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THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE REFUGEE

A Study of Jewish Family Service Bureau Records and Follow-Up Interviews

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Degree of
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THESIS DIGEST

This thesis is an exploratory investigation of the adjustment of emigres admitted to the United States under the Displaced Persons Bill of 1948 (extended and amended in 1950). Using a sampling of the case records of the Jewish Family Service Bureau of Cincinnati, and follow-up interviews after twelve to fifteen years of residence, the tasks of survival, social and community integration, and emotional adjustments are reviewed as well as the role of the Jewish Family Service Bureau.

The case records indicate that the emigres brought with them nothing of material value, but a wealth of strengths which were important in the success of their acculturation. These strengths include youthfulness, education, literacy, multi-linguality, and a strong need to attain independence and security. Using these strengths the emigres were found to have met the challenge of the tasks of survival. They found housing, employment, learned the English language and began to establish themselves on a secure and independent foundation. The interviews show that this pattern has continued until the present. The emigres are now generally employed in jobs which allow them the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by many native Americans. They speak English well and generally live in nicely decorated homes or apartments.

The case records showed that the emigres made only a partial social and community integration. Although they looked and lived like native Americans they did not develop social ties outside the newcomer community and did not enter into the organizational structure of the

general community. The interviews show a higher degree of integration, however, only on a limited scale.

The case records indicated that the pressures of re-settlement and acculturation had a severe emotional impact upon the emigres. With the attainment of financial security and a measure of integration into the community these pressures were relieved. The follow-up interviews did not indicate the presence of emotional disturbances and showed the newcomers as a relatively satisfied and relaxed group.

The role of the Jewish Family Service Bureau was also reviewed. It was found that the agency was basically concerned with aiding the newcomers to financial independence. The major difficulties which the agency faced were the reluctance of the emigres to enter into casework relationships, the dependency needs of the emigres, and the hostility which the emigres showed toward the agency. The interviews show that the emigres still retain some hostility toward the helping agency but that with the passing of years and the attainment of security they no longer recall clearly the help which they needed and received.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the cataclysmic events of World-War Two, came the pathetic cry for help from hundreds of thousands of persons, displaced from their homelands, who were looking for a place to send down new roots and hoping for a land which would permit them to bloom and flower again. Some of those destitute masses gained entrance into the United States of America and, thus, began a new life, full of promise and expectation. They had survived years of deprivation and often had endured cruel torture. Now was a time for rebirth, and the chance to rebuild broken lives and shattered families.

Once they had arrived in this country the post-war emigres had many new tasks set before them. First and foremost, there was the matter of survival. Second, was the task of integration into the general community, and third, the task of emotional adjustment to a new land, new ideas, and new values. It is the purpose of this investigation to explore each of these aspects of the emigres' adjustment process, to ascertain what obstacles they found in their paths, to determine what resources were available to them, and to evaluate the quality of their adjustments.

The sources used for this research project are both of a primary and secondary nature. Most of the data was collected from the case records of the Jewish Family Service Bureau of Cincinnati, Ohio. From these files a view of the earliest experience of the newcomers was obtained. Sometimes only a period of less than a month was recorded, because the movement toward independence was rapid. In other cases the files contained a record of up to several years experience with one or more reopenings. In every case the entire record of the Jewish

Family Service Bureau was read.

In addition to the case records of the immigrants, another source of data was personal interviews conducted in the home during the months of December 1963 and January 1964. The purpose of these encounters was to get an idea of the adjustment after a period of twelve to fifteen years of residence in the United States.

Another source of information and background was reading in the extensive literature on immigration. Such books were read as The Uprooted, and Race and Nationality in American Life, by Oscar Handlin; Jews in Transition, by Gordon; The Displaced Person and the Social Agency, by Crystal; and Adjustment in Freedom, by Helen Glassman.

An overall view of this work will show the data divided into ten chapters dealing with the background, situational-reality problems, social and community integration, personal and inter-family adjustments, the contributions of the social agency, present economic achievement, current aspirations and frustrations, participation in the community, the emigre's view of the role of the Jewish Family Service Bureau in retrospect, and an analysis of the total findings.

This study represents an exploration of materials drawn from case records. Its function is to clarify the following:

1. The adjustment problem faced by the emigres.
2. Some examples of the adjustments made.
3. Some conclusions and observations concerning the degree of adjustment, reasons for success or failure.

