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MEMORANDUM ON A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM IN CHICAGO AND ST. LOUIS

Note:

This report is based upon very superficial observations in the two cities concerned. Only a limited number of individuals have been interviewed, and no effort has been made to check the generalizations. Consequently, no finality can be claimed for any of the statements contained in this report.

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Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Chicago, Illinois

Shibutani, 9/23/43

MEMORANDUM ON A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE RESETTLEMENT
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1. Introduction

The influx of the Japanese and their American-born children to the Mid-west has been, until recently, in such small numbers that we cannot speak of it in terms of waves of migration. The vanguard came many decades ago from the Pacific Coast and had long before the war made their homes in this area. After the attack on Pearl Harbor many migrated voluntarily in order to escape evacuation. During the fall of 1942 and early in 1943, a few more appeared in the area, most to attend schools. The migration in large numbers did not begin until the spring and summer of 1943 when the governmental policy became that of getting as many people out of relocation centers as possible.

The resettlement phase, or the last migration to the Mid-west, may be viewed, in a sense, as a fashion movement beginning in the various relocation centers. Among the Nisei there developed a certain amount of discontent, particularly after the registration, and gradually some of these discontents began to crystallize. The voluntary migration was, in a sense, a collective adjustment to the situation which was collectively defined as undesirable. Some Nisei came out with definite objectives in mind; others came simply because their friends came, and because leaving the project had become a fad.¹

1. See Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Robert E. Park, Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1939, Chapter XX, especially pp. 275-77.

Virtually all of the individuals involved in the last migration appeared in the Mid-west under somewhat similar circumstances. They were uprooted from the many ties, the mutual claims, and the chain of expectations of small Japanese communities on the Pacific Coast and found themselves in the impersonal atmosphere of the large cities. As might have been expected, similar problems have arisen in the various centers of secondary settlement.

And yet, in comparing the resettlement in St. Louis and Chicago one cannot help but noting some outstanding differences in the patterns of personal and social adjustments. Therefore, a comparative study of the two areas may prove extremely worthwhile in that it may be possible to isolate factors which would otherwise be undiscernible.

2. Resettlement of the Nisei in Chicago

General Characteristics

Chicago, as might be expected of any city with a population of almost four million people, is characterized by impersonal social relationships. Another factor which may prove of some significance is the existence of numerous racial colonies and latent hostility between the various groups. For example, one man remarked, "I don't mind American-Japs, but I hate the Jews, Chinks, and Niggers. The Irish are the worst of them all." The weather is poor in comparison to California, and there is a lack of housing and a crowding of other facilities because of the war-time changes in the economy of the city.²

2. For studies of the city of Chicago, see the various monographs published in the University of Chicago Sociological Series.

Most of the Nisei in Chicago are young, either in their late teens or their twenties. There are very few Issei in Chicago. It is difficult to say how many are living in the city, but it is estimated that there are between 2,000 and 3,000 present. There are no accurate statistics on the age of sex distribution nor of the educational or occupational background. The Nisei in Chicago are distributed in various occupations. Many of them have jobs far more lucrative than any they had ever held before. Many are finding for the first time in their lives jobs for which they have technical training. On the other hand, there are those who are simply moving from one menial task to another.

Although there are no definite areas of concentration in Chicago, many Nisei live in apartment homes and hotels on the near north-side and in apartments on the south-side in the vicinity of the University of Chicago. Others are living near the Jewish quarters on the west-side, and there are many who are scattered throughout the rest of the city. There are no definite social centers to which all Nisei can go.

There were originally about two hundred Japanese in Chicago area but the main influx began early in 1943 and hit its peak in early summer when an estimated 150 to 200 were arriving every week. By now this influx has dropped to almost a dribble. At first, there was no hostility towards the Nisei. Most of the natives, not knowing the difference between Nisei and other Oriental and being ignorant of the evacuation on the Pacific Coast, were indifferent. The first difficulty arose a few days after the announcement of the execution of the Tokyo flyers. A group of citizens in Marengo, a town nearby, protested the use of evacuee labor by the Curtiss Candy Company. An agreement was reached, however, and nothing more happened for a month.

During the summer, when a larger number of resettlers appeared in the city, two things occurred. A group of Hawaiian Nisei in the near north-side became involved in a brawl with a group of Filipino sailors and the incident was given unfavorable publicity, particularly by the Hearst paper. The Dies Committee hearings received much comment in the Chicago papers, especially in the Herald-American. It was about this time that several Nisei lost their jobs and their apartments.³

In general, the publicity has been unfavorable, although the Chicago Tribune has carried a series of sympathetic articles. The Chicago Sun has generally been favorable, and the Daily News and the Times have been neutral. The Hearst Herald-American has been the only paper that has been consistently agitating against the resettlement program.

