JAPANESE AMERICAN SERVICE COMMITTEE

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FINAL REPORT

OF

SPECIAL STUDY COMMITTEE

Daniel K. Kuzuhara, Chairman Janet P. Murray, Consultant

December 15, 1961

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PART II

THE JASC IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY

The second part of the study was designed to assess the attitudes of Japanese Americans and representatives of organizations (both Japanese and non-Japanese) toward the Japanese American Service Committee in terms of the need for its services; and to explore the programs of other agencies and organizations to determine whether there are other resources which could as effectively serve the people now coming to the agency. This involved the following steps:

- l. A survey of 12 organizations serving Japanese Americans, conducted by members of the Study Committee.
- 2. Interviews by the consultant with 14 key persons in the Japanese American community.
- 3. Interviews by the consultant with staff members of 12 non-Japanese social agencies.

Division of Responsibilities

To fully understand the findings from the survey and the interviews with individuals, it is necessary to know the thinking that went into the establishment of the JASC and how it differs from three other organizations—the Japanese American Citizens League (commonly known as the "JACL"), the Japanese Mutual Aid Society of Chicago (usually called "Mutual Aid"), and the Japanese American Council (the "JA Council"). There is a clear-cut division of responsibility between these organizations.

The Japanese American Citizens League is a national organization established in 1930 by American citizens of Japanese descent to promote the welfare of Japanese Americans. It is a civic, social and educational organization. For many years it carried on an intensive public relations and social action program to correct many of the discriminatory features contained in our federal immigration and naturalization laws. Through its program and activities members were encouraged to exercise their civic and community responsibilities within the

Japanese group, and in the community at large the members promoted better understanding of Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The Mdwest Regional Office of the JACL is located in Chicago, and until 1952 had a full-time director and secretary on its staff. Since 1952 the office has been maintained by a full-time secretary. The regional office serves eight chapters located in Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin, comprising the Midwest District Council.

The Chicago chapter maintains its headquarters in the regional office, but has no staff. Its entire program is carried out by volunteers. The Issei - until 1952 when they became eligible for American citizenship - were not able to join the JACL, which required its members to be American citizens. Some Issei are now members, but the leadership is Nisei.

The lines of responsibility between the JASC and JACL are clearly defined. While the regional JACL lists services as referrals on employment, housing, naturalization and immigration, in practice most requests for these services are referred to the JASC where there is staff to handle these problems. However, incidents and problems of discrimination are usually referred to the local JACL. The naturalization classes conducted at the JASC have been jointly sponsored by the JACL and JASC.

The Mitual Aid Society is responsible for securing burial plots (there is still discrimination against orientals) and making funeral arrangements for deceased individuals without surviving relatives. This work, carried on by volunteers, is financed by individual membership contributions. There is a close working relationship between Mutual Aid and the JASC.

The Japanese American Council was set up to provide a channel through which community-wide projects that require the coordination or cooperation of all Japanese American organizations could be organized. It is somewhat loosely made up of the representatives of 42 organizations. It meets on

call. It has no staff, and looks to JASC to furnish staff services to implement its projects. The director of JASC frequently is asked to handle much of the mechanisms of programming. In effect, he staffs the projects and the office does the secretarial work required.

This division of responsibility between these four organizations is not accidental. It has been developed deliberately along functional lines which are best adapted to meet the varying needs of the Japanese American community here in Chicago. The pattern is quite different from that of Japanese communities in other cities.

In 1943, when the leaders saw that an intensive program must be set up to assist families pouring into the Chicago area from the wartime relocation centers, JACL, being the only existing Japanese American organization, accepted the responsibility for the program and for a period of time, cooperating with the War Relocation Office, assisted resettlers find housing, jobs and friends. The Chicago Buddhist Church assisted many persons in the same way during this time.

When it became apparent that the need and demand for services were not adequately being provided by the existing organizations* a group of concerned individuals, citizens and non-citizens, from within and outside the Japanese community, organized itself to plan for the social welfare of the resettlers which eventually exceeded 25,000.

^{*} Coupled by the fact that there was some serious question regarding JACL's ability to reach and serve all Japanese arising out of two unfortunate stigmas it was then carrying as an organization, namely the feeling of rejection or resentment among Issei due to JACL's membership policy which excludes non-citizens, and a tragic misunderstanding which developed prior to evacuation around which many people placed the responsibility and blame for the evacuation and relocation on the JACL.

The organizers saw a need for a non-partisan agency not identified with any one group or any of the previously established organizations.

The board of the new organization, then known as the Chicago Resettlers Committee, was composed of both Issei and Nisei. For the first time both generations sat down together to plan for the welfare of their own people, supported by an advisory board composed of Chicago's leading and prominent citizens. The board members were drawn from different groups to assure a broad cross-section of thinking and point of view, but they served on the board as individuals, not as official representatives of their groups. The strength of the board has been equally divided between the Issei and Nisei to assure cooperation. This unwritten policy has been maintained to this day, This arrangement contributed greatly toward maintaining communication between the agency and the two communities, the Japanese and the public at large.

Many of the social, recreational and educational groups organized by JASC are now either affiliate groups or completely autonomous organizations. These groups have appointed official representatives to sit in on board meetings to maintain the group's relationship to the parent organization (i.e. The Society of Fine Arts, Hawaiian Club, Cosmo Club).

It was realized that there were times when official representatives of organizations should be called together in order to work on community-wide projects. In some instances the purpose was to coordinate the joint efforts of these organizations, and in others, to seek their cooperation. Having carefully established JASC without official ties or responsibility to other organizations, the leaders did not want to upset the independent status of JASC by having it take on this different function. It was felt wiser to set up the Japanese American Council, of which JASC would be a member. Sometimes the projects are sponsored by the Council, at other times special committees are appointed and the project is carried out under the name of the project committee. Whatever the sponsorship, this functional

organization enables the Japanese Americans to organize around causes or special events that are very important to the community as a whole.

The relationship of JASC to the JA Council is very similar to that of a local neighborhood council where the staff and board members give leadership and are participating members, and also implement the program by furnishing staff services to carry out the mechanics of various projects.