The word "exploration" has been used to indicate that this is not a

statistical study. It is descriptive and narrative in the main. When the materials available are adequate, some attempts at interpretation will be made. In the gathering of the information a general outline was drawn up and later revised. This outline, included in the appendix, was used almost exclusively in the gathering of data from the case records and in the cataloguing of that data. For the interviews, an interview schedule was created, indicating the general areas of adjustment as well as specific questions to be used. In the interview situation not all questions were used as stated, but the temper and course of the conversation was allowed to prevail. In cases of married couples both parties were present, with one exception. Interviews were always held in English in the homes of those interviewed. The original interview schedule is also included in the appendix.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere and heartfelt appreciation to all those who have made this project possible; to Professor Robert L. Katz of the Department of Human Relations at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, for his expert guidance and genuine interest; to Miss Miriam Dettelbach, Mr. Morton Startz, and Miss Rose Nemiroff of the Jewish Family Service Bureau of Cincinnati, for their direction, hospitality, and for making available their records which were so necessary to this project; and to all those who so willingly participated by allowing the researcher to come to their homes and to share their experiences with him.

Donald Nathan Gluckman

CHAPTER I

The Background

The displaced person is "a person left homeless in a foreign country as a result of war."[1] The end of the Second World War found eight million such persons, victims of a terrible catastrophe, living in D.P. camps in Europe. Some had remained in these same camps even after they had been used by the Nazis for the purpose of extermination and forced labor. Others wandered into them after fleeing their homelands in the face of dictatorship regimes. Regardless of how they arrived in the D.P. camps, all shared the basic characteristic of the displaced person, homelessness.

In order to alleviate the distress of a limited number of the displaced persons in Europe, the United States Congress enacted the Displaced Persons Bill in June of 1948. This bill made possible the emigration to the United States of any person who was displaced from his homeland as a result of the war or of Nazi persecution. To be eligible one must have been in D.P. camps or resided in the United States zones of Germany, Austria, and Italy without being firmly settled there. He must have also been unwilling or unable to return to his homeland due to fear of persecution and must have arrived in the occupied zones or in the camps prior to December 22, 1945.[2]

A further qualification for eligibility under the Displaced Persons Bill was the requirement of an assurance by a sponsor in which employment and housing would be guaranteed which would not displace an American citizen. The sponsor also had to guarantee that the D.P. would

not become a public charge for a period of five years. Such assurances could be made by individuals or by agencies.[3]

In 1950 the bill was amended to extend the eligibility date from December 22, 1945 to January 1, 1949. It also extended eligibility to D.Ps. in other countries and allowed "hard core" cases with the payment of a cash bond.[4] Under these laws, several hundred thousand displaced persons were able to emigrate to the United States.

From July of 1949 through June 1952 the Jewish Family Service Bureau of Cincinnati, Ohio accepted a total of 151 cases under the agency assurance plan. These cases were made up of family units and single persons. The bases of this study are the case records of a sampling of this group and follow-up interviews. In order of arrival every fourth case record was read, totaling thirty-seven cases. One case was disqualified because most of the pages were missing, leaving thirty-six. The follow-up interviews were held in the homes of all members of the sampling who could be located in Cincinnati and who would permit such an interview. A letter was sent on the letterhead of the Jewish Family Service Bureau introducing the interviewer and soliciting the aid of the family. A copy of the letter is included in the appendix.

The sampling for this study included a total of eighty-two individuals of various nationalities, ages, and marital status. Among the adults there were a preponderance of Polish-born men and women. These totaled forty-four. The next most numerous group represented were eight from Greece. There were also a few people from Germany, Yugoslavia, Russia, Rumania, and Hungary. There were sixty adults in the group. Twenty-two children entered, each with both his parents. Most of these

were born in Germany. A few were born in Greece, Poland, Russia, or Austria.

Perhaps one of the most important factors in the success of the adjustment of this group was age. The range of ages among the adults was from nineteen to fifty-six; however, the average age among the men was 35.4 years and among the women was 28.9 years. The average age for the adults was 34.9 years. The children ranged in age from eight months to seven years. The majority of these twenty-two children were between one and four years old. These figures show a group of emigres which is almost exclusively within the range of being easily employable, adaptable, and productive.

In the sampling there were found to be fifteen single men, twenty-two married couples, and one married man who arrived without his wife. In this last instance the man had married a German Catholic just before emigrating to the United States. Among the fifteen single men were two cases in which two brothers came as a single family unit.

