don't hesitate to continue what you call your "yelling," if this letter has just brought up another series of irritations. I assure you that I can take it.

W.I. and Morton both send regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

March 20, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Just received your long letter of the 17th and am still a bit puzzled as to what ought to be done. I should really appreciate hearing from you about this matter. Frank and I just had a long discussion on the matter, and we ended up in a question mark and thought that we had better consult you again. I shall take up the points one by one so that you can get some picture of the situation as it stands and how I feel about the whole thing.

First of all, I agree with you that none of the things that I mentioned in the last chapter of my paper can be done by me. All of them will require a great deal of work and I can't possibly do those things in view of the fact that I shall probably be in uniform very shortly. Those statements included what I thought ought to be done and included problems that I would work on step by step if I had the time. It is quite obvious, however, from the recent announcements concerning the draft, that unless the impossible happens, it will be impossible.

With reference to my position in the draft, I think that we shall have to assume that something will happen in the near future. I feel quite confident, however, that I can be around at least two or three months. The reason is that my 1-A notice hasn't come yet and even if it does come and even if my appeal doesn't go through, my understanding is that I can request 60 days to finish up my work. I think that if it were definitely known that I had to go, I could finish up in 60 days. It seems that the draft boards don't mind giving brief reprieves for finishing up work, for that does not count as a deferment. Given three months, I can finish up quite a bit and can clear up all my personal affairs on top of that.

The Nisei are being inducted now. I know several fellows who have to report to Camp Robinson on the 28th of March. It seems that they are the first batch to go in. I imagine that after that the inductions will come quite regularly. The chances of my being 4-F are very slim unless I get hit by a street car or something because the last doctor that examined me said in passing that I was in perfect health and he couldn't see why I wasn't in the Army already. He was joking, but it's not so funny now. Right now, I'm enjoying the best health I've ever had in my life. Of course, there is the possibility that only a limited number of Nisei will be called, but we can't count on that.

Since we are agreed about Tule Lake, there isn't much to say on this point. Frank tells me that he has plenty of stuff on the registration already and doesn't think I ought to take the time necessary

to work up the material. Our agreement, then, is that I should let the stuff go until after the war when Frank's manuscript will be in more complete form. At that time, if there is anything in my notes that will add to the work, then I can work it up for him.

The reason why I raised the question about the pre-evacuation stuff again after we had agreed to forget about it was ~~that~~ because you asked what I thought I could finish up. There's nothing I can finish up in a month except that. In that report, my notes are fairly well arranged and I have an organizational picture fairly clearly in mind. That is, I know what I want to do with that stuff if I had the time to do it. It wouldn't take more than a month to whip that into systematic shape. I think that the Chicago stuff is more important, but it's a question of whether you want me to finish an exploratory study of some kind or turn in a relatively finished piece, and I assumed that the latter was what you were calling for. I personally don't care one way or the other. I take it that you still want me to forget the whole thing; so if you'll say it again I'll ship back the notes that you had sent to me and the spare copies of the Nichi Bei that I have here. We're a little cramped for file space here and I think the stuff will keep better in Berkeley. You're the boss, and I have no feelings one way or the other about this. If you want me to do it, I can write it up and maybe get some credit for it here at the university as well; if you feel that I ought to spend my time on something more urgent, I can work on that too. It's O.K. with me.

With reference to the group studies, we have run into a snag and I don't see how in hell we're going to get around it. We put our heads together this morning and we figured that it will take at least another month and a half for the basic data to be ready. There's no sense in my starting work in that now because it would only disrupt the work that Louise's sister is doing. I think the real reason why I find this job distasteful is that I'm not particularly interested in the kind of thing that that study is looking for. I certainly agree that somebody has to do the work, but like everyone else here I don't like statistics and the work just doesn't appeal to me at all. However, it has to be done and that's that. The hell of it is that we can't do anything for quite a while. I could do some interviewing before the data is in, but that interviewing would be unsystematic and I may waste a lot of time. If I'm still around when the data is in, I shall do what I can with it. The big question is: what shall I do in the meantime?

You suggest that I work on groups. As I read over the comments you had made about the Chicago opus, I became more and more convinced that we don't quite see eye to eye on what ought to be studied when we speak of groups. I can understand your irritation at my continually hounding you on this point. Perhaps I should keep on working on friendship groups and cliques in the slipshod manner that I have been, and wait for the cards. I could do some odd things, like chacking up on some of these so-called collective enterprises around here, although Togo seems to have the low-down on most of them.

The other alternative is my starting a systematic study of restlessness out here. What I have in mind is interviewing a large number of selected individuals on a few points that I consider quite crucial and revealing. Togo has a long list of these individuals who are ex-

tremely restless, and perhaps something will come out that will reveal something that may be true of all Nisei in Chicago.

Please don't misunderstand me. I don't have my heart set on this latter project, and if you don't think that it's worthwhile I won't spend any time on it. It's just a question of what I can do for a month and a half before the cards are ready. Frank feels that I ought to stop my random interviewing and get down to some kind of systematic study. He suggested that I work on my thesis too, but as I understand it, further work on that will not be of much use to the study so that that will have to come out of my own time. That's O.K. too. Please let me know how you feel about this. Of these two projects, no matter how hard I work on either, I cannot possibly get them into final shape. That is obvious. Either one will be an exploratory study and will have to be continued by whomever is left around here.

With reference to my school work, all sorts of things have happened. I heartily agree with you that my school work should not interfere with my work for the study in any way. I've always felt somewhat guilty about taking a few weeks off at the end of each quarter to clear up all my reading. Fortunately, I haven't had too many courses from Wirth so that it hasn't been necessary lately. Now that time is so important, I feel more than ever that I should consider my work for the study as being first and my school work as coming in if there is any time left. Thus far, I have written papers that fitted in fairly well with the study. From now on, it seems that term papers will not be a problem because all I have left are a series of research courses in which I can write any damn thing I please. The major problem is, of course, the reading. I shall be very careful about this, but please be assured that I shall very definitely not use study time for school work.

My idea of full-time work on the study consists of putting in 50 or 60 hours a week for interviews and write-ups. When we are out interviewing we put in this much quite easily since we rarely get in before midnight. I don't mind the long hours because I learn something all the time and the work isn't particularly strenuous--except for the long rides on the elevated. If we are on the field part of the time seven days (or nights) a week, I feel justified in taking off three hours a week for classes. I also feel that I am justified in taking off two hours in the morning if I get in at eight. When I don't get in that early, I let the studying go and work on the material. I'm quite sure that you will find this arrangement agreeable. It's kind of tough sometime but a guy's got to work sometime in his life and I want to keep my conscience clear about getting pay from the university. Therefore, I'm studying from 8 to 10 in the morning on the days when I get in that early. Otherwise, I'm letting it go. One reason why so much time goes in the study of groups is that a lot of nights you just sit around and only get about a half page of notes. These guys are kind of touchy about direct questions and it's awfully hard to bring up things that you want them to talk about. I know that the schedule that I've mentioned above will sound fantastic to you (since you know my sleeping habits so well), but I've been doing it for a while and I find it quite productive. I've got my heart set on finishing up a certain amount of school work, and I'm determined to do it without cutting in on study time at all.

I had a long conference with Blumer (who is officially my advisor) about clearing up work for my degree before Uncle Sam beckons, and it seems that everything isn't quite as black as it seems. In fact, the whole thing may fit right in with our work for the study like a glove. It all depends on whether or not Ogburn approves. I have to see him for a while tomorrow morning, and there seems to be a decent chance of his coming through in spite of the objections that he is known to have raised in the past, primarily because I'm racing against time with the Army. This is the set-up: I have two lecture courses to go. I am going to register for spring quarter--which begins next week and will take one of them at this time. The other one I shall take in summer quarter if I'm still around. Aside from these two courses I am required to take three field work courses which are not given this year. Since this isn't my fault, I shall probably be allowed (with Ogburn's consent) to substitute three individual research courses in which I can do field work or write up any damn thing I please under any prof I want. Since field work is my business right now, I think I can register for individual study and then go right on working for you. At the end of the quarter, I can make an additional copy of the report I prepare for you, add a different face sheet and get credit for the course. Therefore, my plan is to take a lecture course and a field work course this spring--which won't cut into study time--and one lecture course and two field work courses in the summer--if I'm still here. My thesis is in fairly decent shape now, and Blumer seems to think that it will be O.K. with a little more work. That's all I have left to do because all my other requirements have been met. As far as study time is concerned, the two lecture courses are the only things that cut in and I can do that in my spare time. I'm quite sure that I can finish the spring quarter--with the 60 day extension, if it is granted. If I can't finish the summer quarter, all I shall have to do when I return is to put in one quarter and take my exam. If I can get until September by hook or crook, I can finish up two more pieces of work for the study and get my degree too. How does this sound to you?

As far as my thesis is concerned, I've done all of the basic reading, and what I haven't done I'll have to do for the course I'm taking this spring--advanced social psychology. The other work consists of getting the stuff I already wrote revised here and there. Much depends on what happens tomorrow afternoon when the faculty is going to pass or reject my thesis. If I pass, I shall be a full-fledged candidate. Blumer is going to bat for me and he seems to think it will pass, although there is some question ~~ever~~ whether Ogburn will approve of a non-quantitative thesis. He's been pretty tough about them lately, and a couple of Ph.D. candidates almost didn't get through. Between now and the end of the spring quarter, I hope to finish up my thesis and get it approved so that it won't be cold when I come back from the Army. I still don't think that it won't cut into study time, since most of the work is done, and I hope that you won't mind my doing this on the side.

So where does this leave us? Next quarter, I shall be doing field work and writing up either social groups or restlessness--whichever you want me to do. Please let me know before the 27th if you can which you want me to do so that I can register for it. I shall take one course as usual and do all of my reading for it in the mornings that I get to work. Saturday mornings I shall work on my thesis. When the cards are ready, I'll stop my field work for a while and work on them. Maybe I ought to read a little about stat in the meantime, if I have time.

It's an ambitious program, but it's got to be done--because of what must be done for the Study and because of what I want to do too.

There is one other point about which I wanted to write before this morning's letter arrived, but I think that the whole thing is superfluous now. Some members of the faculty here suggested that I set up some sort of program for my Ph.D. (particularly my thesis) before I pull out for the Army. They suggested that if I set up some sort of study that can be continued after I return there would be a better chance of getting a fellowship here, in the event that there is no place open for me in the Study. I hadn't thought that far ahead because of the immediate problems. I don't think I'll have any time for this. I just mentioned it to indicate the extent to which you have support here and how much they are really interested in the study. I know that you knew that already. We've gotten away with murder here because we were working for you. It's certainly encouraging when things like this happen.

Well, this long letter has already taken up a lot of time. I think we're really going to have to be tight from now on. I'll write fewer and shorter letters and do more work. I trust that what I do meets with your approval and that you are not too disappointed. I feel very guilty at this time because of the paucity of work that I have turned in during the past two years that I have been connected with the study. I don't have much time to make it up, but I'll try my best to leave with a clear conscience--even if you may not be fully satisfied.

My best to W.I. and Morton.

Sincerely,

Tom

P.S. We are all agreed that all of us need a short vacation. We're getting a bit restless studying restless. Charlie wants to take a trip, & Frank complains about getting stale. I'm taking off a day or two before heading down for the final stretch. May seem contradictory to what I've written above, but I think it's better for sake of efficiency in the long run.

March 21, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

A lot of things have happened since I wrote my letter of yesterday and these things have led to a change of plans--that is, tentatively. I think that it is only fair that you should have something to say about this and so I shall wait for your decision before making mine. I suppose that you are right when you say that this whole matter of my school work is up to what I feel about it, but after all there is work to be done and you're a definitely interested party (or am I flattering myself?)

I talked to Ogburn this morning and this is what he had to say: He felt that I ought to take my exams before I go into the Army if I possibly can because I'll forget too many details by the time I get back. His suggestion is as follows: The registrar won't agree to give me a degree until I've paid for 9 courses, but as far as the department is concerned the degree is mine if I pass an exam for seven courses and hand in a suitable thesis. Ogburn approves of the thesis and thinks it will be O.K. He suggests, therefore, that I pay for three courses this quarter and take my exam on the 1st of June. Then, if the Army gets me, all I have to do is come back and pass two more courses and pay for them and I automatically get my degree since every other requirement has been met. If the Army doesn't get me or stalls, I still just take two courses any time and when the credit for passing the second course is in, my work is through as far as the degree is concerned. When I raised the question about working, he was very sympathetic and suggested that I take a course in field work in which case I would be donating 35 dollars to the university. I could work on whatever you want me to finish up and get academic credit on the side without any extra work. Social psych. I would have taken anyway, and the additional course he suggested was a course in statistical methods (advanced, unfortunately) which comes at 8 o'clock in the morning. Stat is at 8 and social psych. is at 10 so that as far as hours go, it won't cut into work time.

This is the major difficulty however. The addition of one course to my load won't make too much difference although it is true that stat courses do take time. Moreover, the big joker in the thing is not passing the courses. Courses are relatively easy to pass. What I'm concerned about is the final exam. I'll be held responsible for three fields: theory, method, and social psychology. Social psychology won't be bad because the course I'm taking this spring will require about as much knowledge as the final exam will and that won't require any too great a burden of additional study. Methods are not tough except for the stat which ought to be fresh in my mind. But theory will require considerable brushing up.

During the course of the day, I have decided to work on groups in Chicago as we had originally planned for my final project before pulling out for Uncle Sam. I am planning to work on it under Everett Hughes' direction if it's O.K. with you. I'm sure this much of it is agreeable to you. Here is the point at which you may balk. My conscience won't allow me to work full time on the study at a time when I'll have to hit the books a little more than I have been in the past. If I go through with this program, could you put me on part-time for April and May or else could you put me on full-time for April and take me off your payroll altogether during the month of May? With the exception of the last two weeks in May when I'll really be cramming, I'll be on the field part of the time regardless of what happens; but I definitely do not think it would be fair to collect full-time pay for part-time work.

As I wrote in yesterday's letter, I won't be able to work on the residential group data for another month and a half. At that time I won't be able to put in more than part time anyway. The whole thing is that degree or no degree I won't be able to finish anything for the study anyway if I'm called within the next couple of months. It's a question of doing one job which will serve as an exploratory study and I think I can do it.

If we decide that I should go ahead on this program it will mean that I'll have to work much more ~~hard~~ earnestly and much harder than I've ever worked before in my life. I'm not particularly worried about the prospect right now, and I feel that it's worth the try.

If you feel that I should not try this, please don't hesitate to let me know. I'm quite willing to ~~let~~ the degree go if there is something more urgent that has to be done. As I said above, there's nothing I can put in even relatively final form in the short time that I have.

I have some misgivings about suggesting this because I feel that I am being very selfish at a time when my full-time work may be most important. I feel like hell about the lousy work I've done so far and feel worse if I can't do something more between now and the time I have to leave.

If you don't think I should go ahead on this plan, please let me know before the 27th, when I have to register. If I don't hear from you by that time, I shall assume that you have given approval or have not great objections and shall go ahead. Please wire if necessary because I do want to know how you feel about this. Please don't hesitate to tell me off if you want to. I will understand.

Sorry about the rush, but it couldn't be helped.

Tom

NIGHT LETTER

MARCH 24, 1944

TOM SHIBUTANI  
6051 KIMBARK AVE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

WITH RESPECT TO YOUR LAST TWO LETTERS, I AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

ONE: YOU SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON <sup>your</sup>~~THE~~ COURSES AND GETTING YOUR DEGREE.

TWO: STARTING APRIL 1 YOU GO ON HALF-TIME BASIS FOR STUDY.

THREE: YOU WORK ON CHICAGO GROUPS AS ASSIGNMENT FOR THE STUDY.

LETTER FOLLOWS.

D.S.T.