THE JASC AS SEEN BY THE JAPANESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Since the information from the survey of organizations and interviews with leaders in the Japanese American community supplement each other, the findings from these are combined for purposes of simplification and clarity.

Among the organizations included in the survey were nine churches, the Nisei Post of the American Legion and Olivet Community Center. The interviews were conducted by members of the Study Committee. The interviewers used a questionnaire designed to secure the following information and opinions:

- l. What services do these agencies provide? Is there any duplication of JASC services?
- 2. What services, in their opinion, should JASC continue?
- 3. Are there unmet needs? If so, how should these be met? Should JASC set up any new services?
- 4. Do they consider JASC services to be important to the community?
- 5. How accurate is the public understanding of the JASC program? How do they receive information about the services?

Following the completion of this survey, the consultant interviewed 14 additional persons who were known to be leaders in different segments of the community and to have differing points of view. This sampling included those closely identified with JASC and others who had slight, or no present contact with the agency; persons who were said to question the present program as well as those believed to be convinced of its importance; and individuals whose primary allegiance was to other organizations.

A clear-cut picture emerged of the JASC as the nonsectarian organization of the community, performing those functions which cannot be performed by any other organization. At times it is called the "catch-all" for various problems -- in the positive sense that it is the referral center of the Japanese American community to which any kind of problem or question can be referred when the sender cannot meet the need of the person asking help. The attitude is, "They (JASC) will know what to do, or will find out what should be done." It is known as the agency with wide knowledge of varied Chicago resources. Also, its building is seen as a kind of Japanese American community center where groups needing a meeting place can secure space. It is the organization to which the community can turn when staff help is needed on community-wide projects.

It was the opinion of most persons interviewed that should JASC be eliminated, some other organization would have to be formed to take its place. This organization might be somewhat different, depending upon how it was financed, but the kind of services JASC now provides are considered essential, and would have to be maintained somehow.

Services to Individuals

Most persons who were interviewed, both those in organizations and the individuals seen by the consultant, consider the services to individuals to be the most important part of the program at present. Within this category is included counseling and referrals on personal problems, information and referral services on employment, housing, naturalization and immigration.

Practically all consider the counseling on personal problems to be acceptial. They refer particularly to the necessity of maintaining these services for the war brides and Issei. A few believe these services should be enlarged. The ministers of the churches do counseling for their own members and, in some instances, for non-members who request it. A few who know the Chicago resources are able to refer people directly to these when the need is indicated, or call the Community Referral Service for advice. Most of the ministers, however, depend on JASC as the resource to which they refer people. They have confidence gained from previous experiences that the JASC staff either possesses the knowledge to be helpful, or can be resourceful in steering the person to an appropriate agency. The JACL, although it lists information and referral services as part of its program, refers a great number of such matters directly to the JASC. The Japanese Consulate also refers personal problems "that are too intimate" or those which require the help of other social agencies in Chicago.

A specific set of questions were presented to the organizations regarding employment and vocational counseling problems. It was reported that, on the whole, few "problems" were encountered in this area. In reality, this appeared to be a reflection of their readily disposing of such problems with the JASC as the place to which they send people who do need jobs or special help. "The service is excellent." "It definitely fills a need, especially for Issei." "It is a useful source of employment for war brides." There was recognition, too, that persons with adjustment problems were helped. This point of view was further confirmed in the interviews with individuals.

Opinions were mixed as to whether it would be advantageous to have a trained vocational counselor on the staff, but most indicated they felt the present setup was adequate—they would rarely have occasion to refer individuals other than those already using JASC services. Where more serious difficulties were indicated, it was felt that other more specialized agencies should be used.

Social-Recreation and Education

As noted earlier, one program objective from the outset was for the JASC to conduct and give leadership to recreational and educational programs. The emphasis was on helping people to utilize community services as well as the stimulation of other organizations to set up programs in these areas. There has always been recognition that there was an on-going need for special social and educational programs for Issei and newer arrivals.

The forums and discussion groups tend to appeal to the more "sophisticated, intellectual" Nisei. The great majority who help support the organization through membership contributions do not participate in the programs. Planning is under way to increase the recreational program for Sansei by setting up a Sunday lounge program to be held at Olivet Community Center.

The Nisei Post of the American Legion has 275 members of which 95% are Nisei. They have a drum and bugle corp for their children and about four social events a year for members and their families. Various community service projects are also carried out by this group.

The Olivet Community Center has always cooperated closely with the Japanese American community. Many JASC groups were organized there and used their facilities. At the time when JASC staff guidance was given to Nisei groups, these ties were strengthened when several Nisei were employed on the Olivet staff. Two of the churches originally met there and continued until they were strong enough to establish themselves in their own buildings. Another still meets at Olivet. While there are only a few Japanese American families now living in the neighborhood and participating in the regular program, a number of Japanese groups still utilize Olivet's facilities. The staff of Olivet, of necessity, must give most of its time to the regular program for the people living in their immediate neighborhood; but they also provide advice and guidance to the independent Japanese American groups on their own time. The Nisei members of the staff have a special feeling of responsibility for these groups. At present, Olivet assists the Nisei Athletic Association with its basketball and soft ball leagues, and the new Junior JACL program. Nisei and Eansei travel from all over the city to use these facilities. It is the staff's opinion that some of the independent groups need more help on their programs and the staff members feel frustrated because of the limited amount of time they can give these groups. They see a need for training of volunteer leaders to give more direction to these groups.

In order to determine what present social, recreational and educational needs were being related to, the organizations were asked to list their activities. These 12 organizations had been selected in the belief that they were the ones offering significant amounts of service to Japanese Americans.

Among the nine Christian and Buddhist churches included in the survey, eight proved to have primarily Japanese American congregations. The membership of the ninth church consisted of only 25% Nisei, with approximately 73% of the rest being Negro; only 15 of 150 children in the Sunday School were Sansei.

The eight Japanese American churches listed an aggregate of 3,295 as members, or partipating in the Sunday School and other programs. There is some duplication in the number of persons reported as participating in church sponsored programs since comments indicate that members of some churches also attend social activities in others.