Literacy

Although no accurate statistics can be given regarding the literacy of the group under study, certain general statements can be made. First of all, almost every adult was able to speak, and presumbly to read and write, between two and six languages upon his arrival in the United States. Only thirteen adults were recorded to have been literate in less than three languages. The rest were fluent in such languages as German, Polish, Italian, Spanish, Yugoslav, Yiddish, French, Greek, Russian, Hebrew, and English. Agency social workers recorded that seven adults in the group were able to speak some English on arrival.

Two or three of these were able to carry on the first interview with the worker in English. A few other individuals were reported to have learned a smattering of English, perhaps a word or two, prior to arrival in this country. It is probable that a number of these cases had picked up what they knew of English in the DP. camps where lessons were given to those who were interested in them. The rest of the group, and by far the vast majority, although multi-lingual, were not at all fluent in the language of their new homeland. These people found this situation a major difficulty in their adjustment. It is possible, however, that because this was a group with strong linguistic background and capabilities, the overall adaptation to the English language was facilitated and was, thus, a major factor in the total adjustment of the group.

As a matter of course, every emigre, except perhaps the most fluent, was referred to English courses given in the community. It was not possible to ascertain how many followed through on these lessons; nor was it possible to determine how long the average person continued with lessons. Many of the D.Ps. found themselves so terribly busy with making a living for themselves and their families that the effort involved in attending night school classes was more than they could bear. Others, it is known, did continue their English lessons for as long as three years. In two cases attempts were made to give private English lessons. In one case they were given to a man who, almost completely deaf, was not able to benefit from the usual classroom lessons. These lessons were partially paid for by the Jewish Family Service Bureau. In this case not much progress was made. In the other case a tutor was provided by the Jewish Family Service Bureau for a woman who was confined to her home

during a prolonged illness.

It is hard to say, on the basis of the case records, what the rate of progress was in learning the English language. In most cases the interviews during the early months were held in Yiddish, German, or Polish; for it was in these languages that the workers were most able to make themselves understood, and it was in theses languages that the workers were able to develop a working relationship with the newcomers. In some of the early records a worker will have noted that so and so is picking up English fairly well, or that Mr. G. arrived in the United States "with a smattering of English, which he continued to pick up with an eager, inquiring mind." Some acquired the language slowly; for others it was no great problem. This one attended lessons only irregularly, and that one was still attending after three years. Mrs. A. had trouble carrying on a telephone conversation in English in 1956, while in the same year a worker noted that Mr. and Mrs. B "spoke English very well but there was quite a marked accent in their speech."[5] Uncontestably, language was a problem. For all, it was a stumbling block which had to be removed. It isolated the newcomers from the culture in which they had chosen to re-root themselves, made employment a doubly difficult task, and could eventually bring unnecessary problems into the rearing of children. With these ideas and anxieties in mind the new Americans approached their task of adjusting to a new life. As we will see more clearly in the section covering the follow-up interviews, their success was commendable.

Education

That the group was a fairly well-educated one seemed to be of great aid in its mental adjustment. We have already seen that the majority of these emigres were at least bi-lingual and that many were multi-lingual. In addition, the case reports seem to indicate that all of the smapling had had some education in Europe prior to the war. This education was in some cases cut short by the outbreak of hostilities. In most cases, however, it had already been terminated. Only twenty-five cases, out of the thirty-six studied, make some mention of prior schooling, but these seem to indicate a definite trend towards substantial education. Fifteen individuals reported that they had had from four to eight years of elementary school. Fifteen individuals in the sampling attended high school. Of the latter, six have the equivalent of a complete American high school education. There is one man who is a graduate lawyer; another had completed a year of pre-medical training in Geneva. One woman seems to have done some work toward a law degree before the war and one man had studied the piano for fifteen years and had had concert experience. In the cases of the other twenty-seven adults in the sampling no mention of education was made. It can be presumed, however, that there was some, for this was neither an illiterate nor an uneducated group.