There are three organizations that have been set up primarily for the purpose of assisting resettlers and a number of others which have been helping incidentally to their major function. The War Relocation Authority, headed by Elmer L. Shirrell, has a large staff to care for job placing, contacting unions, and to some extent, counselling and assisting in other ways. The American Friends Service Committee has also set up a special office in cooperation with the United Brethrens Church and have devoted much time to counselling Nisei and assisting them in finding housing. These two organizations are also operating hostels to provide temporary housing for the newcomers. The JAOL also has an office and is devoting its time, mainly, to public relations. Cooperating with these agencies is the Chicago

3. It would be difficult to attribute the hostility against the Nisei to the publicity given to the Dies hearings; however, it is interesting to note that these things happened at about the same time.

Federation of Churches which has set up a special committee to work on the problems of resettlement.

The local policy of the W.R.A. has been influenced greatly by the convictions of Mr. Shirrell. Having been a project director himself and being familiar with conditions in the center, Mr. Shirrell argues that anything, no matter how bad, is better than remaining in the project. His philosophy is, therefore, to get as many people as possible out and to do as much as he can to help them back to normal life. There is much opposition to "pampering", however, and the responsibility of the W.R.A. ends when assistance in initial adjustment has been given. An effort is made to shift the responsibility back to the resettler and put him "on his own".

Patterns of Personal Adjustment

Among the outstanding characteristics of personal adjustment among resettlers in Chicago are restlessness and discontent about almost everything. There are constant complaints about the lack of housing, about the poor quality of jobs, about the treatment in the various agencies, and about the lack of an adequate social life. There is much uncertainty about the future and a great fear of insecurity. One of the most noticeable characteristics is the extremely high occupational mobility. Many Nisei have given up their jobs for seemingly inadequate reasons and have often returned to the agencies in the quest of new positions. The one thing that many Nisei seem to be seeking is a job with high pay. One often hears the complaint that the living costs are so high that one cannot possibly live without a high income.

This high occupational mobility has led to the adoption by some employers of phrases such as "60-day Japs". At first this phenomenon

is difficult to understand, especially when we consider the fact that most Nisei, prior to evacuation, worked so diligently in menial tasks as to win high praise from even the most critical of employers. Why, then, should these same individuals drift from one job to another when these positions are often so much better than any that they had held before? For one thing, the Nisei have a new definition of the situation, i.e., of the relationship between their abilities and of the available jobs. They are well aware of the fact that manpower is scarce and that their labor is needed badly. They therefore conceive of themselves as being in a position to bargain whereas they had never been in a similar situation before. They therefore seek jobs that either pay well or which are consistent with the pursuit of certain life-goals that they had long harbored. Furthermore, in the various relocation centers, the Nisei were given an opportunity to do the kind of work for which they were trained. They were also exposed to a wider range of positions and gained experience in the types of work in which they had long been interested. Now, many are not interested in going back to the menial tasks of pre-war days. Finally, and perhaps most important, in the pre-evacuation communities, the employers were often Japanese--often friends of the employee's parents--and the pressures of the family and the community kept the individual from complaining, bargaining, or quitting. In Mid-west, without the community or the family to apply negative sanctions, the individuals are more free to do as they see fit. It is possible that the emancipation from the community controls is a crucial factor.

Possibly because of the size of the city there is a tendency among resettlers to form small social groups, or cliques, among their former friends or among friends that they made in the centers, with

little effort to seek any association with Caucasians. Small cliques spend their leisure time visiting each other, discussing their personal problems, and attending places of commercialized amusement together.

There seems to be a sense of impermanence about the stay in Chicago. There are some, to be sure, who like the city so much that they intend to remain after the war. But it seems that the majority still have a tendency toward orientation to the Pacific Coast. They still identify themselves as Californians or Northwesterners and still look to the Pacific Coast as their home. There is, furthermore, some talk about further migrations eastward, possibly to New York or to other points. There seems to be no identification of personal interests with Chicago, very little community pride, and a sense of being in the city temporarily until something better turns up. There seems to be no sense of belonging.

Another characteristic pattern of adjustment is the dependence upon the various agencies and upon the early resettlers for aid. Whenever a Nisei needs a job or is in some difficulty, he immediately runs to the W.R.A. or to the Friends Service Committee, not only to ask for assistance, but quite often to demand that the agencies solve their problems for them. According to the definition of the situation of many Nisei, the responsibility of the W.R.A. goes much further than that of assisting in the initial job placement and extends even to caring for minor personal problems, such as, inability to get dates.

Among the major problems as defined by resettlers are: (1) finding adequate housing, (2) getting a satisfactory job, and (3) combatting loneliness. Complaints about lack of social gatherings exclusively for Nisei are quite widespread. Some Nisei worry about adverse publicity in the various newspapers and many are worried about

resettling their parents. Some of the men are worried about the draft; others are worried about marriage; and a small minority are constantly agitating about integration into the Caucasian community.