A sequence of the  
Thomas Shihohu correspondence  
There was never any  
weakening on my part. BBT

March 25, 1944

March 24, 1944

Dear Tom,

I just sent you a telegram in reply to your letters of March 21 and March 20. I am completely in agreement with the letter of March 21. Our understanding then is this: you go on half-time beginning April 1. You work on Chicago social groups, not in a random, informal way, but systematically. Until the cards for residential groups come in, you begin to build up, very systematically, and following the schedules and outlines that have been prepared, the concrete data for other types of groups, both formal and informal. When the residential cards are completed, you proceed with this analysis in the manner we have already determined.

As far as your school work is concerned, believe me I am very sympathetic to your plans. I have long recognized the fact that you are torn between your desire to go on with your academic career and the necessity of working full time on the study. The immediate solution seems to be part time work for us. The longer-term solution is definitely a fellowship from the university, so that you can prepare yourself uninterruptedly for your doctorate. If this longer-term objective is achieved, I should, of-course, hope that your thesés would represent a contribution within the general framework of the study, but you would have considerably more independence in developing your own ideas than would be possible if you continued to work directly under me for purposes which I have defined.

It is not at all certain that you will be drafted for a very considerable period. I think, therefore, that you should put in an application for a fellowship as soon as possible. If you are not drafted, you can then go ahead realistically with your plans for getting your doctor's degree. You are so clearly what we call "PhD material" that it ought not to be too difficult or too lengthy a procedure.

My objection to the "restlessness" study per se is the following: You say you went out with the expectation of finding "restlessness" as a Nisei characteristic and you found it. You then interpret restlessness as something peculiar to the Nisei situation. There is ample evidence that restlessness is a pretty general phenomenon right now, and not peculiar to the Nisei. Your approach, then, lacks complete perspective. Also, as you admit, it fails to take into account the positive types of adjustment that are being made. And it neglects the really important factors (many of them) impeding or facilitating this adjustment: getting an economic foothold, resettling the family, etc.

More later. I entirely approve of the short-term vacation plan for all of you.

Sincerely yours,

March 31, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you ever so much for so kindly wiring and writing last week. It was certainly swell to hear that you approved of the plans that I so hastily made. I haven't started bearing down as yet, but some remarkable changes have taken place that I'm sure you won't believe. Since Monday, I've gotten up every morning at 7:15! It was kind of hard for a couple of days, but I seem to have gotten accustomed to it already. I don't even need an alarm clock now; my eyes just seem to open around 7. Amazing! Everyone in the building that I've gotten acquainted with is simply amazed.

Enclosed is an outline of the work I'm planning for the study. I'm getting residence credit for this ~~course~~ work, but it seems that I'm on my own. The work is supposed to be done under Hughes' direction, but he's so busy with his own work that he says very frankly that he'll give me only a minimum of time. That means I'll see him once next week and won't bother him again until the end of the quarter when I'll give him the report. It's O.K. with me because we can then proceed as we had planned and go ahead.

I've selected occupational groups because of several reasons. We all got together on this and finally decided this was the best thing to do. As you can see from the statement, there is quite a bit of work involved in this study--much of it statistical (more than the outline indicates). We decided to let the other groups go for the time being since it became obvious that it would be impossible to do even a relatively decent job on all of them. We didn't realize all the possibilities until we started combing through our notes and saw all there was to be done. Occupational groups were selected because a study of them will give us the kind of data that we need. I hope that you'll approve of this. It was a decision made out of necessity.

There are a couple of comments I wanted to make about school work and I think they fit in with plans for other group studies. You suggested that I apply for a fellowship and work for my Ph.D. if Uncle Sam doesn't call. That wasn't quite what I wanted to do, and I doubt if such a thing will come to pass anyway. You are right when you say that I've been torn between school work and study work. I've done my best to keep everything straight, but perhaps I have not been as successful as I had hoped. At any rate, I had not even thought of working for a doctor's degree until after the war--draft or no draft. I wanted to get my M.A. not so much for the degree but for the background I would have to have in order to get it. Then I wanted to devote all my time to field work. I've always felt a little lost in working on the study because half the time I couldn't see what I was doing. I don't think finishing up for my M.A. will solve the problem but I think that I might have a slightly better perspective. My status on the study, of course, depends upon you; however, this is what I should like to do if I don't go into the Army this summer. I should like to continue working on this group business, taking the various categories one by one and making systematic studies. My school work will be over for the time being, although naturally I'll do some reading all along; I won't take any more courses, or if I do I won't have to work hard in them because my main headache will be over. After the war and after all this mess is over when all the worries and everything are a little more cleared up, I hope to put in a couple of years of solid study here at Chicago. I think it's best that I let things go after my M.A.

So, it means that I shall finish up this work on occupational groups by the end of June. My exams are on the 1st of June so that I'll have the whole month to work on it. By that time the cards should be ready so that I can go

right into the analysis of residential groups. If the Army doesn't get me, I hope to work on it all summer. Something should come out of it by then. Then, if the Army still doesn't want me, I can continue with some other category. How does this sound to you?

Another thing is that I don't think I should worry too much about my Ph.D. thesis right now. Two or three years after the war is too far away and I'm sure that a lot of interesting things will happen to us boochies by that time and I shall have ample opportunity to work on it then. That means that I can really bear down on work for a change.

Beginning tomorrow I'm a part time worker and I shall begin a new life. Half time on occupational groups and half time on my thesis. Incidentally, I've collected over 200 pre-evacuation rumors since coming to Chicago, and the thesis as it stands now is substantially different from that paper. I hope to finish the thesis by the end of April and then I can devote all of my non-work hours in May to hitting the books. If I get through on June 1, the biggest headache I have had for a long time will be over.

I certainly appreciate your letting me take off for two months at a crucial time like this. I hope that the long-run result will be worth it.

Please ask W.I. to forgive me for reading Weber, Durkheim, and Pareto. I have no choice on the matter, but I'll do my damndest to avoid indoctrination. I read an article about German concentration camps by a German psychologist the other day and I think I'm beginning to understand your irritation over my tossing in irrelevant theories in the empirical data. I shall send you a copy of my master's thesis and I hope that you will find the treatment of the empirical data sufficiently devoid of all theory that it will be reasonably acceptable.

For obvious reasons, I shall not be pestering you with letters for some time. Best regards to everyone.

Sincerely,

Tom

April 6, 1944

Dear Tom,

I am enclosing an excerpt from a letter from Spicer, and my reply. Will you please write to him at your early convenience?

Regarding your last letter, I am surprised that you want to come back to the study on a full time basis. I have been impressed by the strength of the conflict between your studying and carrying on research, and I am not convinced that you have resolved that conflict. You know that I have a high regard for your intellectual qualities and productive capacities; but you also know how seriously your flair for theorizing has interfered with your empirical work.

If you feel that you have resolved the study versus research and the empirical versus theoretical conflicts, there are other matters that should be settled before we reach a decision about the best thing for you to do after you have passed your exams. You have shown evidence of great discontent with the study, its objectives, the jobs that you have been asked to do on it, the work that some of your colleagues are doing, and the way in which the study is being directed. I have wondered whether these attitudes were merely evidence of immaturity, and whether they would be overcome in time. I have, however, noticed little change in your tendency to be unwilling to do what I have asked of you. Your negativism has not only been a source of distress to me, but it has unquestionably been disruptive to the morale of your co-workers.

It seems to me that you have reached a point where you must make a clear-cut and fundamental decision. On the one hand, you must decide whether you are willing to devote your energies to the study exclusively, or whether a half-time basis will not be more satisfactory. On the other hand, you must decide whether you will come back to the study (this applies irrespective of the time element) and approach it, your co-workers, and myself in a thoroughly impersonal and cooperative way, or whether you will quit and go on with your other interests. I am leaving the question open, and should like to have a carefully considered reply from you.

In regard to your immediate plans, it seems to be an excellent idea to start with occupational groups. After you have experimented a little, I should like to hear more of your detailed plans for getting coverage, for sampling, and what you mean by saying that there will be a considerable amount of statistical analysis.

Sincerely yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

April 10, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I received your letter of the 6th with mixed emotions. I was naturally disheartened by some of your remarks, but I am glad that you have expressed your feelings frankly. I am sure that we can reach an understanding one way or the other if we speak frankly and to the point. I was glad that your letter came when it did because I have been thinking about the whole thing for some time. You state that you were surprised at my last letter. That letter was written after I had had a change of heart after long reflection about the matter. I think I can understand your irritation, and very frankly, I was surprised that you had not reached that point before this time. I've been a spoiled brat all my life, and I've been the spoiled brat in this study.

You are quite correct when you state that the conflict between my own studying and doing research has not been solved. I am working on my degree now in an attempt to reach a temporary solution, but I'm afraid that sooner or later the conflict will arise again. I had hoped that if I don't go to the Army, I might devote full time on the study until after the war when I could come back to school and study full time. I shall continue to read on my own from time to time, and I'm sure that you have no objection to this. I'm afraid that we have not had an understanding on this point that was clear cut. When I joined the study two years ago, you will recall that we had an understanding that we were to work on the study and work for our degrees at the same time. You stated that we might be able to work up some section of the study for our own theses. This did not mean and I never understood it to mean that we were to spend our time working on our own projects. My interests have shifted several times since I joined the staff; that, I am sure, is due to my immaturity. Sometimes they were in accord with the work being done for the study and lately they have seemingly been out of joint. We ended up in the wasteful practice of doing two pieces of work--one for the study and one for our own. I thought about this last month and decided that it was a heck of a state of affairs. I realized that this could not go on and it did not have to. No matter what conceptual framework is used, ultimately everything rests upon the empirical data, and therefore my job should be that of getting the data. We could argue about the other point after the data are in. That was the conclusion that I reached and that was why I wrote the letter that I did--and surprised you.

2

You have noted that my flare for theorizing interferes with empirical research. This is something that I have been aware of and am even more aware of now that I've started working seriously on my thesis. I'm inclined to agree with you that it is a sign of immaturity, considering all the changes I've made in my way of looking at things during the past couple of years. I think that it was in part due to a lack of appreciation of what you were trying to do. Actually, I do not think that there is any tremendous difference in the points of view under which we are working. I have the unfortunate tendency to try out every new idea I get, and this, I agree, definitely interferes with effective research. This point, however, does not seem as important as some of the other considerations that you have raised, because I think I can do assignments as I'm told to do them if you will put your foot down. I think that I got some mistaken ideas as to what we were to do because thus far you have allowed us to do pretty much as we chose. I've just not been able to adjust to a situation in which I was supposed to do certain assignments and not simply free-lance around as I had in the past.

To take up the most important issues, I agree that I have been negativistic about doing some of the things I was assigned to do. That was partly because of laziness and partly because I became preoccupied with something else that I should never have allowed to interfere with my work. However, I have never been negativistic about the objectives of the study (although at points I may have misunderstood them) and I have never been dissatisfied with the work of the other members. The latter accusation, I think, is unjust. I have never been concerned about the work of others except insofar as we were working together on something that required close cooperation. With reference to cooperation with others in the office, I have a clear conscience. Perhaps some may feel that I was unjustified in refusing to do something, but I have never refused to do anything that I felt was my responsibility. Working together every day leads to minor irritations and sometimes I have revolted against doing something that I considered was not my business. I will admit this, however, with misgivings. I have not devoted myself with the zeal and spirit that Frank has, and this is the one thing I feel guilty about.

With reference to your question about my continued association with the study, my position is this. If it is true that my presence lowers the morale of my co-workers or in any other way jeopardizes the successful pursuit of this study, I shall be glad to resign altogether. Having seen the study from the time that it was in its embryo stage, there is nothing I'd like to see more than its successful completion. There is nothing I'd like better personally than to stick with it to the end, but if my incompetence or my disagreeable traits in any way jeopardize the study, I feel that I should get out. This is a matter of great importance to the study and I don't think we ought to hedge around the issue. There is no sense in my staying, wasting valuable funds, and irritating others, if I perform no useful function to the project. If you feel that the study will get along better without my being around, please do not hesitate to say so. It'll be tough, but I think I've reached a point where I can take it.

I definitely do not want you to hesitate in consideration of my feelings. Like you, I consider the study more important.

With reference to the group studies, it seems that we have reached some agreement. May I explain further what happened. We agreed a long time ago on this business of doing group studies. I was sidetracked by a couple of things: I had to finish some individual documents, and I unfortunately started on a long paper on Chicago. I did that report because I thought that it filled a gap, but now that I think of it it was a rather sloppy piece of work over-influenced by certain theoretical considerations. When I settled down on this group business, I discovered right away that all of the types of groups we agreed upon could not be studied at once. We held a staff meeting and agreed to work on the occupational groups first. The draft also influenced this decision. Then, in going through the outline on which we had agreed, we found that certain adjustments had to be made for a study of occupational groups. Further organization and planning was necessary and I took the initiative and liberty of doing this. I made these changes not so much because I didn't like the outline on which we had agreed, but because the outline didn't have enough on it for a thorough investigation of the particular type of groups I was starting on. Other adjustments will have to be made when/if I work on other types of groups.

Because of recent announcements, I expect to be in the Army shortly. As we have agreed I shall do my best to finish up what I promised to do on a half-time basis. After the exams, I shall naturally work full-time even if you decide against paying me full time because I don't think I can finish up my schedule--and because I won't have anything else to do anyway. I really expect to be in the Army and I personally see no sense in appealing my status because the chances of its coming through are so infinitesimally small. I'm set to go. After the war, I'm afraid that my connections with the study will depend upon factors that cannot be predicted now. Naturally, you will not want to replace anyone at that time. Furthermore, there may be limitations in the budget. If I mature sufficiently in the Army to be able to carry my responsibilities, I shall probably apply with you for work. I shall not be expecting a job, however, and will not be hurt if reinstatement is refused.

May I restate my position: there is nothing I want to see more than the successful completion of the study, and if you feel that my presence is harmful, I want to drop out altogether. If I work, I shall work full-time for the study, or else will drop altogether and go to school full-time or work elsewhere. I make no promises concerning work other than that I'll do what I can within the dictates of my conscience. I'm agreed that empirical work is most important. I'm not appealing for clemency or anything of the kind by promises. Actions speak for themselves, and you can judge from what I do with occupational groups. Unless the Army makes it impossible for me to do what I want, I'll present this report as the test of whether or not I've learned my lesson from my reflections over the past month. I'll accept your judgment as final. That's about all there is to be said. If we can work this out impersonally, O.K.; otherwise, I agree with you that I should quit.

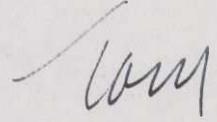
Upon rereading your letter, I find that perhaps I have not answered sufficiently all of the questions that you raised. You ask: (1) do I want to work full-time or part-time? Actually, I have no alternative but to work full-time or resign and find another job because of my financial status. (2) If I come back to the study, will I approach it, my co-workers, and you in a thoroughly impersonal and cooperative way, or will I quit and do whatever else I want to do? May I say one thing? Everything I have done I have done because I honestly thought it was for the best interest of the study. Because of my immaturity and conceit, I stuck by my guns even when my stand differed from yours. Since you are the director of the study, there is no question about who should make the decisions. I know that you did not object to our "yelling" but what I did not realize, apparently, was that when our "yells" were over-ruled we were to do our assignments as per instructions, and not as we wanted. I realize that you cannot coordinate our work unless we follow instructions. As to my relations with my co-workers, I still remember the letter you sent me in Tule Lake when I made a childish squawk about Jimmy. You told me I had to learn to take it and keep working. Those comments made a vivid impression in me, and I still remember them. I've got gripes, but I've kept them to myself.

I'm leaving the decision up to you. I know that you will act in the best interests of the study, and I thoroughly agree with you that this is the paramount consideration. Please do not take personal feelings into consideration. I promise one thing: if I'm canned, I will not go with hard feelings because I think I understand. I'll continue to cooperate with those that remain the best I can.