While some of the programs are primarily the usual fellowship and religious education kinds of activities for their own members, five churches have active community programs such as the Boy Scouts, social groups and study classes. Two list citizenship classes. There is an English language class in one, and Japanese classes for both children and adults in another. Some ministers felt there were enough activities for those they reached, but they conveyed limited awareness of the needs of the larger Japanese community which has no direct contact with their churches. Others related that there were not enough recreational programs for Sansei and Issei. This will be discussed later under "Unmet Needs".

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) has approximately 1,000 members-85% of which are Nisei, 5% Issei, 5% Sansei and 5% of others. Throughout the year they conduct various affairs-social gatherings, forums, discussion meetings, etc. The Americanization classes held at JASC and "Candidates Night" in the fall are jointly sponsored with JASC.

In order to determine whether this leadership problem was common to the others, those organizations interviewed were asked whether they had difficulty in securing leaders and whether they would like to see JASC set up a training course for volunteers. A number spoke of the difficulty of securing leaders, particularly for teen age groups. However, they were lukewarm to the idea of JASC setting up a central training course. Some had their own training courses. Others thought such a course might be a good idea, but they did not think they would have leaders to send to it.

It was the general impression among organization leaders and the individuals interviewed that, on the whole, there was no longer a need for a large recreation and educational program at JASC, with the exception of new programs that will be discussed under "Unmet Needs". The Nisei apparently are making use of community resources in their own neighborhoods. In 11 of the organizations studied there is a variety of activities available for those who wish to participate in groups with other Japanese Americans. Some groups originally organized by JASC are now able to go ahead under their own leadership and additional independent groups have been formed.

However, it was felt that there was a definite need for the programs presently being carried on by JASC, particularly for Issei and new arrivals to the city. The JASC is seen as a non-sectarian center where groups that draw from different segments of the community can convene. An examination of the various groups that meet at the JASC confirms this point of view. The JASC is the center to which Issei and newer arrivals from Japan come for social and recreational activities other than that found in the churches and other organizations.

The groups meeting under JASC sponsorship and/or guidance are not duplicated by any other organizations. While one English class and two citizenship classes are provided through churches, those at JASC are still needed. The English class, in particular, has many of the aspects of a social club. The Japanese class provides an opportunity for Nisei and non-Japanese to learn together. The

Cosmo Club (for war brides) and the Hawaiian Club both serve new arrivals in making initial adjustments to living in Chicago. The membership in these two groups turns over f fairly rapidly as the members secure greater comfort in the larger community structure. They in turn are replaced by newer arrivals. The Society of Fine Arts with its special interest group is performing the role of bringing together Japanese Americans from different generations as well as non-Japanese through cultural programs of mutual interest. These activities serve to facilitate communication with the larger Chicago community.

The JASC building is also available to semi-independent and independent groups, the majority of which are Issei. It is the general opinion that this non-sectarian center is needed by the community to provide a meeting place for groups that cannot be accommodated in the churches, or which do not wish to be identified with any one religious group. The importance of the service is highlighted by the fact that, as previously mentioned, only 3,295 persons (including some duplications) are listed by the churches as members or participating in their activities, while the population is variously estimated to be between 9,000 and 15,000 persons.

JASC Relationship to JA Council

The functional relationship and reasoning behind the division of responsibilities between these two organizations has already been described. The special events sponsored by or organized through the Council are important to Japanese Americans in Chicago when they wish to fulfill their civic responsibilities by mobilizing themselves around some event as the identifiable Japanese American community; or when they wish to give united recognition to a Japanese American person or event.

This is important to the well being of the community as it serves as a cohesive force between the widely separated age groups and diverse segments of the community. The JA Council has sponsored such projects as: raising funds for the Pan American Games and Japanese Flood Relief; celebrating 100 years of Japanese and American diplomatic

relationships through the series of events last spring; and a banquet to honor the Hon. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, the first person of Japanese descent to be elected to the United States Congress.

The JASC is the only Japanese American community-wide organization that has a staff. In the functional division of responsibility between these two organizations many, particularly among the older generation, feel that the JASC should carry out those parts of the arrangements that require staff help. They consider that the funds they raise and contribute to JASC are partly given in order to enable JASC to provide such services.

When so many events were scheduled during the spring of 1960 it was recognized that too many demands were being made on the staff, so some extra funds were provided by the Council to pay for stationery and postage as well as extra secretarial help.

Public Relations

With the exception of those who were close to the organization or who had worked with it through referrals, most of the people interviewed were not up to date on the present program. Their sources of information were primarily from persons who had used the services, members of the Board and through contact with the Director. The bulletin reactivated this spring was mentioned at times. Their expressed wish to know more about the JASC was demonstrated by the keen interest of people in being brought up to date during the interviews. There was clear indication that a much more active public relations program should be initiated.

THE JASC AS SEEN BY NON-JAPANESE ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

In order to determine the effectiveness of JASC as a referral agency and whether its program was still needed in the community, the consultant interviewed representatives of the following 12 non-Japanese agencies and organizations:

Chicago City Missionary Society
Chicago Foundling Home
Community Referral Service of Chicago
Cook County Public Aid Department
Geriatrics Rehabilitation Service
North Side District Office
Family Service Bureau of the United Charities
Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society
Salvation Army Emergency Lodge
Senior Centers of Metropolitan Chicago
United States Immigration and Naturalization Service
United States District Office of Social Security
Administration.

Nine of these were selected because the records showed that they were the ones to which JASC had referred people or that JASC had been called in by them during the 15-month sampling period which had been analyzed (See "Social Welfare" in Part I). The names of the persons referred were given to the agencies in advance of the interviews so that they could adequately examine their records to find out what had happened to the clients. A certain number of referrals had not been completed, as would be expected. Particular attention was given to those persons who had been in contact with JASC for four months or more. In all the cases from this group, where the type of problem indicated a need for case work help, the referral process had been completed with specialized agency. Several agencies spoke of the difficulty of working with these cases because of cultural and psychological factors unique to this group. In two situations JASC was called in by caseworkers to assist them in their

treatment of clients. They emphasized the effective role the JASC staff member had performed in acting as a bridge between them and their clients across language and cultural barriers.