Loneliness is a common complaint. It is not simply that the individuals do not have anyone to speak to. It is simply that the new community in which the individual lives has no meaning to him. The life-organization of many Nisei takes meaning only with reference to the type of community in which he was born and reared. His attitudes correspond to the values of the community, and his conceptions of himself, of his role, and of his career are with reference to a place in the Japanese community. If a Nisei wants to be a doctor, his conception of his career is not that of a man sacrificing for humanity in a hospital but rather of a successful general practitioner with an office in the second floor of a small building on Center Street, in the middle of the Japanese community. These conceptions are inter-related into a network, much of which loses meaning in the new community.

Another complaint is that of not having a home. The relocation center, where the remainder of the family is living, is not defined as home. As one Nisei remarked, "What I miss most of all is a place to go to at Christmas time." There is the sense of insecurity, of not belonging to anything, and of not having one's "feet on the ground."

There are many instances in personal disorganization, although individuals vary in degree. Among a number of individuals there is no overt manifestation and serious mental conflicts and yet, their lives seem to be meaningless and planless. When asked about their future careers, they reply that they have no plans and intend to "take things as they come." There is no systematic quest of any particular life goal. There is no definite conception of a career; there is no defi-

nite conception of the role that the individual is playing in the community. Many are living a day-to-day existence.⁴ Instances of street walking have been reported, and there are some who seem to be almost chronic drunks. As one resettler remarked, "When you walk into a nice restaurant as Eitel's or Gimbel's, you don't see a single 'Boochie', but any time you go to a pool hall, a burlesque, a bar, or a gambling den you're sure to see at least a couple."

Patterns of Social Adjustment

Actually it is very difficult for any nisei in Chicago to have a definite conception of himself, of his role or of his career. The resettlers came to Chicago, accustomed to certain chains of mutual claims and expectations, such as those which existed in the Japanese communities and in his relations to Caucasians. On the other hand, most Chicagoans had no routine expectations of behavior toward Orientals and consequently neither knew exactly what to anticipate of the other. Some Nisei were surprised that they had not been discriminated against more often. On the other hand, some have received rebuffs in situations which would have gone over smoothly on the Pacific Coast. In brief, there has been no crystallization of expectations on the part of either Nisei or the Caucasian public and as yet no etiquette of race relations has developed as it has in the case of Negroes. Gradually, as the resettlement program went on, and especially after the unfavorable publicity, more Chicagoans became aware of the increasing number of Japanese in their midst. Some hostile attitudes developed but, on the whole, the treatment received by the Nisei has

4. For a discussion of similar phenomena see the treatment given to the concepts of Emile Durkheim (*Le Suicide*) and Maurice Halbwachs (*Les Causes du Suicide*) in Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, New York, Macmillan, 1933.

depended upon the individual Caucasian.⁵

Several of the organized groups that have already been mentioned have been quite active in assisting the adjustment of the Nisei. The Chicago Church Federation, with the assistance of a number of evacuee ministers, has started a program of "counselling for integration". The ministers in the already established churches have been contacted and in each area where the Nisei have settled, some ministers have been persuaded to go out of his way to invite the newcomers to his church. Other ministers have been more active and have actually sought out individuals with whom they could talk over various problems. Numerous conflicts have developed within the organization, especially between those who believe that the Nisei should be pushed to integrate into the general community regardless of what effects it may have upon the personality of the individuals involved, and those who feel that personal adjustment and the happiness of the individuals is far more important than "assimilation".

Two groups began working on a comprehensive program for the integration of Nisei into the Caucasian community. Early in the summer two J.A.C.L. men came forth with a proposal based upon the assumption that most Nisei were incapable of meeting Caucasians without some preliminary training and advice. They therefore proposed a program including a "transitional group" composed entirely of Nisei in which the individuals were to receive instructions on how to get along with Caucasians. From this point it was proposed that integration take place. Since many objected that once the Nisei got into the "transitional group", they would never leave it, the plans has been tempo-

5. The conceptual framework used is based upon the development by Robert E. Park of certain notions of Max Weber (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft). See Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1924.

rarily dropped.

The second plan has been developed largely by Ralph Smelzer, director of the Brethren's hostel, who no doubt, means well in his work but who has offended many Nisei by his curt mannerisms. Smelzer's plan works in with the plan of the Church Federation, and the intention is to integrate the Nisei through various religious groups and through cooperation with the Chicago Park Commission.

Among other groups interested in the welfare of the resettlers is the Hyde Park Committee for Assistance to Resettlers with its headquarters at the International House. This group has met from time to time but has done nothing more than have a tea attended by about 70 or 80 Nisei and listen to reports of visitations made by various members of the committee. This group is also closely tied with the Church Federation.