I hope that I've stated my position clearly. If there are any other points to be considered, I shall be glad to write. Some of the questions you raised, I cannot answer except by making a lot of promises. I'm not willing to do this. I've made too many promises in the past that have yet to be fulfilled.

I am glad that you raised the question as bluntly as you did. I have a better picture of where everything stands, and can do my work accordingly.

Sincerely,



P.S. Have written Spicer - told him O.K. within limits you prescribe.

April 13, 1944

Dear Tom:

I was glad to get your letter of April 10. As far as I am concerned, the situation is the following: I am putting you back as a full-time worker beginning June 1. Whether or not you stay in this status depends entirely on whether you make good. I agree that too many promises, on your part and on mine, have been made and that the best procedure is to go on ahead now and just see how the thing works out.

I will just comment briefly on a few of the points that you raise. You are correct in stating that I wanted each of you, as far as possible, to make an independent contribution to the study, and I think on the whole this plan is going to work out. The difficulty seems to be in regard to the conception of what an individual contribution is. When I was at Teachers' College, I had a program with about nine graduate students working on it. Each of them was able to take a segment and develop it into a Doctor's thesis. Taken together, these contributions made a well developed and integrated program. None of them was particularly startling in itself, but each represented a good solid contribution. It is improbable that we will get any great contribution to theory as part of this present study, but it seems to me highly probable that if we work it out right we will get a series of sound empirical studies, which will really add up to something.

The most surprising thing that you said in your letter was the following: "I know that you did not object to our yelling, but what I did not realize apparently was that when our yells were over-ruled, we were to do our assignments as per instructions, and not as we wanted." Although we have certainly not had any dictatorship on the study, I have never favored a purely communistic setup. I certainly want frank criticism, but I do expect that the general directives I give will be followed out, and it is really surprising to me that it has taken you so long to realize it.

I want to say one thing too about your relations with your co-workers, for that is the one point on which I think you do not have complete insight. This, of course, is entirely between us, and I should point out strongly that there is no inu on the study and nobody has been reporting anything to me. I have simply made my own observations over a considerable period of time. First, in regard

to Frank: He is an extremely competent, gifted young man, with a good deal of drive. He is, however, unduly sensitive and modest, and perhaps a little undetermined in his line of direction. It seems to me that it is rather easy to upset him and that you do this occasionally, either by overwhelming him with new theoretical approaches, or by an undue pessimism in regard to the value of what he or others, including myself, are doing. I think you should avoid too much griping in his presence and should defer to him somewhat more. In regard to Charlie, I feel that you had a rather big share in what I would call the "Chicago crisis" in which, however, I by no means hold Morton blameless. Charlie had been going along, getting a series of case histories that W.I. and I and others consider quite remarkable; he was doing exactly what I had wanted him to do and developing excellent techniques and insights, and he was suddenly thrown off stride by the implication that he wasn't working on a "problem." I think that has all been straightened out and that Charlie is now proceeding with any particular conflict in his own mind as to the value of what he is doing.

What I am leading up to is this: I have spent a tremendous amount of time in what might be called "morale" building. It seems to me that it is now just about time for some of the other members of the staff to take on this function themselves so that I can devote myself a little more strongly to the main objective of direction and synthesis. You can do a great deal to help me in this respect by making every effort to encourage your co-workers instead of discouraging them, and I am counting on you to do this in the future.

You will be pleased to know that Morton had his physical examination and was given a limited service classification. This is not a 4-F but a limited 1-A, which means that he cannot be used for combat duty. Since the demand for such people is very slight, he may not be called for months, and he is therefore taking a chance and staying with the study, at least until Fall. This makes us all very happy, for although we have much manuscript in hand, there are many unfinished chapters which I believe he can now complete.

In regard to your own draft status, you are, I think, correct in assuming that there is no use appealing. The rules that have been set up for appeals for people under 26 are so rigid that our study would be given no consideration whatsoever. Of course, things change from day to day, and we will just wait to see what happens when you finally get your call.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

August 4, 1944

Dissertation Secretary  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Mr. Tamotsu Shibutani has prepared a Master's thesis in Sociology. I respectfully request that this thesis be deposited in the office of the Chairman of the Department of Sociology for the duration of the war, since it contains confidential information collected in connection with the Evacuation and Resettlement Study, which is a wartime project.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
Director

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=DR DOROTHY S THOMAS=

338 GIANNINI HALL, UNIV OF CALIFORNIA=

=1A A IN ARMY ASKING FOR 60 DAYS TO FINISH WORK=

TOM.

1- A 60

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*9200*  
*By mail*

April 19, 1944

Dear Tom:

I wrote you yesterday on the assumption that the matter of the appeal was all settled. To my chagrin I discovered this morning that the rules have all been changed again. Appeals will not be accepted for persons under 26 years of age except on the following condition: that a State representative of the fourteen industries that have been specified for deferments approves the appeal. This means that practically nobody in the University who is under 26 years of age has any chance whatsoever of an appeal (the only exception we know of is people who are working in connection with the cyclotron). I am of course greatly disappointed about this, but I don't think you should take it too seriously. The general bets here are that your eyes will give you at least a limited service, and possibly a 4-F when you have your physical examination. Anyway, we anticipate that it will take a long time for them just to get around to you. If our bets are wrong and you are still 1-A after your physical, you had better take whatever steps you can to get the temporary deferment you mentioned.

I am indeed sorry to have misled you, but I think you will understand that if the War Council can't keep up with the rules and avoid giving out misinformation, I am in a very helpless situation.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

June 1, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Just a brief note to let you know that I'm still alive after everything but the smoke has cleared away. I just wanted to let you know how the occupational group study is coming.

I started interviewing on the groups this Monday after three solid weeks of hibernation. Since the emphasis is definitely toward getting facts, i.e., how many, when, who, etc., the whole thing isn't coming as fast as I should like it to. However, by June 17, I think that I can have finished and on your desk a report on three of the largest of the occupational groups--Cuneo Press, Hotel Stevens, and Curtis Candy Company. There are more than twenty other places that I had visions of covering, but I'm afraid that it can't be done in the same detail. I'd like to have you look over what I do for these first three and have your criticisms before bearing down on some of the others. The plants are being studied from two angles: (1) getting the details of who works there, doing what, when they started and when they left, employment policies, and things of that kind, and (2) accounts of the experiences of individuals who work in the plants. I'm getting the first part in some detail now, and will bear down on the second part after I have the factual data on hand.

As you might have heard from the others, a lot of things have happened to me since I last wrote. I've been deferred until June 17 by the local draft board, but they promise nothing after that time. On May 26, the morning of my exam, I had to report for my physical exam at the induction center. I passed the physical in flying colors, and was classified for general duty in both the Army and Navy. I guess that means that sooner or later I'll be going. The man at the information box at the induction center told me that they would give me ten days notice when they call me up and said that in all probability, if I'm called at all, it will take at least 6 or 8 weeks because of the time necessary to process my papers. That means, if we take him seriously, that even if I'm called immediately, I won't have to go until about the middle of July. What the special delays involved in the drafting of boochies will do to this expected induction date I guess God only knows. Anyway, I hope to finish up everything possible for you before the end of June so that we won't get caught off guard. Louise is working closely with me on this occupational group business and she says that she's willing to finish up the job in case I should be called unexpectedly and cannot complete the job.

The exam was a stinker, but I think I've got a fighting chance of passing. We'll know next Tuesday. My thesis only needs a few touches here and there and will be ready for the typist. That means that if I pass the exam, all I have to do is register for a couple of courses this summer. All I have to do is get a "D" or better and pass the course for my residence requirement. Fortunately, two courses are being offered this summer which I haven't taken but for which I was held responsible in my exam. Consequently, I've got lecture notes from years back and have done all the reading for these courses already. All I have to do is sign up for the damn courses and take the exams. That leaves plenty of time--in fact, all my time--for work. So, I'm not worried about school any more--that is, unless I flunked the exams.

Well, we can hope for the best. I certainly hope that the Salt Lake conference turns out even better than the expectations. Frank and Charlie and all keyed up. I hope we can do as well here.

*Tom*

June 17, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Frank finally got back here yesterday after being stranded in Nebraska by the flood. He was very enthusiastic about the conference and I gather from what he has told me that it was a great success. It was certainly swell to hear that things are going so well.

The place was sort of dead around here for a while, but I drove Louise like a slave-driver of old. We hustled around quite a bit, and the project is finally getting under way. We've finally found a way to get statistics. One thing that held up everything so far has been the difficulty of getting the kind of information we want from the personnel men of the various firms we are working on. We have found, however, that ~~it~~ is relatively easy to get the names of the Nisei who work at these firms and the dates of hiring and dismissal. Once we have that information we can just look up these guys in the files that Clara is copying over at the W.R.A. This plan worked well in the case of Curtiss, and is coming along quite well in the case of Stevens Hotel.

As per previous agreement I am enclosing what I have completed on the occupational groups. As you can see this contains only part of the background and does not get into the real meat of the project. However, I think there are certain interesting points that come out. Facts scotch all the rumors we have heard about the Cuneo Press. What I'm sending contains only part of the text. I'll send in the stories of the individual workers as soon as they are typed up in sufficient quantity and the complete data (quantitative) on the characteristics of the workers in these plants will come in as soon as Louise can get ahold of a typewriter with a large carriage (our schedules have to be filled in sideways). Gradually getting into touch again, and feel much happier.

Bacon Imai was in to see me yesterday and I think I might continue our case on him. Poor guy. He seems to have recovered, though. He came in to ask about getting a divorce and I think I'll take him over to the Legal Aid Society to see what can be done. He's a nice guy, and a victim of circumstances if there ever was one.

Don't know whether I told you or not but I passed my M.A. exams, with a fairly high grade. I can't believe it. Please don't get sore, but I think my performance in the stat exam was a disgrace to all former D.S.T. pupils. I had to explain that you didn't have any opportunity to give me enough stat because of the circumstances under which I took a course from you. My stat grade was very low (C or D), and if it weren't for the other fields I might have flunked the exam. Ogburn didn't seem to mind, however, and he fixed it up so that I won't have to pay for my remaining courses here. The university is giving me \$100 for the summer. I went to the registrar's office yesterday and they told me that ~~all~~ I had to do was to pay for ~~three~~ two courses

and they didn't give a damn whether I passed them or not-- since I've finished my thesis and passed the departmental exam. What a set-up! It's a straight business proposition--just the money! So, the summer quarter is really going to be a farce. I'm afraid I won't have too much time to study this time. It's going to be a little tougher for me when/if I come back here after the war to work for my Ph.D., but I'm afraid it can't be helped.

Got my physical fitness papers from the draft board today. Still no word about induction. Two groups of Nisei were inducted during the past couple of months, according to grapevine news (and I know some who are in Florida), but no one, to my knowledge, has been inducted since the invasion began. That is, they have been inducted but immediately thereafter sent back in the reserves. There are hundreds of guys ahead of me who are just sitting around waiting so that I'm not too concerned yet. Of course, they can do anything so I'm not taking any chances. I'm setting my next deadline for the end of July. By that time I hope to be able to get through at least 20 or the 27 industries I've listed in the paper. I'm not making any promises, but I'll try to do what I can.

I'm afraid I'm not sending you enough in this batch for you to pass any judgment. However, if you have any comments, please don't hesitate to fire away. My procedure has been, as I mentioned before:

- 1) Get a general picture of the set-up from the Nisei recruiter or the personnel man.
- 2) Go through all available literature, letters, and other records at the W.R.A.
- 3) Getting data on the characteristics of the workers and the turnover.
- 4) Getting accounts from the workers themselves of their work experience.

If there is anything else that you feel I ought to go after, please let me know. Incidentally, some of the age distributions that we have pose some interesting problems as to selective factors that might possibly be operating in some plants. All this, of course, remains to be seen. I don't know yet how I'm going to get at some of the smaller groups, but I'll worry about that in August, if I'm still around. I hope this is the kind of data that you want. It's really far more accurate, and we've been checking and rechecking for errors. Hell, if the personnel guys don't know, I don't know who would. We're also checking these names against W.R.A. referral cards. Some check and some don't. We'll have to see about this later.

Enclosed is my expense account for the past several months. I've just noticed the terrific jump in expenses since the exams. God!

Best regards to W.I. and Morton.

*Tom*

June 22, 1944

Dear Tom,

You have been very patient about my dilatory correspondence, but I think you have realized that I have been more than usually under pressure. The conference was really a great success, and, for a change, we really seemed to get somewhere even though we did not solve all our problems and did not even have time to discuss many of the points adequately. Now I have two more conferences next week (one on social statistics, one on rural sociology) but fortunately not much is at stake, and I am even optimistically taking along my golf clubs to Los Gatos where the conferences are being held.

I was of-course delighted at the successful outcome of your exam, although it was just what I had expected. Sorry about the statistics: more of the same would be good for both your soul and your technique!

I was indeed sorry to hear that Tomi's mother had died. Will you please give her our sympathy..

Will you please also tell Frank that I just got notice that he has been reclassified 2A until September and have been informed that further "agitation" on our part to continue the reclassification will be acceptable in August. Tell him also that I don't see how he stood up under that awful trip back to Chicago. It would have driven me nuts.

I spent a day in Topaz, and talked to your friend Schwartz(?) He is way off the beam, e.g., says there are no rumors in Topaz (I picked up about a dozen visiting two families) and no "collective behavior." While there I was also interviewed by the Topaz Times and enclose clipping, which certainly puts the study squarely up to the Chicago office! I was so afraid they would mention the workers on the project that I kept emphasizing Chicago, and evidently forgot Berkeley completely.

Received your beginning on occupational groups. Will keep most of my comments until I get the additional material. Don't worry if this part of the analysis does not fit into your concept of groups. You are getting a great deal of important material on occupational adjustments, per se. By the way, I wish you would consult one of the labor economists around the university and get a few standard references on labor mobility, so that you can use accepted procedure. E.g. on first page dealing with Cuneo (For God's sake number your pages!) you say occupational turnover was 100%. How measured? For what time period? Use the accepted index for measures of this sort. Also, I suggest that you run through the Monthly Labor Review for period since the war began for references to studies that have been and are being made on this subject for other than Japanese groups.

On the next page, you say Mr. M's trip was a "complete failure". Meaning? Be a little more careful about sweeping statements of this sort. Several pages later, the following appears. "In spite of all efforts on the part of WRA...the number of workers diminished progressively until at present there are only a few left." I assume that you will have the complete statistical ~~xxxxxxxx~~ time series. Footnote 5 on the same page. The name is Morris Burge, the center Poston. Several pages later, in Lessings report, who is Hicks? I agree that you have brought out many interesting points. The interview with Harry Mayeda is tops. I'll have more to say when I get the complete data at hand.

Re Bacon Imai, I hope that you will continue the case and build up some more about his background, more or less filling in the gaps in your record that would conform, in a general way, to points covered in the outline Charlie uses.

I am assuming that Clara is no longer working for you. Right? If she still has any hours due, please see that the bill is sent in immediately. We are very poor, so I hope she has finished the job by this time.

WI and Morton and Mrs. Wilson all send regards.

Sincerely yours,

June 30, 1944

Dear Tom:

In putting through the appointments for the present year, I have assumed that you, Morton and Togo will have finished the jobs on which you are at present working by December 31 and, therefore, have appointed each of you for a six months' period only. As the situation stands at the moment, no further expansion is possible in the budget. Since I fully expect you and Morton to be in the Army and Navy, respectively, before this termination date is actually reached, and since Togo has already written me of his plans to bring his job to completion, this seems to be a realistic procedure. I must point out, however, that changes may possibly occur which would make it desirable to assign one or more of the three of you to new jobs, beginning January 1, if we have any funds to take care of these jobs. At the moment we certainly don't, but nothing is very constant in regard to personnel these days.

I have written Frank about the situation in regard to Clara and wish you would discuss it further with him.

Give my best to Tomi.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

July 26, 1944.