It was the consensus of opinion among these agencies that the JAEC was performing a needed service. There is a minimum of involvement of the JAEC staff in the problems of clients except where extended contacts are needed to prepare the client for eventual referral or where continued supportive contact is at times needed in maintaining client engagement with the other agency. Cases referred to these agencies were considered appropriate and generally demonstrated effective utilization of community resources. The government agencies also reported very satisfactory working relationships with the JAEC.

The staff member interviewed at the Community Referral Service was of the opinion that there would be a continuing need for the JASC as long as there were Issei and newer immigrants from Japan. They rarely have contact with Japanese Americans at their agency—none, to the staff member's knowledge in the past year. From long experience with the Japanese Americans it was firmly felt by this staff person that the older generation and others with limited English would not come to this agency even if JASC were discontinued.

Because of the evidence of a need for a planned recreational program for Issei, a conference was held at the Senior Centers of Metropolitan Chicago around this problem. Although they have conveyed a desire to help elderly Japanese in any way they can, they have had no success in bringing Issei into their program. In their opinion the Director of JASC has been most cooperative and has urged Issei to attend Senior Centers programs. A special program planned jointly by the two agencies to interest Isseis in Senior Centers activities met with complete resistance on the part of the Isseis.

The last conference was held with a representative of the City Missionary Society, an organization which gives a substantial contribution each year toward the budget of JASC. This organization is particularly interested in that part of the program that builds better understanding between people of Japanese and non-Japanese background. They feel this is important and should be continued along with the other services.

PART III

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

THE PRESENT PICTURE

The study shows that the work of the Japanese American Service Committee is very important to the welfare of the Japanese American Community and greater Chicago, and cannot be done as effectively by any other organization. Any problem affecting persons of Japanese ancestry is its concern. Its policy, consistently, has been to direct people to, and help them utilize organizations where there is machinery or personnel to appropriately meet their needs; to interpret the needs of the Japanese people to other organizations and stimulate them to set up appropriate services; and to conduct such program as cannot be provided in any other way. It has served as a "voice" for Japanese Americans in Chicago, a source of information for its own constituents, a place to which others from the larger society could turn when they wished to make contact with any segment of the Japanese American community, or wanted information about its culture and that of Japan. It is a transmission center through which communication is kept open between various elements of the Japanese American community and greater Chicago as well as within the Japanese community itself.

The JASC is a multifunctional agency. It provides short-term counseling and referrals for individuals and families with problems, job placement and counseling, recreation and education programs, information and referrals on housing, naturalization and immigration, orientation for new arrivals such as war brides, Hawaiians of Japanese descent and Japanese immigrants; interpretation of Japanese culture to church, school and civic groups; and staff services to implement community-wide projects.

The spread of responsibilities of the Director have been too great for one person to handle. Inevitably areas of

administration have suffered because priority has had to to be given to the day-to-day demands of people requesting service. Nisei support has not been developed to the degree it could be because of the lack of a public relations and fund raising program geared to their interests and concerns. The staff has not had the time nor the energy to give attention to new emerging needs in the community.

These conclusions are based on a study of the present program and unmet needs, and on an examination of other resources in Chicago, both Japanese American and city-wide agencies.

Counseling and Referral Services

This aspect of the program operates as a short contact referral service. Of the 248 different individuals who requested help during the 15 months that were analyzed, only 15 were carried for four months or more, 174 appear in the records in only one month. Almost every kind of problem is represented -- problems resulting from failing health, mental disorders, marital conflict, straightening out records for citizenship or Social Security, etc. Some of the simpler requests were handled directly by the staff through the resources of JASC. When more specialized help was indicated, the staff was skillful and resourceful in using community resources. Some could be referred immediately, others required supportive counseling for a period before they were ready to accept referral. In two instances, JASC was called in by caseworkers to assist them in their treatment where they needed someone to help them communicate with their respective clients, not only through language, but more important, across cultural barriers.

This is an essential service. Persons coming here need this specialized agency with bi-lingual staff who understand both the Japanese and American culture. The Community Referral Service of Chicago reports that they practically never have had requests from Japanese Americans (none in the last year). They are of the opinion that even if

this service were no longer available at JASC, it would be unlikely that the older generation and the new arrivals would come to their agency. It was the consensus of the other agencies to whom JASC refers clients that this is an important service.

Job Placement and Counseling

While the volume of requests in this area is small, this is a very useful service. Issei, war brides and other new immigrants from Japan, because of their cultural differences and limitations in the use of English, depend on JASC for help in locating appropriate employment. Some of the Nisei who use this resource use other resources as well. However, there are some Nisei who have personality or deep seated problems that need the kind of help and guidance available at JASC.

Job placement at the JASC serves an additional function, i.e., as a tool through which to identify and establish contact with people who often present themselves as in need of work but frequently pose other concerns which require different handling.

Housing

Though not particularly important now, this is a convenient service which should be continued. The housing referrals are handled almost entirely by telephone and require very little staff time. Available space reported to the office is kept on file and is used almost entirely by Japanese Americans. It is a tangible service which is good for public relations with persons who do not need other services. It also is a readily available resource to the staff when they need to locate appropriate housing for families where it is desirable to locate them near other Japanese speaking people.

Recreation and Education Program

JASC is the non-sectarian Japanese community center. Twenty-nine groups are presently using the facilities in addition to the board and committees of JASC.

Seven groups are either under the sponsorship of JASC or are directly affiliated with it. They receive staff services through direct leadership, advice on program, help with organization and/or clerical services. Each group serves a special purpose and does not duplicate services provided by any other Japanese American or non-Japanese organization. While there are other groups in two Japanese American churches (i.e. the language classes) which would appear to have similar programs, the JASC classes appeal to people from different segments of the Japanese American population. Some people seem to prefer to come to a non-sectarian center.

The JASC also provides space where independent interest groups and organizations can meet (most of these are Issei groups). Eight of them call on JASC staff for advice at times. The others use the facilities as a convenience. This meeting place for community groups is needed and provides a useful service to the people.

Information on Naturalization and Immigration

This service should also be continued. Many people who have to find their way through the complicated regulations and procedures involved in naturalization and immigration matters need interpretation of these regulations; advice on where to go and how to secure needed documents (i.e. proof of marriage, residency, etc.); and help on other details such as filling out forms. This is particularly important for persons with limited English who need the help of a bilingual staff.