As one might expect among a group of individuals in a city as large as Chicago, there has been some difficulty in getting the group together. There is not sufficient effective communication as yet for a Nisei society.⁶ There is, to some extent, some identification on the part of Nisei to each other and an awareness of the fact that there are certain problems which are common to all resettlers. However, there is not sufficient communication between the members of the society for the possibility of crystallization of this awareness or any collective adjustment to the collectively defined problem.

In brief, therefore, the resettlement in Chicago is characterized by restlessness, discontent, high occupational mobility, a sense of impermanence and dependency. The Nisei are also having difficulty in

6. We are arbitrarily defining "society" as an aggregation of individuals whose meaningful social relationships take place within a closed group.

finding their status in the community. Since they have been uprooted from a stable community in which they had a definite place, they are now having difficulty in trying to get a conception of their present status in the new community where their position is as yet undefined and where they are unable to anticipate the behavior of others. We have, as yet, nothing more than random behavior and there is as yet, not sufficient communication for any collective adjustments.

Among the various voluntary associations involved in assisting the resettlement program there is a constant conflict between those who feel that the getting together of large numbers of Nisei should be avoided at all costs, and those who fear that the individuals will become personally disorganized unless they have some association with other members of their group. In spite of the many efforts to find a place for the resettlers, on the whole, only those individuals who have shown initiative and those who have been fortunate in their contacts have gone ahead to make a place for themselves.

3. Resettlement of the Nisei in St. Louis

General Characteristics

St. Louis is a city with a population from 800,000 to 950,000 with the primary economic institutions of transportation and industry. Its weather is very much like that of Chicago because of its proximity to the Mississippi River. Unlike Chicago, however, there is a much greater degree of friendliness in the inter-personal relationship between individuals and a much greater sense of community pride and identification with the community on the part of the people. As a Southern state, the people have a traditional attitude toward the Negro. In contrast to Chicago, the churches and the Y.M.C.A. have

considerable influence in the community. Finally, there is not Hearst paper in St. Louis.

A large number of the Nisei resettlers in St. Louis are students. Perhaps one-third to one-half of those living in St. Louis and the suburbs are attending Washington University, St. Louis University, or one of the affiliated technical schools. It is estimated that there are between 200 and 250 Nisei in St. Louis proper plus about 80 who are working in the nearby farms, especially in Chesterfield. There are a number of girls in domestic work in various suburbs who are somewhat isolated from the remainder of the population. The social center seems to be Washington University and almost everyone in the area, with the exception of those working on the farms, knows or is related to someone attending the university.

There were originally very few Japanese in St. Louis. It is believed that there were four families there before the war. In September, 1942, the vanguard of the migration, a few students who had been accepted at Washington University, arrived in the city. These individuals, in cooperation with Mr. Arno Haack of the University Y.M.C.A., worked diligently to pave the way for those to follow. Public discussions were held and the few Nisei who were there filled many speaking engagements; were interviewed by newspaper reporters; and were given favorable publicity. There has been but one unfavorable editorial in all the newspapers in St. Louis combined, and upon that occasion Mr. Haack succeeded in getting an immediate change of policy. Mr. Haack also succeeded in getting the cooperation of the St. Louis Church Federation, and several other organizations have been formed to help the resettlers in being accepted in the community.

Among the high points in the history of the resettlement in St. Louis was the very sympathetic speech given by Supreme Court Justice

Rutledge in the Spring of 1943. Much publicity was given to his speech, and the evacuees are of the opinion that the talk of the great jurist was an important factor in the acceptance of Nisei.

The War Relocation Authority office consists of Mr. Kennedy, the field director, two Caucasian assistants and a Nisei stenographer. The major activity of the W.R.A. has been that of job placement; housing has been handled by Mr. Haack and his organization. Mr. Kennedy's philosophy is to get only as many resettlers into the area as can be placed in good jobs. He feels that the responsibility of the W.R.A. ends when the person is placed in his first job. Actually, therefore, Mr. Haack and his group have been far more active in assisting in the adjustment of the resettlers.⁷

Personal Adjustment

There seems to be relative satisfaction on the part of the resettlers, even among those with comparatively menial jobs. The Nisei in St. Louis seem to be aware of the fact that there are better jobs in Chicago but there seems to be little desire on their part to leave. Only a few Nisei have good jobs, jobs for which they were trained, and yet there seems to be a relatively low occupational mobility. This is not to say that there is no discontent, but in contrast to Chicago far more individuals seem to be satisfied with their positions.