Dear Dorothy:

Now that I am at long last breaking my long and no doubt delightful silence, I'm afraid that I have nothing but bad news. To begin with, the report I was to have finished by day after tomorrow is nowhere near completion. The two conventions made it almost impossible for me to contact everyone in the various hotels where the nisei are working and now that they are over the Military Intelligence has stepped in to make our study of occupational groups almost impossible. At best it can only be fragmentary.

To avoid the trouble of explaining our study to the personnel man in every company, we sent out form letters explaining what we wanted and asking for definite statistical data about their employees. I should have sense enough to clear with the Sixth Service Command before going too far but I didn't. This morning we had a visit from an Army Intelligence man who told us very bluntly that it was contrary to Army regulations to give out the kind of information that we want, that is, names of people working in various plants, numbers, etc. which are necessary for computing occupational turnover. We wanted the names so that we could get all the other data about these people from the WRA file and thereby have fairly good and concrete data about the characteristics of the workers in the various plants. Unfortunately, in explaining what the study was all about, I used the clause "we have enjoyed the sanction and cooperation of the War Department, the Department of Justice and the War Relocation Authority". I think that this statement is technically correct as far as the whole study is concerned. But it could conceivably imply that these organizations approved of this specific job of making studies of the nisei in the various Chicago industries. This, of course, is not true since information about the employees in war plants is confidential. Charlie and I did some fast talking and the guy seemed satisfied for the moment that we were not engaged in any diabolic plot. He asked for specific names of people in the war department who had cooperated with our study and I mentioned McCloy and Bendtsen. I hope that we are in good terms with these men. I don't think that this morning's run-in will cause any difficulty since the man was cooperative enough but it makes our study almost impossible. He gave us a list of companies that he did not want us to approach at all. Among them were Cuneo Press, McClurg's, Shotwell, International Harvester and about 10 others which must have over 1500 employees among them. He was fearful that since we had mentioned the cooperation of the War Department, some of these companies might release some information that they would otherwise refuse to give and that all of us might as a consequence get into serious difficulty. The guy was reasonable enough and I think he had some good points.

All this mean, of course, that the study that we were making at Curtiss would either have to be abandoned or else continued with considerable caution. It means also that we shall simply have to drop at least half of the companies that I have been pestering for the past couple of months. The man mentioned that even if Washington, D.C. approved of our making a study of this nature, the Sixth Service Command would not permit it. I personally don't think that there is any point in arguing about the matter because it is definitely contrary to Army regulations. This means that we shall have to concentrate our study on the hotels and on some of the smaller companies. I guess I'll be working on religious groups much sooner than I had anticipated. We should be able to clear up what is left of this occupational group business before long. Unfortunately the hotels have been much less cooperative than several of the companies which were blacklisted this morning. I had some very cordial replies from people who seemed quite anxious to help us out but with the exception of two I shall be unable to follow through. We shall send them a nice letter and tell them to forget the whole thing.

I am enclosing some vital statistics that Bloom of UCLA sent me. One of his assistants was snooping around here and Ogburn let her read my thesis. Since I had some vague remarks about pre-  
evacuation marriages in there she was kind enough to get the actual figures for me. You must have this stuff by now but I'm sending it just in case you haven't. I think the data are to appear in an article in the "Culture and Society" series published by Cal.

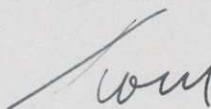
Things are happening fast and furious here in Chicago. The boochies are organizing all over the place and much of the time that I should have spent on occupational groups had to be used to keep up with all of these embryo groups. There are so damn many of them that I don't even know how many there are but I'm trying to establish contacts so that we can get in the inside track when we start concentrating on the political and mutual aid organizations. Other developments include the first open discrimination against nisei by a prominent dance hall and an announcement by the Chicago Real Estate Board that Japanese are no longer welcome in the housing that they control. Considering what the Chicago Real Estate has already succeeded in doing against the Negroes, the Jews and the Chinese, this may turn out to be a very important factor in the shape taken by nisei society here. Hell is popping all around and it's getting a little hard to keep up.

For myself I have been coasting along. Uncle Sam has shown no interest whatsoever in developing my muscles and if the Army waits a couple of more weeks, it means that my eventual induction will probably be delayed for a couple of months. A physical examination is supposed to be good for 90 days and if they don't get me before the 90 days are up, that means that I'll have to take another physical and go through all that red tape again. I doubt, however, if I shall be here until December. If I am, we can make arrangements at that time to see whether I shall continue or seek employment elsewhere.

Louise asked me to tell you that the stamps arrived today.  
They came just in time.

Please extend my regards to W.I. and Morton.

Very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tom".

Tamotsu Shibutani

July 28, 1944

Dear Tom,

I have missed your formerly so frequent letters. But I was sorry to note the bad news re the occupational study in yours of July 26th. I sympathize with your predicament.

In order to protect all of us in the future, I think I'd better make a rule that no form letters go out without my prior approval. Will you pass the word along to the others? As a matter of principle, it is better to deal with people face to face in situations of this sort, and get as little as possible in writing. But don't let this matter worry you: no crime has been committed, and if G2 checks with me I shall be glad to explain the whole thing to them.

In view of the curtailment of this part of the project, which is disappointing both to you and to me, I think you had better throw what you have on occupational groups into tentative shape and send it along. Then we shall see how worthwhile it is to continue this part of the project.

I should, as a matter of fact, like to see you get your teeth into the residential groupings. It seems to me you might be able to approach the occupational study on a sample basis in connection with the sample that you were planning to draw for the individuals in the residence file. You would have to put more work into it than planned, and devise a simple questionnaire (which should be submitted to me for criticism) and actually do a good deal of field work, instead of relying on the mails. But it stands a chance of giving you some first rate material. I will go into this more in detail after I know just where you stand on what you are now doing. I do not feel that concentrating on hotels and smaller businesses is going to work out satisfactorily in the larger context of what you have planned. So let me hear from you about this.

Thanks for the vital statistics. They do not indicate as much of a rise as I had expected. Bloom dropped into the office the other day. He is a very nice fellow, sort of easy-going, not interested in making studies that require much effort

Your draft situation is certainly puzzling, isn't it? It must keep you in hot water.

Give my best to Tomi.

Sincerely yours,

August 3, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I just received a letter from the President of the U.S. which will change the plans that we had set for a study of residential groups. I am to be inducted into the Army on August 30 and I think that I should concentrate on finishing up the occupational groups the best I can rather than to turn in a relatively unfinished report and start another one. More companies have come through since I last wrote and the list of places we are to study doesn't look so black. Several of the hotels have definitely refused to have anything to do with us so that the balance isn't quite so far off. I personally think that the report may not be so useless as we thought it might be when the Military first stepped in.

I still don't know what this induction notice means. Since they make the rules as well as enforce them it's hard to tell what's going to happen. Anyway, on the 24th my 90 days are up and they are not supposed to induct me until I've had another physical exam. If that is true, I'll be back on the 31st and back on the job. On the other hand, they could give me a physical right there and put me in anyway. As long as I don't volunteer for Savage, the chances are pretty good--in fact, excellent--that I'll be back in the enlisted reserve corps. In either case, I'll be back for the month of September anyway, and possibly October. However, there is the element of uncertainty. You can't tell what they're going to do. For that reason, Frank and I decided that we had better play safe. I'm going to try to finish up everything as if the 30th were my last day. I think this is the best thing to do.

This, of course, will work some hardship on Charlie and I'm pretty sure that he's not going to like it. He has always objected whenever I cut in on his dictation time and I'm afraid I'll have to be diplomatic about approaching him. The job may take a good two solid weeks of dictation and especially computations. We have access to good machines and I can work nights too. I'm reasonably sure of finishing up the occupational stuff, but please don't raise your hopes too high on the quantitative end. I just don't have those "insights" when working with statistics. We'll have a considerable body of quantitative data. We've run out of forms since we've done everything in triplicate, but since the forms were rather inconvenient anyway, we'll work without them. So, I'll be working with Louise on this almost full time after the 14th. Please don't put any pressure on Charlie because he won't be able to dictate at all--or if he does, it will be very little.

Please write Frank about the other groups. He's a little reluctant about taking over the group studies until finishing Tule Lake. Do you think Louise ought to take over. We're getting a fairly good start and I'd hate to drop the thing just when we're establishing contacts and getting in the inside track. We've got to keep an eye on these groups if we want to document the developmental process. We should appreciate your letting us know whether Frank or Louise should take over. Then I can go over my material with him or her and make the necessary introductions.

We just had another discussion about the group stuff. The following are the alternatives: (1) let Frank work steadily on the Tule Lake stuff and let him be free of other things so that he can finish up. He said he would prefer to do one thing at a time. He is on ~~on~~ chapter II of a fifteen <sup>Chapter</sup>opus. Frank will probably direct the residential group study anyway. We thought this would be wiser even if I did come back for a month or so. I could do the dirty work but I think he ought to organize the study since he will have to finish it anyway. (2) let Louise work on all the groups other than the residential. She will have to do the typing for Charlie, but other than that he duties can be trimmed down. Frank says he won't dictate much and I won't be here. Actually Charlie is the only one who dictates around here anyway so that it is a matter of cutting down on some office duties and spreading out responsibilities here. (3) present Dave Okada with the proposition of doing a master's thesis on all groups other than residential. Working on the assumption that I'm not going to come back, I think we should decide something one way or another so that I can make the necessary arrangements. I've worked a long time to get into these groups and have established a series of personal ties which get me inside of the "front" that they have everyone. The Buddhists are going to be hardest. I know about 3/4 of the executive board boys quite well but it will be a tough job to get another person who is not an ardent Buddhist in. I have some personal claims on these guys and they come through with secrets which I think are quite important--more important than what happens at the meetings which are open to the public. If we can decide on who is to do this work, I can take that person around as a personal friend and make arrangements. For example, this Saturday I am cutting a Society for Social Research dinner and taking a chance or irritating Ogburn to go to a Buddhist cabinet meeting. It's a very crucial meeting because of several reasons and will determine pretty much the shape of the organization for the remainder of the war. It took me two weeks of talking to get admitted, and I got in only because I knew the leaders of the four factions in the group well enough to get all of them to lie about why I'm to be there. I was invited as a "consultant" of some kind. It's a laugh, but this is the kind of place we have to get if we want to inside stuff. This is why I am so concerned about deciding what is to be done with the group studies. I've turned in nothing in the way of writing so far because I've worked on getting these contacts; if we don't follow them up everything will be wasted. We should appreciate hearing from you about this.

*Louise*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

July 31, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you for your prompt letter of the 28th. Nothing more has happened as far as the Army is concerned, and I'm still after the guy to get clearance for the various places which he O.K. ed, in writing. As soon as we get a written approval, we can go ahead and finish up everything and turn to the residential material. May I explain why the form letters were sent out? It wasn't so much a matter of unwillingness to do field work, but rather the practical matter of breaking the guys down faster. The men are very busy and if I just walked in I had to do a lot of fast talking even to get the guy to listen to me. The letters did a lot of this explaining so that when I phoned them to follow up it was relatively easy to get what we wanted. Most of the companies were very cordial and one has gone so far as to do all the work for us (and invite me to lunch). These guys are reasonable but we had to have an "Open Sesame" to get to them. If it weren't for the boomerang we would really be going to town because many firms just opened their files to us. We sent out the letters only after I had one rather disappointing experience after another of cooling my heels for a long time and then getting to see a guy for a few minutes. Anyway, we're beginning to get results.

In view of the fact that most of the replies have been very cordial, I think that we should finish up on everything that the Military left open to us. We have nine large places (mostly hotels) and several on a "doubtful" list--some of which will undoubtedly be cleared because they are not doing war work--on which to work. I'm quite anxious to finish this as soon as possible, but I'm afraid that I'll have to ask for a little more time. You have no idea of how enormous a job it is. Getting the stuff from the company only takes one afternoon because Louise goes with me and we just copy whatever they give us. It's the matter of checking names against the W.R.A. files that takes time. Perhaps the project is a bit ambitious but this is what we are trying to do: (1) from the companies we get a list of names of all Nisei ~~xxxxxx~~ who had ever worked there, the date of hiring, date of termination, type of jobs done, mobility within the firm, employment policy with reference to minorities. (2) We then check the names with the W.R.A. stuff we are copying to get age, sex, former occupation, residence, etc. (3) Then I take a random sample and go out to interview the workers. This system has worked very well, but it takes a lot of time and I suspect that the results might be a bit disappointing for the amount of time that it has taken. However, I thought that it was worth it because we were getting fairly reliable data. In many cases, it's no longer a question of guess work or impression but pretty solid facts. Some of the results have been encouraging because they refute all sorts of rumors and impressions that we have been picking up.

all  
at?

As I said before, the big bottleneck is in checking with the W.R.A. files. It takes days and days to go through the stuff for one firm. I wanted to get some data of this kind because we originally had plans of running some correlations. I also had visions of getting some quantitative statement of the characteristics of guys who quit after working for a day or two. Maybe we'll have to drop this idea. I'd like to get your comment on it before we start setting up anything. Frankly, I'd like to get your advise about all this sort of work since I don't know a damn thing about stat, Ogburn is busy, Hughes can't be found, and there are no labor economists left on the campus--they have all gone to Washington. I've been looking for Gardner since your letter arrived, but he has a marvelous knack of never being around.

no (

We just had a brief conference concerning the residential study. Frank said that he wrote saying that if we concentrated we could finish the files by next week. He now takes back this statement, and we're pretty well agreed that unless we drop everything else it just can't be done that soon. We can't drop everything else because we have appointments running ahead by at least two weeks and there is plenty going on. As long as the Army isn't showing any interest in drafting me I'm getting quite anxious to dig into the work. It will take an enormous amount of clerical work--especially when we start coding for residential districts (probably by census tracts). This is really going to take a lot of time. I don't think I should get completely out of touch with the various mutual aid societies and religious groups that are cropping up like mushrooms all over the place unless you feel that I should. We're getting some stuff on these groups which might possibly be useful. I'm not contemplating any systematic study of these other groups yet and won't unless you send the go-ahead signal. I've just kept notes as things came to me and kept track of persons who could give us information in the future. If I get drafted I could leave this material for others to fill in.

yes

We're really in a predicament and would like to have your comment on the whole thing. I personally feel that we should try to finish up as much of the occupational stuff as possible because we really don't know anything about this. It won't be complete by any means, but it will give us a picture that we otherwise could not get. We can always finish after the war, if necessary. If you feel that I should cut this short and dig right into the residential groups it's O.K. with me, but I think that there are some possibilities that we would be throwing away. Could we have two or three more weeks?

Another question I wanted to raise was with reference to the residential stuff. It is not clear to me precisely what you have in mind. Do you want an ecological study, a study of social groups developing by virtue of people living together, or something else? I got one impression from you and another from Frank. I intend to read over your correspondence with Frank on this matter, but I should appreciate a statement from you of what precisely you had in mind.

My school work is all over now and my thesis is ~~xxx~~ waiting for the typist. May I ask one favor of you? Could you please write to the Dissertation Secretary of the University telling her that as director of a study that has something to do with the war you would

prefer to have the copies of my thesis held in the Sociology Department office for the duration of the war? They have bent over backwards and have listed my thesis as a "national defense project" to keep it out of circulation. Ogburn is willing to sign the blank, so I don't think there will be any difficulty. I frankly do not think that the thesis should be circulated right now because I have discussed some problems with reference to Kibei and Issei rather frankly--and I think objectively. There are too many guys like Carey McWilliams around looking for literature of this kind and once they publicize it in a pamphlet all privacy is gone. Our friend who works for Hearst could have a field day with it. Incidentally, I'm sending along a copy of the thing in a few weeks. I don't think there's anything new in there but it is slightly better than the paper you read. I've taken most of your comments into consideration and I hope that you will find at least the descriptive chapters satisfactory. I don't know about the theoretical analysis. Anyway, could you write a brief note saying that I'm employed in a project which has been considered "war research" and that since the subject about which I have written is controversial you would prefer that it be kept out of circulation. I'd appreciate it.