The JASC staff has accurate information and excellent working relationships with the local office of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Interpretation of Japanese Culture

The JASC plays an important role in bringing about better understanding between people of Japanese background and non-Japanese. The Director is asked to speak to school, church and civic groups on the Japanese Americans in Chicago and Japanese culture. This should be continued.

The organization is called on to secure Japanese talent for theoprograms of other organizations. While some of these requests are quite legitimate, others could be turned down, or the service limited to suggesting names for the organization to contact.

Exhibits and other programs arranged by the Society of Fine Arts, the Sumie Class, and the Japanese Language Class (all listed above) contribute to the interpretive program also.

Public Relations and Fund Raising

Very little attention has been given in recent years to keeping the Japanese American community informed about JASC programs. The Nisei who by and large no longer have much direct contact with the agency, have very vague ideas as to what its present program is. The agency has primarily been riding on its reputation and people contribute because they believe it is doing good.

The bulk of the financial support of JASC still comes from the Issei. If JASC is to continue, the Nisei must rapidly increase their support, both financially and through active leadership.

There has been a definite increase in Nisei support in the past few years. In 1958, 74% of the membership income came from Issei, 26% from the Nisei. In 1959, the Nisei accounted for 37% of the income from memberships.

However, before much additional support can be expected from this source, the Nisei must feel that the agency is looking ahead and is concerning itself with the new problems facing Nisei and Issei today—that it is not just staying alive for a limited time to complete projects started some time ago.

UNMET NEEDS

Issei

As was mentioned previously, it has been estimated that there are some 2500 Isseis residing in the Chicago area. Isseis appear to average around 73 years in age. Due to the limited scope of the study no systematic body of information on the Issei population was secured. It seems safe to state that a relatively large number (perhaps some 60%) maintain their social meaningfulness through membership in various churches. Cultural activities, informal educational programs and periodic showings of Japanese movies appear to draw much smaller numbers of Isseis. It is not known whether Isseis active in one form of social activity also tend to participate in other activities.

With the exception of a small number of bachelor Isseis living along Clark Street--one of the original major settlement areas now being gradually abandoned by the Japanese once living there--most Isseis appear to be living with, or in close proximity to their Nisei children.

There is some very limited evidence to suggest that perhaps as much as 75% of the Isseis are still gainfully employed in some manner. If this is true, this would appear to be a strikingly high percentage in relation to other groups with a similar age range. It is hoped that this might be further explored in the future as it would seem to have various cultural implications if the impression is substantiated by more objective data. That the Isseis place a premium on work activity is well known. A possible relationship to the above observation is the Issei's apparently marked resistance to any approach suggesting that he is dependent and helpless. Some observers cited the Issei's resistance to two previous community-wide attempts at exploring the possibilities of an old age home for the Issei as an illustration. There has been discussion periodically for the past 10 years regarding the need for a home for the elderly. It became clear that although some type of place where elderly Issei could live together congenially would be highly desirable, the concept of an institution is most distasteful to the Isseis because of firmly entrenched cultural patterns. Presently, several individuals and/or churches are independently considering ways and means of purchasing an apartment building to provide such living quarters. The JASC should be alert to this problem since there appears to be increasing attention and concern around the need for a residence for elderly Issei. There is real question as to the agency's role in this area. Should it give peripheral support to these tentative explorations, or move directly into the problem area? In view of these questions it appears that the agency is faced with the responsibility of clarifying its function relating to this area of need.

Although a fair portion of the Issei population presently appear to be finding social usefulness in some form, it is speculated that in the near future a more critical period in their lives might be anticipated. It would seem that as the Isseis give rapidly increasing evidence of sheer physiological incapacity to function in some economically productive or accustomed socially meaningful role, feelings of uselessness might be expected to be evoked in a rather sudden and far-reaching manner -- a shifting of gears for which they appear to be prepared in a quite limited way. The Isseis' traditional pride in being self-sufficient, the high values surrounding the meaning of work, the limited Nisei and societal reinforcement of the Isseis' cultural notions of respect and status which they feel should be accorded older persons in their later years, regardless of their productive status -- these factors are viewed as contributing, at least in part, to making their position in retirement a more acute one and in need of alleviation.

Some recognition of these problems was expressed by leaders in the Japanese America community. Their point of view was perhaps most succinctly presented by one minister who stated, "There is a need for a planned recreational program for elderly, retired Issei men and women. I would suggest that JASC begin a program as soon as possible. A strong orientation program, prior to beginning such activity, would probably be indicated in view of the resistance to change shown by this group."

While there are growing numbers of programs for senior citizens throughout the city (the Metropolitan Center for Senior Citizens is located within half a block of the JASC building) the Isseis are not comfortable in mixed groups where other members are not of Japanese background and do not speak Japanese. They tend to stay within their own group. The Director of JASC has encouraged people to go to the Metropolitan Center and even set up a special meeting there at one time for this purpose, but the Isseis showed only minimal response. Any such program will have to be set up within a Japanese American setting where the Isseis feel at home. It would appear to be the responsibility of the JASC to assume the leadership in providing more activities for this age group, and working with other organizations to explore whether they can enlarge their ongoing programs to accommodate such activities.

Nisei

The original goal of the Service Committee was to help the Nisei become an accepted part of the greater Chicago community as rapidly as possible. On the surface, the goal appears to have been accomplished remarkably well. However, it appears to have been at some cost. Today the needs of the Niseis seem to relate to more internalized difficulties which are, it would appear, partly the result of their intensive striving to become a conforming, integral part of the larger community as rapidly as possible. Problems confronting the Niseis today might be defined more in terms of "internal integration."

Some Niseis are facing such dilemmas as how, and what values of their Japanese background can they pass on to their children which are compatible with American society? Many state that in their effort to become accepted and integrated, they themselves have lost contact with Japanese culture to such an extent that they feel inadequate in trying to transmit certain aspects of it to their children. Other concerns have to do with such issues as changing family kinship values, standards of conduct and life goals for their children and the need to possess some understanding and appreciation of Japanese culture. The latter seems to be

increasingly felt. At least one area of concern seems to stem from the need among many Niseis to socially identify themselves more accurately, and to interpret this in a more consistent manner to their children.