Another characteristic pattern of adjustment is the formation of cliques among the Nisei. For example, a group of students from the University of California stay among themselves most of the time. Possibly because of the large student population there seems to be more

7. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to speak to Mr. Kennedy and all information about the W.R.A. is second-hand and subject to checking.

effort on the part of some individuals to mix with Caucasians. Some of the men speak with considerable pride about taking Caucasian girls out on date.

There is, to some extent, a tendency to identify themselves to St. Louis. The resettlers point to various points in the city to their visitors with considerable pride. Many of the resettlers, especially the students, say that they like the city and intend to stay. Many of them state openly that they do not want better jobs elsewhere.

1. Yoshio Ota (21) had just finished training in a welding school. He did not have any job and wanted one very badly because his finances were running low. He said, "I need a job very badly but I want to look in St. Louis first. If it's just impossible to get work here, I guess I'll try Chicago. I know of a job up there where I could get about \$1.50 an hour, but tomorrow I'm going to see a man about a job here." On the following day Yoshio got a job paying 85 cents an hour. He remarked, "I'm glad that I can stay here in St. Louis. Chicago is a helluva place. I know that I'm not getting paid as much but I just like the town and I want to stay here."⁸

2. Bill Sato (22) had just been offered a job in Albion, Michigan, as a recreation leader for \$80 a month plus room and board and free training. He consulted Mr. Haack and a number of his friends and had considerable difficulty in making up his mind. He felt that the job was a good one since it would ordinarily call for a man with considerably more training than he had had. One of his points was, "I just hate to leave St. Louis. I've many so many nice friends here and I don't want to go away and leave them."⁹

There is to some extent an orientation to the Pacific Coast but on the other hand, there seems to be developing a sense of having vested interests. There seems to be some agreement among the nisei that the zoot suit boys should not be allowed to come to St. Louis. This feeling seems to imply that the individuals are relatively satisfied and do not want the present status menaced by the presence of irresponsible nisei.

3. Kaz Inouye (21), when asked about zoot-suiters, replied, "If those god damn bastards come in here, we're gonna get together and run them out of here. We don't want those bums messing around. The hakujiin will get to thinking we're

8. Field notes, Sept. 11 and 13, 1943.

9. Field notes, Sept. 10, 1943.

all bums."¹⁰

4. George Tenma (27) had just returned from a date where he had learned that his fiancée had quit her job as a domestic. "There was nothing wrong; she just quit. She's too young and doesn't realize her responsibility. When I found out I called up her boss and apologized. I said, "Well, Mr. Besig, I guess you hate all Japs now, don't you?" He said, "No!" I really felt better. I don't give a damn if she is my girl; I don't want her messing up anybody else's chances."¹¹

There is considerable dependence upon Mr. Haack, known as "Arno" by the Nisei, and upon Nisei friends for assistance in adjustment. Very few Nisei go to the W.R.A. for assistance. The W.R.A. office is used simply to get leads on jobs, but all housing and personal problems are taken to "Arno" who is much more highly respected by the resettlers. Most people seem to have a low opinion of Mr. Kennedy, and the feeling seems to be that the job is too big for the man.

Mr. Haack feels that housing is the major problem of the Nisei. It is not so much a problem of discrimination as the fact that there are very few furnished apartments for rent. Houses and unfurnished apartments are available, but furnished apartments have always been scarce in St. Louis. Even Army officers and their families are having difficulties in finding adequate housing quarters.¹² In general, the Nisei seem to accept the situation and there does not seem to be the bitterness that exists in Chicago about inadequate facilities. As one Nisei remarked, "Shikata ga nai".¹³

Another major concern of the Nisei, particularly the male students, is the draft. There are many rumors about when the draft is coming and what branches of service will be opened. Many individuals seem to be making their plans on the assumption that the draft will

10. Field notes, Sept. 12, 1943.

11. Field notes, Sept. 13, 1943.

12. Field notes, Sept. 11, 1943.

13. It can't be helped.

not come. They argue that the Army could not draft Nisei because it would not be "fair" after all that had happened. In general, however, it seems that there is considerable concern over the matter.

Among the other problems that seem to be concerning the Nisei are those of what to do after the war and of resettling parents. There is some indecision about having Issei out in the community, but there seems to be an awareness of what might happen if their parents were caught in the centers at the end of the war.

Patterns of Social Adjustment

It seems that on the whole the Nisei have been accepted by the white population as non-Negro. At first when the expectations were not set, no one was certain as to what to do. One Nisei confessed that for some time he was a bit hesitant about attending a movie because he heard that Negroes were not allowed to go. There was some hesitation about going to good restaurants because there had been rumors of discrimination on the Pacific Coast. In fact, the Nisei expected to be discriminated against in much the same manner that they had been treated on the Pacific Coast and seem to be quite surprised and pleased by the more or less indifferent attitude of the people of St. Louis. During the early stages, however, there were some problems. This incident took place before the expectation had become crystallized.