The title is  
"Rumors in a  
Crisis Situation"  
Sept., 1944

I can't guarantee delivery on the occupational stuff by any definite date. We're going through four plants this week and three more next week. Whether we go farther or not depends upon your reply. We've all agreed here that we have to clear up that card copying work in the near future. Whenever we have free time we'll go down and work on it. Please be patient, though. It's a tremendous job.

I was really disappointed about this occupational stuff being blocked by the Army. For a while I thought we were really getting somewhere and that I might possibly be able to turn in at least one decent piece of work before I left the study. The residential group study seems so vast that I can't see how I could possibly finish it unless they simply stop drafting Nisei. As you know, I have many misgivings about the sloppy work I have been doing and have wanted to turn in something worthwhile. I'm afraid this project likewise is going to be disappointing. Well, no use crabbing. We can keep plugging.

Please give our best to W.I. and Morton.

Tom

P.S. I forgot to mention with reference to my thesis that I want to really give it a once-over after the war. While it's not so hot now, I think it still has possibilities of being developed. In many places I have described the background in my own words, but we have quite a bit of material in our files that can fill in with concrete examples the kind of situation the rumors emerged in. I didn't use any of the material because (1) it wasn't mine and (2) I didn't want to take too much time. I intend to make another study of rumors when I get in the Army too. This time I think I have some idea of how it ought to be done.

August 4, 1944

Dear Tom,

I will now try to answer your letter of July 31st. In the first place, we will set the deadline for the occupational report as of September 1st. I do realize that it is a big job.

In the second place, I want to be kept much more closely in touch with the step-by-step progress of your work than you have done recently. There are several points that I am not at all clear about, and it is better to get my criticism in while the whole thing is in a fluid state rather than waiting until I have a completed manuscript to "tear apart", as you sometimes express it.

You say, second paragraph, (3) "Then I take a random sample and go out and interview the workers". How do you select your "random" sample? How completely do you stick to the original selection? How often have you find it necessary to substitute a worker for one originally selected? On what basis do you make these substitutions?

My method would be: Arrange names alphabetically by firms. Take names by regular intervals. Make no substitutions, for this destroys randomness. If the informant won't talk, try to get the essential data about him from other sources. Once you have selected a sample, stick to it.

What do you interview the workers about? What specific questions do you ask? How have you formulated your problem?

On page 2, you say "we originally had plans of running some correlations", Correlations between what variables, to answer what questions?

Re turnover: it should refer to a constant time period. Base would be total number employed as of a given date. "Accessions" and "departures" are then expressed as percent of base. See Monthly Labor Review for past two years for examples.

I wrote Frank, authorizing reemployment of Gåara for a short period, to finish up the residential files.

The residential study has two aspects, and a possible third use. One aspect is the ecological: over what types of residential areas are the evacuees settling; tendencies to dispersion and concentration; interracial, economic and social setting. For this aspect, addresses will have to be coded by census tracts, and data related to other data on hand in University of Chicago studies. This aspect should be handled here in Berkeley. That is, you should send us the cards and the address register and other data that we may need, and I will have the Stat Lab do the job.

The second aspect has to do with the groupings that are forming, in terms of such factors as background, former associations ( area of origin, assembly center, relocation project), new associations( occupational, etc.); family aspects of resettlement, etc.

The third aspect, which I described in my last letter, is to use these residential cards as a basis for an inquiry, by sampling, which will throw light on several of the problems you are interested in, among them the occupational. A sample will be drawn; we will draw it from the cards you send for coding. First problem: determine the residential mobility and the reliability of addresses as given in your total file. Second problem, interview for a brief occupational and geographical history. Third problem, to be determined by the type of results you are getting in various aspects of the resettlement study: a very limited number of questions could be added to the ones indicated above, but not on "touchy " points, since the interviews will have to be very limited in time, and ~~xxx~~ cannot be of the elaborate "rapport building" type.

I do not give the "go-ahead" signal on the various other types of grouping noted in your second paragraph on page two at the present time, for I do not want you to scatter your interests. Naturally, you will keep in touch with developments in an informal way.

I am writing a letter today about your dissertation, as you requested. I look forward to getting a copy of the thesis.

This seems to cover all the points in your letter.

Regards from all,  
Sincerely,

August 8, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

In reply to your letter of August 4, I am outlining in a tentative fashion some of the things that we have been trying to do and what I hope to accomplish in the next three weeks. Considering the amount of time that has gone into it, it is not very impressive, but I'd say that the work is characterized by more facts and less theory than anything turned in in the past.

We now have left on our list, eight and possibly ten, firms hiring large numbers of Japanese. Some of these firms do not have very many now, but at one time or another about 50 to 400 persons of Japanese ancestry were associated with ~~them~~ each of them. The other firms have either refused to cooperate or else were blacklisted by the Army. In the case of all of the places except Stevens Hotel we have gotten access to reasonably good and accurate data. I'm still pounding on Stevens and I hope that something better might come out of them. The Nisei recruiter there is the only good contact we have and while he's a swell fellow he's an awfully slow worker. They had no accurate records in their personnel department and they refused to let us go through the time-keeper's records. Therefore, we had to get what names we could from personnel (fairly complete after March, 1944, but almost a total blank before then) and then have this fellow go in and check them with the time-keeper for the other data we wanted. In the other firms, the management was far more cooperative and most of them just threw open their files to us. We are still in the process of copying material from the files and have two more firms to go. We should be able to finish this part of the project tomorrow or Saturday. We are getting the names of all Nisei ever employed by the plant, the date of hiring, the date of termination, the nature of their work in the plant (if data is available), and reason for termination (when available). I am also interviewing some executive in the firm to get an overall picture of the plant's labor policies and the circumstances leading to the hiring of Nisei. I have had an opportunity to tour several of the plants to see for myself how the fellows were getting along. Most of the places that came through were extremely cordial--in fact, over-cordial--and some went so far as to feed us. The reason generally came out soon. They were interested in finding out the same thing we wanted to know. They thought it would be a good deal for them if we did the work. Consequently, they provide us with typewriters, desks, and sometimes clerical assistance so that we can compute the stuff for them and send them a copy. I told them they could have copies of figures for their own plants because it seemed to me that it was only a decent thing to do after all they did for us. I think that we might have occasion to contact them again for some other reason and we should try to leave a pleasant flavor in their mouths.

The first thing that we intend to do with the data is to compute the occupational turnover, month by month. I just consulted Miss Derrick, my stat teacher, and we figured out a way in which we might possibly make our data comparable to the figures

in the Monthly Labor Review. There were some things that were puzzling about their methods; so I'm going to call for a few minutes on the Bureau of Labor Statistics tomorrow morning. At any rate, I plan to use the same method as that used by the Bureau--which I think is considered standard. The reason why we are computing the turnover first is that I have a feeling that the turnover is a symptom of something else. This, of course, remains to be seen in our interviews. Furthermore, there have been some many rumors and charges of the high turnover rates that I thought it might help to get the exact figures--even if it were for a limited number of plants. The eight or ten plants are certainly not representative, but if the turnover figures should turn out to be uniformly high in certain periods, then we would be in a position to state a definite problem and be able to guide our interviews more directly. All this remains to be seen. Our schedule calls for the completion of the turnover figures, except for Stevens, by the middle of next week.

The second thing we are doing with this data is to check with the W.R.A. files to get the age, sex, marital status, place of origin, relocation center, date of arrival in Chicago, former occupation, and address. This data is intended primarily for descriptive purposes. For example, certain plants with tremendous turnovers seem to have extremely low age levels. I think we ought to show this statistically since the data are available. In many cases age may not be important, but it may be. This operation takes considerable time, and Louise will be spending many of her days getting this data. I personally think it is worth the effort to get this raw data because it might be quite useful in a number of other ways. Thus far, we have completed only Curtiss and Transportation and Maintenance. We think we can complete everything except Stevens and we might even finish that. The copying of records takes a long time, but the tallying should not take too long. We won't need cards or anything for it; we are going to go through the same stuff over and over tallying for different ~~kind~~ items, and since Louise and Tomi ~~and~~ are planning for come nights if necessary we should be able to get most of it done. If it were earlier or if we had more time I would send the raw data to Berkeley for compilation, but since time is short and I need the results right away we decided to do it here.

You raised a question about the interviews. That is really a question mark here too. I have been interviewing people whenever possible thus far without too much regard for sampling just to get a feel for this kind of interviewing. We started on Curtiss with a stratified sample--by age, sex, and generation--but had the run-in with the Army before we got very far. As I said before, a series of cancelled interviews, the conventions, and the cropping up of other groups that required watching seriously impeded our progress. Now that the deadline is drawing closer, I really regret taking time off for the other groups. I think the data I got is pretty good, but the question is whether or not it was worth the price of sacrificing part of the occupational study. I had in mind two kinds of interviews: (1) interviewing with reference to specific problems. For example, T.M.C. has a very good labor policy so far as I can see, pays high wages, and gets draft deferments for their boys (even under 26), and yet the turnover is terrific. The men who stay are quite happy

and some say that they wouldn't leave even if they were offered a higher paying job. The turnover, therefore, is hard to explain. In some months it was especially high. I wanted to interview some of the people who quit in those months just to see what happened. (2) The other interview, of course, was to consist of taking a random sample and asking them to describe their work experiences. I was planning to select two places for intensive study, and the trouble was that one of the places--Cuneo Press--was closed to us. Curtiss is still on the doubtful list and we cannot proceed without clearance. I have been asking about the following items: circumstances leading to their taking the job; positions held; past work experience; routines; identification with other Nisei; attitude toward employers and foremen; cliques; leadership; gripes; common understandings about work; social affairs outside of work; other racial groups; what they think others think of them; how other employees treat them; eating; unions; sex relations; parties; washrooms and lockers; rest periods; and plans for the future. Most people talk quite freely about these things, and the problem I've had is the same problem Charlie ran into--getting them. I am interested in getting at the work experience of the Nisei as the Nisei see it themselves.

Several--not too many--of these interviews are now complete and will be included. Some of them were with people working in places that refused to cooperate with us and I shall add them in the appendices. I'm a little pessimistic about ever doing a systematic job on this score unless we take an extremely small sample on one plant. Even that may tell us something. If we finish the statistical work in time, I'll devote all the rest of my time to the interviews. I might be able to do two or three a night. You will realize, of course, that I'm really on the spot--so to speak. If it weren't for the fact that there is a great possibility of my being back for a while in the reserves Tomi would expect me to spend considerable time with her before I go. As things are now, I'm hardly ever home, and when I'm there I have to do some typing or something else. I'll try to finish what I can. We have agreed on September 1 and after that I'll turn to something else unless you feel that this work is worth spending a little more time on. I used to work rapidly, but there is something about working with statistics that slows me down. I still haven't gotten over my prejudices.

You also raised a question about the correlations that we had planned to run off. We had some grandiose plans, but they may not be carried through. As we were going through the Stevens material, I noticed that a large number of the more unstable employees lived on the near North Side. I thought that eventually it might be possible to test the relationship between length of stay in a firm and the area in which people lived. It might not show anything, and again it might. I also noticed that younger people, the unmarried, and the American citizens seemed to quit more readily and more frequently than the others. This would seem obvious, but I don't think we would be justified in concluding that this is true unless we show it statistically. Another thing that has impressed me was the date of arrival in Chicago. I have long felt that different kinds of people came here in different periods of the resettlement migration. I believe that people had different reasons for coming out in different periods. ~~While~~ I also think that the people who came during last summer and autumn were more likely to shift

around then those who came before or since. This is just a hunch, and I may be all wet, but I wanted to see. I realize that occupational turnover is not in itself an index of restlessness, but something might come out of this. At present, I am planning to divide up the workers into categories by the length of stay in a firm; i.e., by weeks, and then try to see what the characteristics of the people in the various categories are. Naturally, there is the danger of counting in the people who just came out here and have not had an opportunity to work longer, but they could be omitted for this computation. In other words, I'd like to see what relationship there is between length of stay in a plant and age, time of arrival in Chicago, marital status, area in Chicago/ in which they live, etc. Of course, this involves some dubious assumptions. People do not quit simply because they are restless. Furthermore, we would have to break down the separation turnover to distinguish between discharges and quits. However, as long as we are cognizant of some of the dangers of misinterpretation I thought that it might be worth a try.

With reference to the residential study we are at a loss as to what to do. ~~I'm not sure I'm willing to do it~~ I talked the matter over with Frank and he thought that it might be better for him to set up the study if he is going to have to finish it. That is, I would work as much as possible as long as I'm here under his direction so that when I leave he won't have any difficulty in taking over.

Time is getting so short that there are many things that I just won't be able to do. There are about a dozen Tule Lake family cases that have to be dictated as well as some Tule Lake notes and early Chicago notes. I also have fairly good notes on the various groups other than occupational and residential that I'm quite anxious to dictate. I personally think that the last batch of notes is the most important. The groups here are not only interesting, but I have a funny feeling that some of them, especially the Buddhists, are going to be worth watching. I do hope that you will not decide to sacrifice the study of these groups.

I'm very sorry that I have not been able to live up to my obligations. I feel very much indebted to the Study now that I'm about to leave it, and I certainly hope that I might be able to help out in some other capacity later on. Sometime, before the stuff goes dead on me, I want to go through my notes and pick out the more significant material and get them down on paper. Perhaps it might be possible this fall. Some of the stuff is not worth worrying about and there is no sense in wasting time with it. I also have a pile of random "spot observation" notes which may or may not be of value. I hope that some time might be left to work those up too. I certainly don't want to make my exit from the study as ungracefully as Tamie. I can't promise anything definite, but I'll try to finish what I can.

Since I won't be writing much any more, I think I may as well say what's on my mind. I've been the spoiled brat, and I'm genuinely sorry for the grief I may have caused. On the other hand, I am very grateful for the opportunities that have been opened to me and for all the things that I learned while working in the Study--not only about sociology but about human beings in general. I'm thankful too for the opportunity to come here to Chicago and to be exposed for the first time to something I felt

I would want to devote a lifetime ~~to~~ doing. My main regret is that I was unable to contribute as much to the Study as I was able to get out of it.

It seems that I am rapidly approaching the point where I shall have to make a series of decisions about the future. Therefore, I should appreciate having a list of things that you would like me to do--whether I'm with the study or not. That is, am I expected to write up the pre-evacuation~~x~~ period or shall I turn over my material to Togo and help him to get it organized? This matter will be of some importance to ~~me~~ in the future. As you know, I am planning to return to Chicago some day to work for a Ph.D. I am also planning to do a small study in the Army--if I'm taken. Since we are expected to organize a definite program of study--three pieces of empirical research before qualifying as a candidate--I should appreciate your letting me know what, if anything, might be useful to you so that I can plan my program accordingly. Furthermore, as I've already stated, I am quite anxious that my obligations are reasonably settled before leaving the Study. This, of course, is not of immediate concern, but I should appreciate hearing from you about it sometime before my final induction, or termination--whichever comes first.

I'll be looking forward to hearing your comments on the occupational study. We'll do whatever can be done in the time that is left. Frank was saying that he wanted to say something about the matter too, and I think he'll be writing in a few days.

Please give our best regards to W.I., Morton, and Mrs. Wilson.

Tom

August 11, 1944

Dear Tom,

Thanks for your letter of August 8. It is an excellent letter--well-organized and informative. It cheers me up about the progress both of your thinking and of your work.

Re the turnover, it seems to me you are proceeding absolutely correctly.