Because the Japanese American population is relatively small, readily identifiable and the younger generation increasingly moving into non-Japanese neighborhoods, some parents feel pressure that their children need to make an extra contribution or achieve above the group of which the child is a part. As one person stated, "We (Niseis) made a place for ourselves so relatively easily because people liked us-the way we behaved, our work habits, our ambition, our industry as well as our culture. If our children lose this, and are influenced by adverse elements in the American community, will they experience as ready an acceptance?"

Also, as children approach marriageable age, parents have to face the consequences of their rapid social integration. For instance, do they want their children to marry outside the Japanese group? Whether this in itself is a problem to them or not, it is at this age that Eanseis are apt to face discrimination in their social contacts. One parent said, "I suddenly realized that my child was missing out on normal boy and girl relationships—she was being left out of mixed social life."

These comments serve to illustrate some of the anxieties shared by many Nisei parents. Some have solved them in part by returning to Japanese American churches so their children can have relationships with other Sanseis. This is notable in the churches where there is a marked increase of families who travel considerable distances from the suburbs to participate in church activities in the city. There has been a large increase in teen-agers in some churches. This problem is apt to increase in the next 10 years when those now infants and children enter their teens. From the Community Survey it can be projected that there are now about 770 young people between 13 and 19 years of age. Compared with this, there are 1,240 between six and 12 years of age and about 1,350 under six years of age.

Some aspects of the problem have been publicly discussed in JACL forums. Thoughtful leaders, however, feel that there is a need to give more direct guidance to parents in small groups under the competent leadership of specialists. This kind of service may also reveal problems that would require more individualized services. These leaders believe that JASC should, as a first step, set up an informal educational program designed to help parents now facing these issues. Prejudice, relationship to Issei parents and other problems unique to Japanese also appear to need attention.

This type of program, it is felt, could not be effectively conducted in a non-Japanese agency, nor in mixed ethnic groups. An extension of the JASC educational program might be to work with churches and other Japanese American organizations to encourage them to initiate similar programs and provide them with specialists to work with their respective parent groups. This would entail the development of a resource list of competent persons available to assist these groups.

Sansei V

Though organizations and parents alike speak of the need for more recreational and cultural programs for the Sanseis, programs for them are increasing in the churches, and the JACL is inaugurating an enlarged recreational program for the younger generation of Japanese. There is no clear indication as to whether still further programs at this level will be needed. At the present it would seem reasonable for the JASC to leave this area of responsibility to these organizations which are already engaged in providing such activities. However, should this increased activity still not fill the need, the JASC should re-examine the situation in the future. Should a re-assessment of the situation be indicated, care should be taken to avoid duplication of programs which other organizations are already doing. It would seem that the JASC's more proper present role might be in providing individualized services to Sanseis presenting difficulties such as delinquent behavior. With respect to the latter, the Eervice Committee might serve another function -- namely developing

and maintaining some systematic body of information and literature on the Sanseis. Juvenile delinquency among the Sanseis, particularly those of an acting-out nature, is quite often viewed with alarm and easily exaggerated as a community-wide problem. Closer analysis usually reveals that the incidents were of a relatively isolated nature. More objective and sophisticated recording of incidents, as well as maintaining a closer touch with general patterns of Sansei behavior appear to be needs that would come within the province of the JASC's role to serve.

CHANGING ROLE

In view of these unmet needs, it is felt that the agency should show greater flexibility in the future in adapting to the shifting needs of the community. Eome of these current problems were elaborated upon in the previous section. these needs are seen as valid ones, it would appear that it is clearly within the role of the JASC to alleviate them in some manner. Moreover, if the agency does recognize that it should provide additional services focused toward these areas of concern, it should be aware that the helping process related to these "new needs" require a different level of sophistication than that which the agency has traditionally assumed. As pointed out before, present-day social problems among the Japanese appear to demand more individualized handling than in the past. With the exception of a relatively small number of Japanese brides, Niseis from Hawaii and recent immigrants from Japan who are still in need of the kind of orientation and transitional assistance originally provided to the large number of evacuees, today's areas of social conflict appear more bound up within the individual. This might mean that the agency would have to incorporate a somewhat modified philosophy of service which would embrace the notions of enabling those served to resolve personal-cultural conflicts and working with smaller numbers in more specialized ways. Furthermore, it implies giving assistance to clients in a more sustained fashion.

In order to more fully appreciate the agency's present position, it might be helpful to again briefly review its history. Traditionally, its information-referral service has served as the core of the agency's program. Its basic rationale was addressed to the primary goal of facilitating integration of the Japanese newcomers into the majority society. Mass social and recreational programs served to establish and renew social relationships broken by the relocation. More importantly, these programs gave the uncertain new arrivals a sense of cohesiveness and safety. Through the stability gained from these programs and the information-referral service of the agency paving the way for introduction into a strange city, the Japanese entered into the stream of the larger community life with remarkable rapidity. During this phase the Service Committee dealt with tremendous numbers of people in a more gross kind of service strategy. This phase, by and large, now belongs to the past.

Although the crisis situation that brought about the establishment of the agency is long since past, the JASC has appeared to continue to give the same type of services 15 years later, perhaps in a different way, certainly, from a statistical point of view, to fewer numbers of people. As a consequence, there was increasing question of justification for existence—were its services still needed? No real serious attempts were made to evaluate its status until the formation of the Study Committee. The Study Committee, therefore, clearly made a much needed evaluation and a bringing up to date of the kinds of problems being experienced by the present community, as well as guidance toward what possible future role the JASC might address itself to.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAM

On the basis of the total body of information secured and evaluated by the Study Committee and the consultant, the many discussions held by the sub-committees, the Issei Advisory Committee and the Board of Directors, the following recommendations by the Study Committee were made to, and approved by, the Board at its November, 1960 meeting:

There appears to be no question that the Service Committee is performing a meaningful service to a wide range of Japanese in the Chicago area. It is strongly recommended that the JASC continue its present services.

Issei Workshop

A workshop should be established to provide work activity for Isseis who are defined as unemployable in the regular labor market due to advanced age, physical limitations or because of their cultural restrictions.

A basic hypothesis of the workshop program is that the affording of a productive work role to the Isseis would enable them to attain greater feelings of self respect and worthwhileness in their later years.