5. Arthur Ono (22), a student at the Washington University, was taking a picture of the smokestack on the campus, not knowing that a cyclotron was beneath it and was promptly arrested by the local police. As he was being booked at the jail the police sergeant came to the question, "Colored or White" and was so perplexed that he left the question blank. The policeman was later reprimanded by his superior and asked the officer, "Well, what is he, colored or white?" The question was left blank.¹⁴

By this time, the Nisei seem to be accepted as White and there has been no effort to set up another category although rumors are

14. Field notes, Sept. 12, 1943.

current in the community that efforts are being made in some Southern states to have separate seating quarters in trains for the Japanese. There seems to be some concern among the leaders of the community of this form of discrimination. It seems that in general the Nisei have accepted the general White attitude toward the Negro although one often hears Nisei saying that they are "sorry for the Niggers", or that "the Niggers sure have a tough time". There seems to be no awareness on the part of most Nisei of any relationship whatsoever between the problem of the Negro and their own difficulties. There is no identification or feelings of a common cause between the two groups.

Many Nisei admit that they are still ill at ease in the presence of Caucasians and state that they do not date White people, not because they are afraid to ask but because they do not know what to do. On the whole, however, resettlers seem quite satisfied if they could attend night clubs, restaurants, and theatres where Negroes are barred and could even go to places where they could not go in California.

There are many organizations that have been set up primarily for the assistance of resettlers, and even more organizations have assisted incidentally to their larger program. The major organization is the Inter-American group, sponsored by the Christ Church of St. Louis. Its major function is to provide recreation for the resettlers. At one time there was under consideration a plan of coordinating the handling of housing, job placement, social affairs, and news under this group but because of disagreements with the W.R.A. and other organizations and because of the lack of funds the plan did not come through. This group, in cooperation with the Church Federation, tried to build a hostel but the W.R.A. refused to cooperate and the

Friends Service Committee was unable to allocate enough money to carry on the plan. Finally, the W.R.A. took the function of job placement and the Church Federation, in cooperation with the Y.M.C.A., took the job of housing, and the Inter-American group was left with the job of recreational work. Consequently, every Saturday night a social is sponsored by this group. Plans for a news-sheet have been considered but thus far, nothing has been done.

Besides the Church Federation, the Inter-American group and the W.R.A., the groups helping resettlers are the campus Y.M.C.A., the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Quakers, and the Third Baptist Church. The Campus Y.M.C.A. is functioning mostly for Nisei students. A Cosmopolitan Club has been formed and has sponsored picnics and swimming parties. The F.O.R. has given dinners and parties for Nisei in the past but at present is comparatively inactive. The Quaker group is interested more in "the exchange of ideas" and has sponsored intellectual discussions. The Third Baptist Church, through the Baptist Students Association, has provided opportunities for the Nisei to meet Caucasians.

The one event which draws Nisei from the entire area is the social given by the Inter-American club. It began several months ago when Dr. and Mrs. Ed Nakata, who were active in the Episcopal church, had a conference with Miss Phillips of the religious group about the lack of a social life for the Nisei. The two took the matter to the bishop and the latter agreed upon a program and gave the Inter-American club the church building for every Saturday night. A steering committee of Negroes, Caucasians and Nisei was formed and a cabinet to take care of arrangements was appointed. Among the most active members were some Austrian refugees. When the program first began there were approximately equal number of Caucasians, Negroes

the W.R.A. re

and Nisei, but perhaps because the Nisei did not mix with others, the number of Negroes and Caucasians attending gradually declined. It soon became almost a purely Nisei social, and those Caucasians and Negroes who did come very seldom appeared again.

6. On the third floor of the Christ Church Cathedral a few Nisei and Caucasians began to gather about 8:30. Four Caucasians who had apparently never come before, tried their best to mingle with the Nisei who were present but did not seem to have much success. Small groups of Nisei were standing along the sides of the huge dance floor while a phonograph was playing. About 9 o'clock games of bridge and ping-pong began with each group remaining very much to itself. About 10 girls arrived and they likewise remained among themselves. By 10 o'clock there were approximately 50 nisei present, about 20 were girls. There were four Negroes and six Caucasians. About 10:30 the dancing began, and a group of about 20 nisei and one Negro girl danced for about half an hour. Some of the members of the committee kept moving from one circle to another complaining that there was not sufficient mixing and made efforts to introduce the newcomers. Some of the people went downstairs to swim, but most of the people either stood in a group and talked, got into a bridge game, or played ping-pong with their friends. The four Negroes remained very much to themselves as did five of the six Caucasians. The other Caucasian man was on the steering committee and was therefore very active. When asked why they came to the party, some of the newcomers stated that they were simply curious to know what it was all about because they had heard so much about it. Some people brought their friends who were visiting in the city. A group of individuals from Southern California monopolized one card table while another from the University of California in Berkeley monopolized another. Aside from the chatter in the conversation, nothing more happened. Most of the people present seemed quite happy, and people went home in groups when the lights were turned out at 11 o'clock.¹⁵