Re the tallying, I am a little worried. You say: "We are going through the same stuff over and over tallying for different items." If I interpret this correctly, you will have a series of discrete tabulations: one showing age, one sex, one place of origin, one former occupation, etc. But the significance of your findings will only come out in terms of cross classifications, eg, an obvious one, age by marital status. You will want to make very broad groups for these cross classifications, since you want to avoid having too many "compartments" in your tables, some of which will be very thin. Therefore, you should seek my advice about the groupings. (Here is a difficulty in trying to direct a study at long distance: We could settle all these problems in half an hour in the office. Since that is out, you will just have to write frequently). For cross tabulations, the only efficient method I know of is to use cards. To give you an example, I enclose the card I have used for my population analysis at Tule Lake. The master card shows the headings (corresponding to numbers on Form 26). I then give an example of a specific case, in which the information is filled in. Having a card for each person, it is then very easy to sort by variables in which I am interested. First, I sort by blocks. Then by area of origin (question 4), in broad, previously defined classes. Then by item 8, for Issei and Nisei. Then Nisei by item 7, to pick out Kibei. And so on. Having my cards in piles, thus separated into a number of variables, I can make my tabulations very simply. Decide what questions you want to ask, then make your sortings, eg "Is the turnover greater among women than among men". Sort first by sex. "But is this difference a function of age" Sort men and women separately by age: Are the younger men equally as mobile as the comparable group among women; similarly, for the older ages. Or is this all a function of marital status: are the younger married people as mobile as the same ages among the single, are the older married as mobile as the comparable single group, and so on.

I take it the matter of interview is to be put off for the present. If you decide later (if the event you are not called to active service immediately).

Re correlations: you get a crude sort of correlation of the sort you are interested in by the mere process of cross tabulation I have referred to above. The simplest way of showing this sort of relationship is in terms of fourfold tables:

e.g.

	Living on North Side	Not living on North Side	Total
Mobile			
Not mobile			
Total			

This means, of course rigid and arbitrary definition. of mobile and not mobile. If this can be done, a simple statistical test of "independence" can be applied, to see whether the people living on the north side are disproportionately and significantly more mobile as compared with the people not living on the North Side. Of-course you need not limit yourself to such a simple table, except for preliminary experiments to see how your results are shaping up. You could define six or eight neighborhoods for your columns, and four or five (or even more) degrees of "mobility" for your rows. But keep your classes as few as you possibly can.

Re the residential study, Frank in his last letter said he was going to send the cards on here for preliminary analysis before going too far with the matter.

Re your notes, I am willing to accept your judgment about which batch is the most important to complete first.

I am of-course awfully pleased that you feel you have learned something by your work on the study. I know that the "growing pains" have been hard, but I, for my part, have been delighted at the evidences of maturity in your thinking and approach. I feel that you have a real career ahead of you, and that the only hampering factor is an overdramatization of difficulties and a tendency to give way to gripes. It seems to me that you have done wonders in reducing this factor in the past few months.

Re your pre-evaation material, I don't see how you can well turn it over to Togo. I think he is working on another line, in another area, and that he will have his hands full in writing up his own notes. Therefore, it is something you should look forward to doing when you get out of the Army, probably leading to a thesis. Of the three pieces of empirical research you are expected to do before qualifying, it seems to me your master's thesis should count as one, and this occupational study as a second. We can talk about that more at a later date.

Please convey a message to Frank from me. I received his letter, and agree with his plan of office procedure. Will write later. I have been informed that I have to reapply next week for his continued deferrment. This I shall do on Monday. I don't anticipate trouble, but the whole thing is always open

to some doubt so I am crossing my fingers. Sincerely yours

Aug. 30

Dear Dorothy,

This is my thesis & some odds & ends that are typed up. Sorry I didn't answer your letter, but we were really pinched for time. Dictated over 4 hours yesterday! I just got back from the induction center; my fate is unsettled until tomorrow morning. I feel like a man whose execution has been stayed for 24 hours. Will write a long letter as soon as possible. We finished everything on occ. groups except for 3 companies which have not yet sent the stuff they promised. It should be in final copy in a week or so. The 1st draft is a mess, & Louise will retype it. Love.

September 5, 1944

Dear Tom:

I received your long letter of September 1, and read it carefully. Also your Master's thesis, which I haven't yet had time to read. Actually, there is very little comment that I can make in regard to what you are doing until I see the final result. So I would say, take your time getting that first draft into order and then we'll see what possibilities it has for further exploration.

I was not too much surprised by what happened in regard to your draft status, as it seems to be the normal procedure in regard to Nisei. Please keep me informed of any further developments.

By-the-way, will you please send me Naj's new address. I note from Charlie's Diary that he was leaving Alabama and on his way to Minnesota, and I should like to write to him.

I agree with your plan about Louise having joint authorship on the occupational study. Also, I shall be glad to write the letters to the various firms as you have requested.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Sept. 12, 1944.

Dear Dorothy:

Enclosed is the first part of our occupational study. We have been held up for two weeks now because the H.P. Smith man has not come through with the data that he promised. Since we were numbering our pages, footnotes and tables in order, it was impossible for us to go on without completing the write-up on Smith first. We have given up hope, however, and beginning today we will begin typing up in more finished form the remaining companies. Enclosed also is our complete table of contents. We have finished everything except the write-up of Smith and Stevens. I shall send on the rest of the material as soon as it is typed in more presentable form.

I shall withhold my own comments on this whole study until I have heard your appraisal. The only thing that I have to say for the moment is that the whole study suggests many problems for further research but it does not in itself settle anything. After looking over the quantitative work I would agree with your statement that more training in statistics would be good both for my technique and my soul.

I have tried to state very carefully precisely what we did. There is one definition that I forgot to put in the second chapter and that is our definitions with regard to marital status. Inasmuch as we were concerned with speaking the possible influence of the lack of family responsibilities upon mobility, we have included most divorced and separated persons in the single category. This, of course, is subject to error, but it was one of the arbitrary things that we had to do. We have not yet started putting the data on cards and since we are pretty busy right now we shall not do so unless you signify that you want further work done with these data.

I am enclosing a copy of the form letters that I intend to attach to the various reports that we are sending to these companies. If you feel that this letter commits the study to obligations which cannot or should not be met please make the necessary corrections. The main idea in the letter is to keep alive our connection with these companies so that we can go in at some later date for more information. The reports that we are sending will naturally differ from company to company. We are giving them all the figures on labor turnover since that was part of the bargain. At the same time, since the figures are so high and since we should protect the Nisei workers, I am including a brief discussion of why these figures are not comparable to those for Caucasians and why the Nisei are temporarily so mobile. I don't think that we are letting any cats out of the bag and if you wish to see any of the reports I shall be glad to send them to you. I've been

*The remark about consulting us on "problems" was included so that we could get "in" if something should occur.*

*we think*

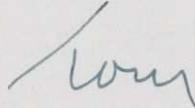
*(the*

very careful not to embarrass anyone and at the same time have tried to tell them something so that they would feel that all their efforts were not in vain.

With reference to the letters that you have kindly agreed to write, you will find the names of the persons to whom we are obligated in the Preface. The addresses of the companies can be found on Page 6. Please don't write any letters to H.B. Smith or Stevens until we have completed our work. The other eight firms have already come through. I don't think there is any necessity of writing to anyone at Cuneo Press either.

Trusting that you will not have any serious convulsions when going through the material,

Very sincerely yours,



Tom Shibutani

Enclosures: 2

September 20, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I don't know why these things have to happen, but they do. I've been pretty worried for the past five hours. My little red notebook (loose leaf) with all my field notes from about the middle of December on has disappeared. Not only does it contain odds and ends that I picked up here and there but it also contains much of my informal notes on groups. All my notes on the J.A.C.L., most of the notes on the Chicago Resettlers Committee, all the notes on the Christian groups, all the notes on the area groups, and most of the material on the Buddhists was in the book. Aside from that all the rumors about the Nisei in the Army, the Aragon incident, and the I.C. trouble were in there. Frankly, I'm pretty blue. I've tried all the lost and found services around here and have searched the office and my room pretty carefully. I can't imagine where it could have gone. I carry it in the breast pocket of my coat and know that I had it Monday night because I took some notes in it right after I came home from a meeting with Togo. Yesterday I did not go anywhere and so it couldn't be anywhere other than home, the office, or somewhere in between unless someone walked off with it. I can't imagine who would want it anyway.

I'm planning to wait a few days and then try the lost and found bureaus again. I'm sure that much of the material on the groups can be reconstructed by going out and systematically interviewing the participants. However, I do hate the lose the details. Fortunately, the notes on the most important part of the Buddhists was on a separate sheet of paper. The odds and ends may not be too much of a loss to the study, although they do give some sort of picture of what is going on here. I can't possibly recall what I wrote down during the last nine months and I hate to think of losing almost everything I've been paid to collect for the last nine months. My major worry, however, is that the thing might fall into the hands of some Nisei. I don't think any Caucasian could make heads or tails out of it because I have used so many abbreviations and so many Japanese words. However, any Nisei will immediately recognize what it is. Since there are some notes on anti-U.S. attitudes, a Nisei might become thoroughly suspicious of our entire study. I would much rather have the book end up in a garbage can than in the hands of any Nisei--even those sympathetic with the study. It's not likely, but then again there are plenty (about 30) of Nisei in this building.

The loss really came at a hell of a time too. This morning Louise finished typing the last available section on the occupational study, and we are sending this all along with Charlie's material. Since there was so much stuff, we decided to send them together by express. This afternoon I was going to dictate my material on the various other groups and that was when I realized that the notebook was missing. There doesn't seem to be anything more that I can do now but to wait and hope for the best. I certainly hope that it turns up.

The situation on the group studies stands as follows. In the occupational group study we are still waiting for material from H.P. Smith and Stevens. The W.R.A. seems to have misplaced their files on Flex Abrasive and Donnelly, and my informant for Bloomfield has left town for a few weeks--consequently

these three appendices will be sent later. The Michael Resse Hospital material is not yet quite complete, and the National Tea interview was in the lost notebook. Everything else will be on the way within the next few days--as soon as Charlie finishes dictating another case, I think.

As far as service organizations (i.e. mutual aid societies) are concerned, the Chicago Resettler's Committee is the only one I know of. We have that group covered like a blanket. Almost all my notes on this group are lost, but I am going to get the official minutes of the committee and will try to reconstruct the whole thing. This will not be quite as difficult as in the other groups because I know every member of the group personally and can interview them if necessary. I hadn't plan to approach them so soon, but if necessary it can be done. I hope to get this group written up and brought up to date before I leave for the Army or before December, whichever comes first.

The J.A.C.L. has presented us with a serious problem and we are now in the process of working out ways and means of getting in. Yatabe has been very cordial to both Charlie and myself, but when we finally asked him to make good the promise of cooperating with our study, he stalled. He told me that he was not authorized to show me the membership files and that he would have to get permission from the National J.A.C.L. I'm sure we can get that permission and we have already written Larry Tajiri about it. We are not asking for copies of their letters or anything like that. I didn't expect Yatabe to show us those. However, one thing I learned from the occupational study was this: it is much easier to do field work if you know who is in the organization, precisely how many, and other definite information about the members. That is, I want the complete list of members in the Chicago chapter. This will give us the necessary quantitative base for our study and by checking the names against the W.R.A. files we can find out a lot of other things about the characteristics of the members. Furthermore, when we know who the members are we can go out and interview them and not have to depend on the baloney sauce that Yatabe hands out. I gathered from talking to Yatabe that he didn't want me around, although he was too polite to say so. He told me I was welcomed to attend any meeting and then said, "of course, you realize that there are a few meetings which have to be closed because the paid up members should be entitled to some things that non-members cannot have." Judging from the way in which the new chapter is being organized, I'd say that there is not much sense in my joining. The organization is so "democratic" that Yatabe, Sim Togasaki, Takahashi and a few other cronies have "decided" that Bill Minami is to be the first president. This is what Yatabe meant when he said it was time that the younger fellows had a chance--younger fellows that met with the approval of the older fellows "who know how to organize and who have to know the others how to do things." I had documentation on this--exact words of Yatabe--but this too unfortunately was in the lost notebook. However, you can see that even if I joined I would be one of the people "privileged" to listen to what the group has already decided, but not sufficiently privileged to get in on the actual deliberations around policy-formation. Charlie was a bit reluctant to get in, and Louise and Frank are now considering the possibilities of joining. Both Louise and Frank and respectable--not "Communists" like Charlie and myself--and consequently stand a better chance. Frank is furthermore a professional man and with his reputation ought to be able to swing the deal. Frank cannot do anything along this line, of course, until he has finished the Tule Lake report, but I doubt if Yatabe will get going for another month or two. They are only in the preliminary stages of planning yet, and I can keep an eye on them for a while from the outside. It would really be a pity to miss an important organization like the J.A.C.L. if we can get such

detailed information on the other groups.

There are now about 20 to 40 Christian Nisei groups, ranging in size from 20 or 30 to 250 members. The Christians are, of course, relatively easy to approach. All the ministers and youth leaders I've approached so far have expressed a willingness if not an eagerness to help. I think every one of them will come through. The membership should be relatively easy to crack. In this connection, Frank and I have been talking to Dave Okada--about whom I'm sure Frank has written you. Dave is going to work for his M.A. here beginning this quarter and he has not yet selected his thesis subject. When we asked him about working with the Christian groups, he expressed a definite interest, although he did not commit himself. Dave has many more contacts in Christian circles that I could even hope to get, and we thought that he might be persuaded to do a thesis on this subject. We should appreciate you letting us--and him--know how you feel about this.

The most interesting group has been the Buddhists. There are two factions here which have already started clawing at each other. I have kept a record of all the intrigues. While most of the material was lost, I think much of it can be reconstructed. The Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist minister is now planning to start a national Young Buddhists movement in America. The rival minister--who advocates Americanized Buddhism--is planning to start a hostel and a regular church for Caucasians as well as Nisei. Both men are pretty intelligent, and both men have extremely able lieutenants. Barry Saiki, Art Takemoto, and Akira Yebisu (all prominent Bussei) are working with the Nishi Hongwanji; Barry is now working full-time with them. On the other hand, Noboru Honda (remember the Tule Lake block manager?). Roy Higashi, and Yoshimi Shibata are working with the other faction. All of these fellows can take care of themselves and there's going to be one mad scramble. The two organizations are sometimes almost diametrically opposed in principle and practice. One group operates pretty much like the Church on the Pacific Coast while the other is a radical departure from anything we have had before. Both groups are affiliated with national bodies and the conflict promises to be a hot one. We have been extremely fortunate in this, as far as the study is concerned. Both ministers are damn reasonable as far as we are concerned. Both realize that they can more effectively mobilize their forces if they know about their membership; consequently both have consented to our making a study of the entire organizations. Naturally we won't tell them everything, but we can give them enough in a general way to make their effort to help us worthwhile. I was requested by Barry's group to draw up the membership form for them, and they allowed me to add questions that I thought were important along with the questions that they wanted. I think that the membership form calls for just about all the information that we would want. They will mimeograph it and they will see to it that the forms are completely filled out. They will keep tabs of attendance, etc., and we are to do the analysis. That is, once the cards are filled out they will bring them to us and we can go to town. All they want in return is a summary of the results so that they can plan their program. For example, if we find that the vast majority of the steady members are single and young, they will have a mixer dance. If we find that most of the steady members are married, they will have a program dance. This is just a small example, but I can see plenty of possibilities for mutual benefit. The reverend went so far as to offer to speak to any member who refused to be interviewed, but I told him we didn't want to force anything on anyone. This gives you some idea of the extent of cooperation we can expect. Barry's being a full-time paid worker, of course, simplifies many things for us.

We have equally good connections in the rival group. Rev. Kubose is a Cal grad and a classmate of Dr. Frank Kidner. He is therefore right in with our study. Roy Higashi and Yoshimi Shibata were both students in my speech classes in Tule Lake, and Roy is one of my closest friends. Noboru Honda is such a reasonable and intelligent fellow that we can always count on him. Frank is counting on him for a lot of things too. Kubose's group will be relatively easy to cover because they have nothing to hide and they are right out in the open. I have had no difficulty because they have no such thing as "secret meetings" as do Barry's group. I'm sure that we can make almost any reasonable arrangement with them about making a study; in fact, the fellows have already expressed a willingness to come through and we have the minister's approval.