Inherent in the Japanese culture to which the Issei primarily addresses himself is the high degree of respectability and status accorded the aged. This recognition is seen as being given independently of whether the aged person is engaged in economically productive work activity. This presents a contrast to American cultural expectations in which the individual's worth appears to rest much more firmly on his productive work role. As a consequence, his value as a member of society greatly diminishes in his later years.

It is held that the Nisei's rapid incorporation of American values poses many restrictions in his providing the needed reinforcement of Issei expectations in his role as an elder, and that this is a source of conflict in the family relationship. The larger society provides even less sanctions of the Issei's role. This is compounded by the Issei's marked limitations in seeking social meaningfulness through other possible resources in the larger society.

It might be questioned whether there is a contradiction in such a work program for the Isseis since it was pointed out that in Japanese culture the older person secures status and recognition more independent of his economic contributions.

However, the "contradiction" may be more apparent than real. It is assumed that social and cultural values in all cultures are present to some degree in some similarity of function, if not in form. Also, it is held that the Isseis have incorporated some of the American ways of thinking in a meaningful manner. The stress on work shown the Issei, in addition to the fact that they will possess some minimal earnings which would likely enhance greater feelings of self-sufficiency, also favor the notion of the workshop program as an effective means of providing services to the Isseis. Although more speculative, it might be hypothesized that Issei participation in the work program may serve to help alleviate misunderstandings, and facilitate more communication, in relationships with their Nisei children. The fact that the Issei is working and actively extending himself in a socially meaningful way is mutually agreed upon by both generations.

The rationale of providing work activity in a benign, non-competitive setting for the Isseis is also seen as constituting a pivot in the sense of its providing a "point of engagement" in the helping process since it clearly avoids conveying to the Issei that he is dependent and helpless; it preserves his "self pride" and his feelings of social usefulness. With such a basic strategy of service to the Issei population "sensitive" areas of the Isseis might be more protected and hence, more generally reachable and accepting of assistance. For instance, the idea of a residence for the aged might not be as threatening since the workshop program lends the basis for Isseis evaluating themselves in a more positive, productive role, whereas direct confrontation of the Issei as no longer being able to care for himself, such as is inherent in asking him how he feels about extablishing an "old age home", appears altogether too threatening and distasteful.

It is possible that the idea of a home for the aged could gain impetus from, and on the basis of, the ideas communicated through the work program. It is also possible that a residence for the aged could develop around the workshop itself as a focal point. Briefly put, such a workshop

program might readily serve as a basis, or springboard for developing other possible service programs for the Isseis.

It is suggested that the workshop program be established as a pilot type program on a limited basis, perhaps beginning with six to eight workers working three half-days a week. Work would derive from sub-contracts with various firms throughout the city. Light packaging, assembly and mailing tasks are the most readily available kinds of sub-contract work. They also generally require the least amount of space and equipment.

It is recommended that workers be paid somewhere between 60ϕ and 70ϕ an hour. Income from sub-contract work done should ideally roughly approximate wages paid out to workers.

It is further recommended that the program maintain close contact with other such workshops throughout the city with regard to operational and professional standards and uniform sub-contract pricing policies. Ideally, the workshop committee should be composed of both professional and business people.

Informal Educational Program

It is recommended that the agency strengthen its informal educational program. Three additional methods are being recommended to meet the shifting needs of the community. These include: 1) publication of educational pamphlets; 2) more active utilization of group discussion techniques; and 3) the establishment of a library-information center.

Educational Pamphlets

This program should be specifically designed to serve at least three functions with respect to the needs of the Nisei population: a) provide a service to Niseis in helping them become more aware of, and therefore handle more economically, cultural problems unique to them; b) as a

medium whereby greater communication with the Nisei community and its needs might be more accurately established and appraised; c) as a basis from which future program might be planned (see below).

The content of the pamphlets might relate to such problems as parent-child relationship among both Nisei and Issei as well as Nisei and Sansei; encouragement of Niseis to be more informed, and make more active use of other appropriate agencies and institutions, particularly where emotional problems are involved; more adequate handling of prejudices against one as a Japanese; general problems of acculturation such as assisting acculturated Niseis in their need to re-incorporate certain aspects of their Japanese backgroud.

Utilization of Group Discussion Techniques

Having provided some minimal location of cultural problems through the pamphlets, subsequent programming might relate to two additional levels of services. They are:

- 1) Stimulation of group discussions on similar topics in the churches and other organizations.
- 2) Development of more sustained kinds of group counseling sessions at the JASC.

The community has long experienced, periodically, forum type discussions of issues pertaining to the Japanese in Chicago. These serve the purpose of allowing participants to verbalize and sharpen the formulation of various concerns, but they remain on a polite, public level of social interaction involving large groups. It is felt that these kinds of discussions should continue to be stimulated. However, as indicated above, it is being recommended that the JASC establish a program designed to provide more intimate and frank expressions of feeling around problems of a more personal-cultural nature. Those groups should be kept small, thereby assuring an opportunity for resolution, and more extended exploration and clarification of feelings and attitudes than

that provided by forum type discussions. It is also recommended that these groups be under the guidance of well trained persons. In addition to the Niseis, there are suggestions that this kind of program might also profitably be utilized by other segments of the population, such as the Japanese brides, their husbands, Isseis and Sanseis. The former might find this medium especially helpful in resolving confusion resulting from contrasting cultural expectations.

A program structure of this nature makes possible a more orderly referral of individuals from one level of service to another. Thus, individuals who participate in discussions in their church group but feel a need for more thorough exploration in the JASC program can be readily referred since by the very nature of the total scheme of the program, communication pathways are established and mutually understood by the community and the agency. On the other hand, if severe emotional problems are indicated in the sessions at the JASC, such individuals might be considered or prepared for referral to other agencies more properly qualified to handle such problems.

Library-Information Center

It is recommended that a library-information center be established to extend to both the Japanese and non-Japanese community a systematized body of literature on various aspects of the Japanese people and culture. Its content might consist of Japanese literary works (in both Japanese and English); psychological, sociological and anthropological articles on the Japanese in professional journals; various books on the Japanese in America; vernacular and English periodicals and newspapers pertinent to the Japanese; various JASC committee reports; and various other data pertaining to the Japanese in Chicago, such as a listing of various organizations in the Japanese community.