It seems, in general, that in spite of the excellent communication among the individuals, there is no Nisei society in the sense that there is a social structure of its own. The Nisei of St. Louis seem to have found a place for themselves in the larger society. The students had little difficulty in playing their roles, nor did the domestics. Since there had been much publicity on the resettlement program, it would seem that the people of St. Louis are either in-

15. Field notes, Sept. 10, 1943.

different to Nisei or are quite sympathetic in their attitude. It would seem, therefore, that the lack of unfavorable publicity and the abundance of favorable publicity may have had considerable effect upon the patterns of adjustment.

It is quite conceivable that some sort of Nisei society may be in formation. The communication is effective, for Washington University is the center of Nisei activity. The Saturday night socials also provide an excellent media of ideas and news. One person estimated that if an attractive girl came to the city, most people would know about it in about three days and at the end of one week virtually everyone would have heard the news.¹⁶

The formation of a Nisei community is strongly opposed by all persons concerned. The governmental and religious bodies are unanimous and even the Nisei are agreed in principle that there should be no Japanese community in St. Louis. There is a systematic effort on the part of organized group to house individuals in such a manner that they cannot get together too often, but frequent gatherings and socials are not only sanctioned by encouraged.

There seems to be to some extent an awareness of certain common problems and of the fact that all evacuees are "in the same frying pan". There is to some extent an identification with each part on the part of resettlers and an in-group feeling. There are some complaints about the snobbishness of some girls who refuse to speak to others unless formally introduced. As one person remarked, "After all, we are all Nisei and we shouldn't be that way to each other." Some individuals attach a prestige value to having "hakuji" friends. Most Nisei know a number of Caucasians, but there is among the majority of individuals a much greater identification with fellow resettlers.

16. Field notes, Sept. 10, 1943.

The leadership among Nisei seems to be excellent, and the resettlers are together often enough for the leadership to develop. On the whole, leaders of the nisei community are students, and they are leaders in the sense not so much that they can influence the behavior of their fellow Nisei but in the sense that they are respected as good speakers and for their ability to make good impressions upon the Caucasians.

Aside from the Washington University campus and the Saturday night socials, the downtown Y.M.C.A. seems to be developing into a Nisei social center. There are about a dozen Nisei living at the hotel and a group working in the basement. These individuals quite often bring their friends and gather at the social.

It seems that the initial adjustment to the life in St. Louis on the part of most resettlers is facilitated by the activities of friends who had gone before. Most Nisei are attending school, although there is some discontent about the low calibre of the schools that are open and about not being allowed full credit for their work. In leisure time many Nisei go for cruises on "The Admiral", a streamlined riverboat, providing a variety of entertainment. They also attend big league baseball games, theatres, dances, nightclubs, go bowling and spend some time visiting their friends. Most of the associations are either in churches, the Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. groups, school groups, work groups, groups who live together, and those who had originally lived together in other localities. Those who have gained prestige in the Nisei community are those who have taken the lead in conferences with Caucasians on the Nisei problem and who have taken an active part in the various organizations. Prestige among the Nisei, is therefore, not dependent upon the size of income alone but upon factors as well. Naturally the past status and traditional status, as in the

case of professional men, has been of some importance.

4. Comparison of Patterns of Adjustment

There is great difference in the size of the two cities, and Chicago is characterized by a much greater degree of impersonality and anonymity than St. Louis. Chicago has many racial colonies; whereas in St. Louis only the Negroes are segregated. The scarcity of housing and other facilities is common to both areas. There are probably about ten times as many Nisei in Chicago than there are in St. Louis, and most of them are gainfully employed. A high proportion of Nisei in St. Louis are students. The few Nisei who are in St. Louis are much better scattered throughout the city than are the resettlers in Chicago.

There seems to be a fundamental difference in the policies of the local W.R.A. offices. The policy in Chicago is to get as many people out of the centers as possible; whereas the policy in St. Louis is to get only a few out and to do a good job of placement with them. This may be of some importance in the long run.

There is much more restlessness and discontent among the resettlers in Chicago; mobility is high. The Nisei in St. Louis are much more stable and are more attached to the city. There is discontent in St. Louis, but there is far less complaining. In Chicago there is much dependency on the W.R.A. and the Friends Service Committee, but in St. Louis personal problems are taken to Arno Haack.