As I've already stated, I had running notes on these groups but lost them. I don't intend to wait to catch up and am starting my interviews with Higashi tonight. I don't intend to do anything systematic with the religious groups yet without your approval because we still have to go over and finish copying the W.R.A. records for the residential study. However, since the residential cards are going to be forwarded to Berkeley for preliminary analysis, I should like to bang out a preliminary study of the Buddhist groups so that whoever takes over after me will have a basis from which to work. I think that the main difficulty will come in getting "inside" Barry's group. Barry will probably go with me to the Army, and that means that whoever takes over will have to cultivate the others like I have been for the past four months.

I'm writing this long letter to let you know where we stand right now. I'm through for the time being with the occupational stuff, and I can see several alternatives. If you wish, I could continue the occupational study by interviewing the workers although I personally think that this might be done more effectively after the war when these people have worked in the plants for a couple of years. It depends upon your decision however. The Buddhists have to be written up at least in preliminary form before too many things happen. The Resettlers Committee has to be written up. The Christians and the J.A.C.I. will have to wait for a while. Furthermore, Louise and I will have to finish copying the W.R.A. records because neither Charlie nor Frank are in a position to do so. We have so many things to do I don't know where to begin. I'd appreciate hearing from you about this. Your last letter stated that I should not worry about the residential groups, that I should finish the occupational study, and that I should maintain my informal contacts with the other groups.

Louise is now packing Charlie's cases and my occupational study to send in. We are sending it express--collect. Louise also asked whether or not the second sheets are coming. We will need them pretty badly pretty soon.

I'll keep looking for that notebook. Nine month's work can't be brushed off too easily. Reconstructing all that material is going to take a lot of time, and as far as the study is concerned my association with it will have been a total waste.

Tom

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

September 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

This is just a brief note to bring cheerful news. I've found my notebook. I don't know where it was exactly, except that it mysteriously fell out of somewhere when I shoved Tomi's clothes in the closet. It couldn't have been in any pocket because then it couldn't have fallen out in the manner it did. In any event, needless to say, I am very relieved and have been rejoicing.

The occupational study is once more at a standstill. We're still waiting for the companies, although I did put a little "polite" pressure on them. Right now, I think I have completed whatever there is that can be completed for the time being. I have not yet sent out the summary reports and letters to the companies and shall refrain from doing so until I hear from you about it. I am also refraining from interviewing workers until I hear from you because that is a big job and I don't want to start something that might be difficult to complete without first getting your sanction.

At present, while marking time, I have been working over the notes that I have already collected. I have notes that fall into several categories and hope to have them typed up shortly. By agreement Charlie is dictating from now until the time that Louise takes her vacation, and after her vacation we have set up a dictation schedule which should make it reasonably easy to complete this work. I am planning to type up the Tule Lake notes in straight chronological order, emphasizing those points that Frank is primarily interested in. As far as the Chicago notes are concerned, I shall work up the random notes in chronological order, but the other notes I shall try to work into brief reports on various subjects. I think that it would be better this way because it would give a more rounded picture and it would dispense with what has heretofore been an unavoidable duplication. That is, we have the rough notes and the reports both containing the same thing. I have no intention of taking anything out of context to place them into reports. On the contrary, I shall use rough notes directly in reports only when the entire conversation or incident reported falls in. I think this might save considerable time and effort later on.

In accordance with our previous agreement, I am starting to write up some of the groups according to the outline that was prepared last summer. The first of these reports deals with the Buddhists in Chicago. In this instance, only a very slight revision of the outline was necessary. My plans are to continue observations on the groups I have started on and to write up what I already have on them before beginning field work on any new groups. In this way I can be better prepared for my eventual call into active duty. If I am not called by the time that I finish up this task, I'm sure there will be enough gaps left to keep me occupied.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you as soon as your work lightens up a little. In the meantime, I'll keep busy. Please give our regards to W.I. and Morton.

*Tomi*

October 12.1944

Dear Tom,

I have been over your occupational report a second time--more carefully than the first. I think it is a job well-done. I hope that you will have a chance to follow up with some worker interviews, but I realize that time shortage may make that impossible.

You made a very pertinent comment, when you pointed out the fact that your data are actually incomparable with those of the BLS, since all the workers under investigation were new workers; i.e. there was no pre-existing stable "pool" of workers. I wonder whether there have been any studies of war-time migrants that might be more nearly comparable?

I should like to get hold of your raw statistical data. I believe there is more to the results than you have been able to show, and I should like to play around with the data a bit. For example, in regard to age, that "run" of positive correlations (except only one) probably indicates a real relationship between stability and age, even though the separate coefficients are not significant, because of sampling fluctuations. I could tell more about the whole situation if I had the data at hand.

Let me hear how things are going.

Sincerely yours,

October 17, 1944

Dear Tom:

Since the Army doesn't seem to be grabbing you up as quickly as I had thought, I believe it would be desirable for you to come to the Salt Lake City conference. The conference, itself, will extend over 7 days. If you are pressed for time, it would not be at all necessary for you to stay throughout the period. That is, you could leave after three or four days if you so wish. I will send soon a definite agenda, but I may say that I would want you to take one whole day in which you present a discussion of what you have done in your occupational study, indicate the status of the residential study, and point out the gaps that still remain in the larger plan that you had developed for studying Nisei groupings. The conference will begin on Wednesday, November 29, and will, as I mentioned before, last for 7 days. Offhand, I should say that your report could very well be on the first day.

Will you let me hear from you by return mail as to whether this is convenient or possible for you? Train reservations should be made one full month in advance. As soon as I hear from you I will arrange for a travel advance and will also send exemption certificates, if you need them.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

October 19 , 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have your letter of the 17th suggesting that I take steps toward coming to the conference in Salt Lake. I was quite surprised, and I certainly hope that the Army doesn't unexpectedly (or expectedly) make my attendance impossible. In any event, the Army has been giving the reservists about three weeks to get ready so that we shall have ample time should something happen. I shall try to finish dictating everything before the conference so that we won't get caught unprepared.

I just phoned Frank, and he asked me to get the tickets because he is so busy nowadays. We won't be able to make reservations until next week, but I shall do so as soon as possible. Could you rush the travel advances for both of us to me? I haven't consulted the train schedule as yet, but we thought that intermediate pullman on the Challenger might be less expensive than the City of Los Angeles. I should like to hear from you about this. If we take the Challenger, we shall have to leave on the 26th.

With reference to my report, I shall probably have very little to say about the residential study, since neither Frank nor I have done much on it. We have a girl copying the W.R.A. material yet. I shall be glad to report on the occupational study, and I expect to have completed by that time both the reports on the Buddhist movements in Chicago and the report on the Chicago Resettlers Committee. When I say "completed", I mean of course that only that segment that I am attempting to finish will be done. There will be many gaps. I hope to finish the Buddhist report by next Wednesday so that it can be ready well in advance of the conference. As I understand my assignment, I am to discuss what has been done on the study of Nisei groupings and what remains to be done. We've done so little that I hope the picture doesn't look too pessimistic.

Much of my time during recent weeks has been devoted to filling gaps in my report on the Buddhist movements. After I set down my outline, I discovered many serious gaps and had to spend a week and a half interviewing.

If I do go to Salt Lake I'd like to put the touch on the J.A.C.L. files. Yatabe has been very uncooperative in spite of his suave ways, but I want certain data on the J.A.C.L. membership here for comparison with other groups. I'm sure we can get it from Larry.

Frankly, I am worried about the expense of going to Salt Lake. I understood that our appointments were set at six months because of the lack of funds. If this is true, I would much rather be on the study for an extra month than to spend the same amount for the Salt Lake conference. Of course, this is a matter for you to decide. I don't know which is more important to the study as a whole. However, I should appreciate your letting me know what

my status will be if the Army does not call me by the end of December. I'm not too worried about it because Uncle Sam will probably take care of everything.

The remaining part of the occupational study is still at a standstill. I can't seem to get any response from either Stevens or H.P. Smith. The fellow who was going to tell me the "dirt" on Bloomfield went to Washington on a government job, and I still have not succeeded in locating some material in the W.R.A. files about Flex Abrasive. When I get this Buddhist report out of the way, I'll settle down to this task again. I think it is best to do one thing at a time.

I'll be looking forward to hearing from you. Best regards to Wil. and Morton.

Sincerely,

*Tom*

October 21, 1944

Dear Tom,

I was glad to get your letter of October 18th. Here is the set-up with regard to the budget, appointments, etc.

This, being the terminal year of the original grant for the study, plans for gradual liquidation had to be made. Refinancing will be requested, but only to finish up certain segments still considered as essential "going concerns", and to allow me time to pull together the loose ends, compose a comprehensive report, edit and organize the separate monographs or contributions made by various people, etc.

After great deliberation, I concluded that four segments should be completed by the end of the year: Morton's political segment, Tamie's analysis of Poston, Togo's pre-evacuation study, and your own study of group formation. In two of these cases (you and Morton) it was assumed that you would probably have to leave us in any event because of the necessity of entering the armed forces. Appointments were therefore made for a six months' period.

Last year we had actually overspent our budget by something more than \$2000. This was attributable, in the main, to two items: extra assistance for Morton, extra assistance in the Chicago office. This extra assistance was considered justifiable in view of the uncertainty of holding personnel throughout the year. That no one has been drafted is a minor miracle, and totally unexpected by all of us.

In any event, the \$2000 deficit has to be made up out of this year's funds, and no additional funds are available to cover it. At the same time, some expansion of personnel was absolutely essential, if we were to have a well-rounded study. The long-neglected economic side was at last made possible by getting a highly qualified person (George Sabagh, whom you know), and by getting access to data that had long been withheld from us (eg. Federal Reserve Bank records, Farm Security records). George was taken on "on a shoestring". Tamie's resignation released a small amount, which was immediately allocated partly to Dick Nishimoto to finish up her unfinished job, partly to George. George also got a fellowship, which relieved the difficulty somewhat, but did not release any further funds.

The President, of-course, has been kept closely informed of all our personnel and budget problems. He approved both the contraction and the expansion.

The budget for the current year is not at all flexible, and the arrangement approved by the President will have to be carried through. Due to the postponement of the expected order rescinding the West Coast restrictions, I have had correspondingly to postpone Morton's trip to Washington. He leaves about November 15th, and returns just about Christmas time. We have had to give him the month of January to write up his Washington notes. This has been difficult to arrange, but I did manage it. I am afraid that I will have to stick to the other termination dates, however.

You ask whether it would not be possible to substitute an extra month's employment for the trip to Salt Lake City. I do not think this is at all advisable. I feel that contact with you before you officially leave the Study is important for the Study. I want you to continue as "consultant without pay" until we finally go to press. From your own standpoint, the things you have begun should be continued as one of your permanent interests. You have indicated that this is your intention, anyway. If you don't get into the Army (it is my belief that you will, without any question) then I think you should go about getting a job ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ January first. Putting it off until February does not seem to be any solution of the essential problem.

Your expenses in Salt Lake city would be met from the budget item, approved by the President, called "Expense and Equipment". In order to administer the study properly, an appreciable item of this sort has been necessary. It is not possible to transfer funds from an approved item of this sort until near the end of the Budget year. In other words, money is available for your expenses on this trip, but not for your salary for an additional month beyond the time when your appointment runs out.

As I indicated, the conference will be rather lengthy, and it will not be necessary for you to stay for the whole time unless you consider it advisable.

Re the JAEL records, Togo's terminal job will be to go through the SLC files. Access has already been arranged for him. Whether he will do this at and following the conference, has not yet been decided. He will not come to the conference unless he has made sufficient progress in the report he is now writing to warrant this final exploration of files at this time. From his last letter I infer that he is making the requisite progress, and therefore will come along with you and Frank.

Mrs. Wilson will put in a "rush" request for travel advances on Monday. These should reach you by the 26th. I will have them sent airmail special delivery.

Sincerely yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

October 23, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your letter of the 21st. I think I can understand your position and my only regret is that I shall be unable to complete the segment of the study to which I had been assigned. If my employment is to end this year, then, I think that it is imperative that I should return to Chicago as soon as possible in order that I may finish as much as possible before officially leaving the Study. I think you are quite right in assuming that I shall be called into active service before that date, if not soon afterwards so that a month or two would not make any difference. I asked for the extra month only because there was so much to do and so little time to do it.

As I understood it, the study of groups was divided into six parts: (1) Residential Groups, (2) Occupational Groups, (3) Religious Groups, (4) Families, (5) Collective Enterprises (economic, recreational and mutual aid), and (6) Voluntary Associations and Clubs such as the J.A.C.L. and the Tule Lake Club. Taking stock of what has been done, I find that the great bulk of the work still remains and I certainly hope that Frank, Louise, Dave or someone else may be able to fill it in. The study of the Occupational Groups revealed that in the case of large firms plant-wide groups did not exist. Consequently, we have studied turn-over and mobility but have not gone into the cliques within a plant. Since Dave Okada's project about which Frank has undoubtedly written deals with this subject, I am sure that we will get a clearer picture by the time he finishes his thesis. Residential Groups were to be studied from three angles and none of these is yet under way. I don't think there is much sense in my starting anything now although if you wish, I can write up one or two Japanese boarding houses. That is about all I can do. The study of Families is out of the question. In Religious Groups, I have a fairly extensive coverage of the Buddhists and I hope to complete a brief and perhaps superficial report on the Christians before my termination. I had hoped to study several voluntary associations, but a short report on one or two is about all that can be expected. As far as Collective Enterprises is concerned, Charlie has some pretty good notes on some of the recreational groups. I have some pretty good notes on mutual aid groups and I hope to be able to write a brief report on some of the economic enterprises. The Friendship Groups and Cliques (which I neglected to mention above) are also out of question. What I have listed as things to do constitute much more than I think is possible at present but I'll try what I can. If I finish that much, I think it will leave something to provide a basis for further work. I hope to do this after I have completed dictating my notes on Tule Lake and miscellaneous items in Chicago.

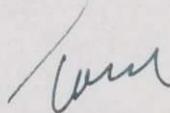
With reference to the conference itself, I shall be prepared to give a detailed report on the first day. At that time we can discuss problems of picking up loose ends at some later date. Would it at all be possible to have Frank's report on either the second or third day? I should very much like to sit in upon his report since his report is one of the few about which I know anything. I'd like to stay as long as possible but I think I'd better get back. I also wanted to visit my parents for a day or two but maybe that will be out of the question. They're both ill and I haven't seen them for a year and a half. In a way I feel obligated to go to Granada if I got as far west as Salt Lake. ~~It is probably more important that I stay in Salt Lake and stay there if there is more time.~~

We'll be waiting for the travel advances and if they do not arrive in time, Frank has agreed to get the necessary funds to purchase all the tickets. Togo is to let me know today whether or not he is going and I will get to work on the tickets in a few days. None of us are coming back together so that the problem of reservations is only for the trip to Salt Lake. We will make our individual reservations for the return trip.

In the event that I am not drafted by December 30th, I shall probably seek some job which will enable me to continue studies of this kind. My first attempt will center around seeking employment or a fellowship here at the University. The main difficulty here, of course, is that fellowships are not awarded until April 1st and it seems as though I shall just hold the sack. The next alternative seems to be seeking employment with the WRA on some kind of temporary job. The only thing that would draw me there would be the fact that I could continue part time studies along the lines which I had started. If these two possibilities fail, as I think they will, then I can scout around for anything else. I still feel, however, that you are right in saying that the Army will take care of everything.

From this point on you can expect a steady stream of reports and notes. I'll be looking forward to seeing you in Salt Lake. It will be much easier to discuss these problems face to face than it is by mail. Best regards to W.I. and Morton.