A library-information center of this nature would serve several functions: 1) as a means for leisurely reading for the Japanese reading segment of the population. Such material would serve a further function for this group, i.e.,

as a means of reinforcing their kinship with more traditional Japanese modes of esthetic expressions; 2) as a source for various individuals, both Japanese and non-Japanese, who wish to inquire about some aspect of Japanese culture, or the Japanese in America for research, term paper or esthetic reasons; and 3) as a means for staff use and development.

Social Recreational Program

It is recommended that the agency establish a lounge area conducive to more esthetic and leisurely exchange of social contacts and so designed that it could also be used as a meeting place.

It is also recommended that the JASC seriously explore the possibilities of offering a daytime social-recreational program for the Issei between Monday and Friday. Daytime social activities for the Isseis during mid-week are practically non-existent in the city, most of them occurring during the evenings and on weekdays and on week ends. It is felt that such a social-recreational program should be designed to provide enjoyment of more traditional Japanese socializations for the Issei. The various Japanese periodicals in the library-information center might readily complement such a program. Movies of Japan, recordings of Japanese music and the serving of Japanese delicacies might also contribute to a meaningful body of pleasant experiences giving support to their most comfortable, accustomed modes of social enjoyment.

Public Relations

In view of the absence of any organized public relations program with the Nisei community for the past six years, it is strongly urged that a well planned public relations program be immediately revived. This is of special importance because of the increasing need for their potential support of the JASC due to diminishing contributions from the Isseis. Also, the Niseis are presently in a far better position economically than their Issei counterpart. More active utilization of the services

of the JASC should also be encouraged. It appears to be a particularly opportune time to re-establish the public relations program with the Nisei in view of the new programs being recommended by the Study Committee. The latter afford an opportunity to rebuild the public image of the JASC as a vital organization, prepared to serve the present day needs of the Japanese American community and offset the impression some people have had of it as being somewhat questionably in existence since the relocation phase has long been a thing of the past. There is also the notion that the JASC is an Issei organization, run by them and for them, which has in some ways inhibited greater Nisei support.

It is recommended that the agency consider the following means of strengthening the public relations program:

- 1) Publish an agency brochure depicting the work of the JASC.
- 2) Publish a quarterly publication of an agency bulletin.
- 3) Publish an annual report.
- 4) Establish an annual, major fund raising special event specifically geared toward the Nisei.
- 5) More actively solicit Nisei members, particularly through personal contacts.

Administration

In order to maximally implement the above recommendations, and the philosophy of service that they represent, it is clearly recognized that the agency would require the services of a full-time administrator. The study unquestionably concludes that the present Director is altogether too burdened with a wide range of duties. As a consequence, the agency has suffered, particularly in the administration of it. In

his efforts to maintain his various duties, the present Director has frequently worked to the point of exhaustion. Also, because of these circumstances, the Director has not been allowed to develop new programs in keeping with current needs.

If the Study Committee recommendations are to be seriously carried through, they suggest that the future staff organization should limit the range of functions performed by a given person to more specific areas and levels of competence. The present Director has shown himself to be especially effective in working with the Isseis and Japanese brides. This is partially due to the fact that he is bilingual and possesses sensitivity to both Japanese and American cultures. It is hoped that the present Director can be relieved of his administrative functions so that he can continue working with the Japanese speaking population as he has, and in addition direct the newly proposed programs for the Isseis.

The Study Committee recommends that the administrator be paid within a salary range of \$7,000-\$9,000 so as to give assurance that there is a likelihood of securing and retaining a well qualified person. It is also recommended that the administrator, preferably, possesses a master's degree in social work or some allied field pertaining to human relations. It is desirable that he possess some supervisory experience. The duties of the administrator are seen as follows: 1) assume responsibility for the total operation of the agency; 2) supervision of staff; 3) development of programs; 4) participation in fund raising and public relations activities; and 5) prepare the annual budget of the agency.

Recording of Agency Services

It is strongly recommended that the agency closely examine its method of recording service activities, particularly with reference to individuals receiving counseling, welfare and employment services. In these instances more

complete information about the client as well as a descriptive record of contacts should be included in a record of some standard form. Such information as how the client came to JASC, his presenting problem, previous contacts and how the problem situation is and/or was handled, are seen as meaningful areas of description.

More systematic record keeping is needed to provide information on the basis of which: 1) the history of contacts with a given client may more quickly and accurately be perceived; 2) a more accurate statistical picture of the range and pattern of problems being seen at JASC can be easily compiled; and 3) periodic assessment of the agency's program can be more readily made when needed. Since only a limited body of systematically recorded data were available to the study group, forms had to be specially constructed to secure pertinent kinds of information which would lend themselves to meaningful interpretation. This was an extremely time consuming procedure since a representative sampling of cases was necessary over a period of time.

More adequate recording is also seen as facilitating economical and reliable transmission of relevant information on given clients between present staff members, between present and additional staff and between present and future staff.

Board of Directors

The agency is urged to assess its present board structure and and functioning. Of a total number of close to 50 members roughly a third appear to be active in some sustained form. Of those who appear to be active, long-term responsibilities are not, in most instances, clearly delineated. Many of the stated positions, such as committee chairmen, seem to possess honorary connotations rather than functional, working roles. At the time of the study no real working committee appeared to be currently functioning in a manner giving evidence of a continuing process.

Although the agency's by-laws state a board member's term as one year, in actual practice the term of office is of indefinite duration. It is felt that this practice contributes to the problem of maintaining inactive board members indefinitely and does little to invite "new blood" into the board.

It is therefore recommended that the agency examine its board structure and functioning closely, with particular attention to development of a more functional board. This is not to altogether deny the value of honorary positions for given members, particularly in instances where these members give substantial financial support to the agency. It is suggested that more specific responsibilities be assigned to board members and that special effort be made to invite greater engagement of members on a more sustained, working foundation.

In view of the foregoing program recommendations previously cutlined, it is clear that the nature of the board will play a very critical role in determining how the recommendations a and the future total body of thinking - will be ultimately directed.