In both St. Louis and Chicago, there is the formation of small cliques, but in St. Louis there is more effort to mix with Caucasians, possibly because of the large student population. There are far more complaints about loneliness in Chicago. Housing, finding

suitable jobs, resettling parents, the draft, and marriage are of concern to resettlers in both areas.

One point that must be considered is the fact that in St. Louis almost all the publicity has been favorable; whereas in Chicago much of it has been unfavorable. Consequently, in Chicago, people are on the whole either indifferent or hostile. This is not the case in St. Louis.

Socials of any kind are definitely opposed by the W.R.A. and other agencies in Chicago; whereas in St. Louis the Saturday night parties are sanctioned. With Washington University as a center, communications are far more effective among the resettlers in St. Louis, although this is to be expected because of the smaller size of the city.

The mutual expectations of the Whites and the Nisei of the behavior of each other is beginning to set in St. Louis. Nisei are treated as non-Negro. Chicago is much too large and the expectations have not crystallized as yet. Many are unaware of the presence of American-Japanese in the area, and by and large the people are indifferent. Job-seekers frequently meet rebuffs, but very few serious incidents have occurred in the streets. Much still depends upon the individuals concerned.

There are more organized groups in Chicago seeking to assist the Nisei, but those in St. Louis seem to be more active and have been more successful in carrying out their programs. The groups in Chicago have done nothing more than draw up "blueprints of salvation"; whereas the groups in St. Louis have been active in providing a social life for the Nisei and in trying to keep public opinion favorable to resettlement.

Because of the large number of students and domestics in St.

Louis, the resettlers have been more successful in defining their status in the new community. Their acceptance has probably been facilitated by the fact that the Y.M.C.A. and the church groups are more powerful in St. Louis than in Chicago. Finally, one cannot omit mention of Mr. Haack who has worked indefatigably to assist in every way possible. Because of these and a combination of other factors the resettlement program in St. Louis seems to be characterized by less conflict than that in Chicago.

5. Problems for Study in the Two Areas

Problems for Study in Both Areas

1. What is the effect of the evacuation and resettlement crisis upon the personal organization of the individual, upon his conceptions of himself, of his role, and of his career? If these conceptions have changed, how have they changed and what factors seem to be of importance in the formation of the new conceptions?
2. How may we account for the higher occupational mobility of the Nisei as contrasted to their behavior before the war? Is there any significant change in their definition of the situation? What other factors might be of importance in explaining this change?
3. Are there any common patterns of adjustment which are discernible over a period of time in the successive crises that have occurred throughout the life history of the individual? How do these common patterns manifest themselves in the adjustment to evacuation and resettlement?
4. What are the major difficulties confronting the individual resettler? How does he conceive of these difficulties and what efforts does he make to solve them?
5. To what extent are the nature of personal adjustments made influenced by dramatic experiences in the area of resettlement? or How effective are rumors of discriminatory treatment?
6. How effective are the communications between the various resettlers? Are the facilities for communication sufficient to allow for a collective definition of common problems and a possible collective adjustment?
7. How are the expectations and anticipations with which an

individual comes to a community affected by his experiences? In what form do the mutual expectations of the individual resettler and the Caucasian population crystallize. What role is assigned to the resettler? What role is accepted by the resettler?

8. Is there any identification of the resettler with each other as an in-group? How does the solidarity of the group begin and how is it perpetuated or weakened? Awareness of a common problem? Leadership? Symbols?
9. Is there any social stratification among the resettlers? To what extent do traditions influence this stratification? Who are the leaders of the new community? What are the characteristics of the leaders?
10. What kind of voluntary associations are formed among the resettlers? (see questions in outlines for study of groups).
11. To what extent are the institutions and understandings common on the Pacific Coast perpetuated in the areas of secondary settlement? Who supports these institutions and who opposes them?

Problems for Comparative Study

1. What effect does the size of city, facilities for effective communication, the degree of anonymity and impersonality, types of economy and occupational opportunity, and the number and nature of places of amusement have upon the patterns of personal and social adjustment in resettlement?
2. What effect does the type of publicity in the local newspapers have upon the patterns of adjustment of the resettlers? What effect is there discernible in community acceptance? What effect does leadership have?
3. What factors other than the size of the city makes a difference in the patterns of adjustment? The existence of organized groups? Interested individuals?
4. What effect does the size of the Nisei population have upon the patterns of adjustment? Is numerical strength or effective communication more important in giving rise to a Nisei society? What other factors facilitate the rise of a Nisei society?
5. How is the redefinition of status influenced by the nature of community acceptance? What place does the Nisei occupy in the respective communities? What factors account for differences in the nature of the final patterns of expectations that become crystallized?

6. Is there any relationship between the existence of sanctioned socials and complaints of loneliness on the part of the resettlers?
7. What effect do differences in the local policies of the governmental and religious agencies have upon the patterns of adjustment?