Sincerely,



Tom Shibutani

October 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

You have undoubtedly been wondering what in hell I've been doing all year, and this report, I hope, will provide part of the answer. This is one of the group reports. The others, which are not quite so bulky, will be forthcoming.

I'm sending this in without proofreading anything beyond the first chapter because both Charlie and Frank are anxious to get this express package on the way. I think you might find the fifth chapter somewhat objectionable; I think it needs plenty of working over. This isn't by any means a good report, but I feel that it is one of the least objectionable ones I've done. I hope you find it reasonably satisfactory.

*Tom*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

October 28, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

It seems that bad luck is on our trail. Yesterday afternoon I went home happily after getting all the train reservations set and paid for, when I noticed that a letter had been slipped under our door. It was an invitation from Uncle Sam to appear at Fort Sheridan on November 15. Damn, what luck. It surprised us because only a few weeks ago they were calling up reserves that were inducted as early as last April and May. That was a full three or four months ahead of us. Barry got his notice too. Maybe there is something to the rumor that a whole new unit is being set up in North Carolina. I don't know, but they must be calling up a lot of guys if they got down to us because we're among the last group of reserves around here.

In any event, it seems that my trip to Salt Lake is out. I have asked Togo to cancel his reservation and I will give him mine since I have a section with Frank. It must be the Thanksgiving rush or something. I had a heck of a time getting the reservations. It took me two days to do it and I had to go to four companies. The Santa Fe-Arroyo Rio Grande combination seemed to be the only alternative for a while when I took one final stab at Union Pacific before closing the deal. One guy with a section found out he had the wrong day and we got it. Togo had to take a reservation for the 27th instead of the 26th because there wasn't anything else. Reservations were opened at 8 in the morning, and when I got there at 11 they were all gone. God! Anyway, it's all settled now.

This leaves me only two weeks to finish up my work. I'd like a couple of days to finish up my personal affairs too. I'm starting in on Monday and will dictate or type up all my notes. As long as I'm not putting them in the form of reports I'm quite optimistic about finishing my rough notes. They can be worked over later. Louise starting putting all the occupational study data on cards. She knows how to do it so we can let that go until after I leave. It seems that the Buddhist report will be my last official report for the study, although naturally I shall be glad to work over some of the other material whether I'm connected with the study or not. The important thing is that I get the rough notes in readable shape so that they will make sense to other people and possibly to myself after the war (if you should want anything clarified).

I'm sorry to have to upset the applecart again, but you will understand that it was a matter beyond my control. Will write later again.

*Tom*

October 30, 1944

Dear Tom,

I certainly feel low about your call to service. However, I seem to be the only person on the staff who really believed it would come before Christmas time. What I actually believed was that it would come while you were in Salt Lake City!

In the long run, the timing may not be at all bad. I doubt if you will see active service; I certainly hope you won't. You will get some good training, and will qualify for veterans' preference after the war. The latter may be quite important.

Will Tomi become a "camp follower" or will she stay in Chicago for a while?

Your plan to dictate all your notes is fine. And you must, of-course, have some time to fix up your personal affairs. I regret greatly that I shall have no opportunity to see you and talk over your work and longer time plans with you before you leave the Study. Maybe you will have a furlough and be able to come out here. Keep that in mind, will you?

I appreciate all the trouble you went to in getting the railroad tickets. Will you tell Togo to be sure to see that the name on the ticket is changed, otherwise there might be some complication in regard to those tax exempt certificates which, I presume, are checked against the expense accounts in Sacramento. When Togo pays you back, will you send a check made payable to the Regents of the University of California (sent, however, to me).

I know that you will be under great pressure in the next two weeks. You have my sympathy; so does Tomi.

All here send regards; all are sorry.

Sincerely yours,

*Tracy*

School, we all laughed like hell.

About 150 of us reported to Fort Sheridan on Nov. 14 & 15. We were split into 5 groups after being given opportunities to catch colds & then shipped to different camps. I still don't know where the other guys went nor can any of us figure out on what basis, if any, the selections were made. Among some things that struck me as being of interest were:

- (1) All the men started out with a pessimistic outlook. They seemed convinced that they would surely die because they would go to Europe in 17 weeks inadequately trained.
- (2) After 3 or 4 days in the Army men began to realize that if they valued their lives they would have to work hard & learn as much as possible as soon as possible. By the time we got here

Breeding paper missing

esprit de corps based on racial pride had developed.

(3) This gang does not have that sense of "mission" which characterized the 442nd & the 100th. The fellows are just bitter drafties. Morale, however, was good - in fact, excellent - after the 1st few days.

(4) Bitterness over the evacuation & a sense of injustice for being drafted after such an experience is common, but I don't think it will affect the work. Racial pride intensifies the guys want to show up the beto by out-marching & outshooting them.

Many other things come to my mind, but this is my last sheet of paper. I hope we continue to get at least 1/4 of the time we have been getting. It would be easy to write daily then.

Am sending this to Berkeley because I don't know what hotel you'll be in. Best wishes to the gang. Please tell Jim how sorry I am about his sister. I'll write him soon. Hope to write again.

Adios,

Tom

November 11, 1944

Dear Tom,

I am very much pleased with your Buddhist report. I have read it through once, and now am half-way through with the second reading. The documentation is excellent; the presentation is clear. The material itself is important. There is no question but that this report is a very useful job that you have done for the Study. I will not bother you with minor criticisms at present. I have made some notations, but they will have to wait.

Time is getting short now. Are you all set? Your check should reach you before the 15th. Your accumulated retirement money, however, will not be ready for you for "at least two months", according to the Accounting office. I have asked to have it sent to this office, so that I can forward it to you.

Let me hear from you before you leave.

Sincerely,

November 11, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

This is just something I forgot to mail with my other notes. I've finished dictating everything except a few family cases from Tule Lake and my notes on "prostitution in Tule Lake". Unfortunately this stuff is pretty cold now and I don't see how it could be markedly colder after the war. It's impossible for me to do it now. Sorry.

Will write Monday about the disposition of other material, etc. Please terminate me as of November 9, the day I finished the work. I'll be clearing up odds and ends until Tuesday, but that can't be called work.

Tom

## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

November 13, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Well, it looks as though this will be my last letter to you as a civilian for a long time. The curtain falls day after tomorrow. I couldn't help but look back over my long association with the study--almost three years if we include the unofficial connection before evacuation--and I have many thoughts some of which I should like to express. First, there are a few matters that have to be settled.

(1) You asked for the occupational cards. I have set up the master card with all the information available for each person. We started making the smaller cards a couple of weeks ago, but couldn't finish. However, Louise knows how to do the work and she says that she will finish up and send them along within the month.

(2) I still have in my possession quite a bit of material on the period between Pearl Harbor and evacuation and the unbound copies of the Nichi Bei. I'm leaving the Nichi Bei in the office because the others use it from time to time. If you want it back, please write Frank about it. The other material I am packing into a crate along with my own personal notes on the period and am leaving the whole thing in the office. If you want it, it can be sent to you. It was my understanding that I was supposed to write up something about this period sometime after the war. If that is the case, we might as well leave the stuff here because it is unlikely that I'll return to Berkeley in the near future. If that is not the case, please ask Frank to have the crate sent to you in Berkeley--that is, if you need it--and if there is something I want in it later on, I could write you about it. I shall label this crate "Pearl Harbor to Evacuation."

(3) I also have in my possession hundreds of letters that I have been collecting. I have not yet had a chance to go through to edit the stuff and would like to do so before I turn them over to you. However, if you need them, they will be in a crate marked "personal". I am leaving this crate of my own notes in the office too.

(4) I shall bring the tickets down to Togo this afternoon and will tell him to get the names changed on the certificates. If we have to keep our books straight with the comptroller, I'll ask him for a check which I can endorse to the Board of Regents.

(5) I am enclosing my expense account for the period from the middle of June onward. It would be swell if the money could be sent to Tomi, but I guess that would be difficult to arrange. There is also the matter of my unemployment compensation. I think I may as well ask for the money now since future connections ~~for~~ with the University are so unlikely.

(6) You asked me to keep in mind the possibility of taking a furlough to Berkeley. I shall keep it in mind. I'd like to see the old stamping grounds again before heading overseas. There are many things I'd like to talk over with you in person. It's so hard to communicate sometimes through the mails. While there is no certainty, let's consider this visit a possibility.

Tomi is going to stay on here in Chicago working for the South Shore Y.M.C.A. She seems to like her work well enough although she gripes about the anti-Semitism down in the South Shore District. That's an area of new-rich and I suppose prejudice is to be expected. She's been accepted pretty well, though. She decided to stay here because most of our friends are now in Chicago. In some ways I think this will be harder on Tomi than on me because they'll keep me too busy to get lonely too often. Furthermore, many of my friends are going in with me. Barry is in the same unit along with about 30 other Stockton and Cal fellows. I won't be among strangers.

There is quite a hubub in Chicago about this call. There are at least from 150 to 180 Nisei being called to Fort Sheridan this week. The active duty call lists contain 30 names each and I have seen five different lists and suspect there must be another one. They called up over 50 in Poston to report on the 8th so that it looks as though there will be a new battalion. There are rumors galor. There are reports of a new Army camp in North Carolina--which I hope is true. There are rumors of the C.A.T.S. opening up for Nisei commissioned officers--which I hope is not true. There are rumors that all college men will be ordered to Fort Snelling--which I pray is not true. You probably suspected that I might try to make a study when I got in the Army. I'm not too sure yet because while I've done field work under extremely trying conditions--psychologically--I've never been anywhere where the physical strain was so great. If I do take notes I shall confine it to a very narrow problem--one of the four major problems in the study of rumor (not the same four in my thesis). I've tried (when I had time) to think through the one problem and I think I've got it to a point where I can verify or toss out specific hypotheses by making some rather simple observations. I might try something if I can take it physically. Naturally, I shall be glad to forward any information I might get to you if you feel that it might be of some value to the study. I plan to write letters to Tomi and to Blumer at regular intervals--Tomi every night or every other night, and Blumer every month or every other month. In this way I might be able to get the raw data out. Don't be too optimistic--I'm not.

When I got together with Blumer to have a bull session about this possible study I realized how much I was indebted to you--not only for letting me come out here but for all I have learned. When I was dictating my notes on Tule Lake for Frank I realized even more what I had learned. The T.L. journal reveals so many ~~inadequacies~~ inadequacies in field work. Time after time I recorded reports which I should have checked on--and which I have since learned to check on. So much of the work at T.L. was a hit or miss proposition that I don't think I was doing field work at all. Working on the Buddhist affair also taught me a ~~lot~~ lot. I don't consider myself a good field worker by any means but I think I can carry on a lot better than I did when I was in Berkeley.

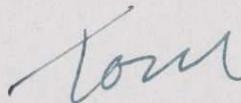
As I was filing away my notes I asked myself what I had contributed to the study which justified the salary that you paid me and I came to the sad conclusion that I had wasted a lot of funds. From my own point of view it was a profitable experience because I learned a lot of things-- not only about my subject matter but about getting along with people-- which I could not have learned otherwise, at least not right away; but I do have misgivings about not having produced much. I hope that some day I might be able to do some work that is really worthwhile so that all of your efforts and those of other members of the staff ~~new~~ will not have been in vain. Some of the lessons I learned while working for you I shall never forget. Some of the things you told me when I had personal difficulties in Tule Lake I'll probably carry with me all my life. As far as work is concerned, you will probably not believe it but I'm afraid that I shall be an empiricist, largely because of your continued criticisms.

This isn't really my swansong because we'll be writing again, but I do want to say that I appreciate everything that you have done. The sympathetic way in which you put up with me is something I shall always remember. Sometimes I may have gone off the beam but I think I understand now, and what I don't see now I feel I shall see some other time when I reflect over these past years. I just hope that everything that you have done will not have been in vain.

I'll keep in touch with you. Please give my very best regards to W.I. and please thank him for everything he has done. I certainly wish Morton a lot of luck wherever he is sent. The best of luck to ~~all~~ of you in the forthcoming conference. I'd appreciate hearing from you from time to time, and I'll write if something comes up.

Thanks again for everything.

Sincerely,



Other part of  
letter missing  
m. W.  
2/13/45

November 25, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Just a brief note to let you know that things are humley-dori & to wish you luck on your conference. Wish I were there with you people.

Army life is terrific. Our basic training doesn't start until Monday; so we haven't had any hard work other than carrying all our equipment (a good 100 pounds) every time we move. So far I have no licks; it wouldn't make any difference if I did because being makes no diff in this outfit. A lieutenant told us when we came in that we should take anything we are given & be thankful that we got as much as we did. We've only been in for a week & a half but we know the truth of that statement.

You probably know by now that we are in a new camp - new for Nisei. Not only are we (80 of us) the 1st yabboos here, but we have been split up & scattered among the others for training. The fellows came here expecting a segregated unit & were preparing to show

-2-

up the best soldiers when the orders came through. I doubt if there will be more than 6 Nisei in any single platoon (50 to 60 men). The guys were sure mad. esprit de corps was just developing. The racial pride of these guys is terrific.

So far we have had a marvelous opportunity for research. Plenty of time & plenty to record, but beginning Monday things will probably be different. This is about a typical bunch of yabbos as can be found anywhere - except for the absence of Kibei. These guys read the Tribune & hate kets, but they're a reasonable bunch of fellows. We are much older than the other drafties. Our average age must be around 22. Quite a few of the fellows are married. In educational background there is no comparison to these Southerners. When a non-com announced that high school graduates with an IQ of over 110 would probably go to Officers' Training

CC: Dr. Dorothy Thomas  
207 Gianini Hall  
Berkeley, Cal.

Mr. Thomas Shibutani  
12 Social Science Bldg.  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Tom:

Thank you very much for your letter of Nov. 6 and the enclosure which I considered an excellent report on the evacuee employee situation. As far as Curtiss Candy Co. is concerned, those of us here in the Personnel Department enjoyed reading it and found it helpful. I think your conclusions are sound and we are grateful to you for your service compiling this study.

I learned that you are going in the Army and want to wish you all success. If I can be of any further assistance to your successor, will you please tell him to contact Harry Mayeda or myself.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,  
CURTISS CANDY COMPANY

Elmer L. Shirrell  
Personnel Department

ELS:m

December 26, 1944

Dear Tom,

I was certainly delighted to get your long letter, which was forwarded to me in Salt Lake City. You know how hectic those conferences are, so you were, of-course not surprised at my delay in replying. Upon my return, I got the usual heavy cold: moral: never leave Berkeley, which has the perfect climate.

I was particularly interested in the reactions to non-segregation. I hope you will keep some notes on reactions to return to the Coast. Charlie reports very little interest in Chicago. Jimmy sends a detailed journal full of notes on the very mixed reactions of the Minidokans, many being unfavorable as you might surmise. One rumor that is going the rounds is that the reason for the relaxation of restrictions is that Japan is going to bomb the Coast. The Caucasian Christians are jubilant, but I feel a little sad about the whole thing.

The conference was a great success: according to Frank the most successful we have yet had. Now the need for further formal conferences has passed. Charlie is coming out here for a month, quite soon, and we will work together on the Chicago material. Jimmy and Dick will come about the first of March to finish up the project reports. Things will certainly be less hectic as far as I am concerned.

We had a quiet Christmas. Everyone is a little depressed, and celebrations seem out of place. We were distressed to note that Tomi's brother had been killed in action. Please convey our sympathy to her.

Virginia Faucher passed her written exams, and comes up for her orals soon. George Sabagh is just beginning to get his teeth into the economic segment of the Study. Margaret Bright is a full fledged instructor in rural sociology at the University of Missouri. I still don't have to teach, but we expect a considerable influx of students by July, so I guess my troubles will begin again then.

Let me hear from you soon. All here send regards. Morton leaves for the long-delayed Washington trip on January 15th.

Sincerely yours,