Pre-War Religious Affiliation

Concerning pre-war religious affiliations, one can only speak in broad generalizations. The caseworkers were not meticulous in recording the religious affiliations of the newcomers because, in most

cases, this data would have been irrelevant to their task. Most probably the very large majority of the sampling was from various segments of the orthodox Jewish tradition. Only fifteen cases make any report at all regarding religion. These cases all describe orthodox persons, but in only two cases are extreme orthodox persons described. In one of the latter two cases religion became a primary problem in the adjustment of the individual since a prolonged period of re-training was demanded to prepare for a job as a religious functionary. Also the client required employment which permitted thrice daily attendance at religious services and no work on the Sabbath. Despite this isolated case and a few other cases in which men refused for a time to accept employment which required working on the Sabbath, the vast majority of the newcomers were flexible enough to recognize the need for accepting employment regardless of religious conflicts.

It should be noted that the female partner in one family had been a Catholic until she married her present husband shortly after the war. At that time she formally converted to Judaism.

The War Years

The fates were at work during the war years. At least six adults had been married and lost their wives or husbands during the war. At least two men lost both a wife and children. Two men spent the war years in the Polish underground, one of whom was captured and shipped to a concentration camp six months before the end of the war. Two men had spent the war years living with Gentile families, one of whom was captured eight months before the end of the war. Four families and a single woman spent the war in Russia where they suffered deprivations

but nothing like the horrors of the concentration camps of Hitler. Another man fled to Shanghai where he and his wife were interned by the Japanese in the Shanghai Ghetto. All the rest of the sampling spent from one to five years in the labor camps and in the concentration camps doing such things as sewing uniforms for the German army, making bombs, building roads, making shoes, and doing clerical work. Many lost their entire families and some even witnessed the hanging or the cremation of their loved ones. Only the fittest survived the ordeals of the concentration camp so we do not hear of many who suffered physical harm. There was one man whose teeth were knocked out, another who lost his hearing from a blow on the head, one who suffered an arm injury, and a woman who suffered from a serious stomach ailment. Miraculously, one woman underwent an appendectomy and survived. These are the ones who lived. The others died.

One touching story is that of a man who spent the war in the Polish underground believing his wife was dead, while the wife spent the war in a concentration camp thinking her husband dead. After the war they were reunited. Another story, not so touching, is of a man who was in the German army when he was exposed as a Jew and was sent to a concentration camp.

Regardless of social class and economic position all the people in the group shared at least one common ground. None had any property, business, or status at the end of the war. Each was virtually destitute. Many had not even a living soul they could call a relative.

Marriages After The War

Of the twenty-two married couples of our sampling nineteen had married after the war was over. One other man was married and had left his wife in Europe (see page six). One marriage had occurred before the end of the war, in Russia, and two antedate the war. Nineteen of the twenty-one children in the group were born to parents who married shortly after the war, the other two were born in Russia while the war was still going on. There is no doubt that the wholesale destruction of Jews had made such voids in the family lives of those who survived that there was a great need to begin anew, to fill the gaps and re-establish family ties. This explains the great emphasis on marriage and on having children immediately following the end of hostilities.

Employment Experiences Before Arrival In U.S.

Of the thirty-eight men in the sampling only three had not been old enough to have had some employment experience before the outbreak of the war. All the rest had had some opportunity to learn a trade. Ten of the group had been self-employed in such work as wholesale-retail merchandising, hosiery-cutting, law, glass manufacturing, journalism, retail fruits, vegetables, and stationary. All the others had been employed in skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled trades, such as butchering, leather-crafts, locksmithing, tailoring, fur cutting, knitting, and truck-driving.

But the war interrupted all of this. Years of productivity ended for most of our group and were followed by years of confinement, forced labor, and torture. No one learned a trade during the war, unless it was digging holes and roads, or making bombs. In only one case was

an individual able to continue his trade. For all, the war was a demoralizing and degenerating experience.

The D.P. camp was another demoralizing experience for most individuals. There was a scarcity of jobs for the eight million displaced persons who were victims of the war. For those who remained in the D.P. camp there was meager food, inadequate housing, and sometimes a menial task to perform. Some of the lucky men were able to find a job in a town or city, and eventually a number of D.P. families moved into private residences and began to establish themselves. Two or three of our group began businesses of their own. One of those who had never been employed found employment for several years as a chauffeur.

The total picture in Europe after the war seems to have been one of temporary status and temporary establishment, for many of the D.Ps. had applied for admittance to Israel and the United States and were merely waiting for notification of their acceptance. There is not too much evidence that the group showed particular resourcefulness after the war; it would appear, however, that their temporary situation and a scarcity of opportunity accounts for this.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have seen some of the basic characteristics of the group under study. We have noted nationality background, age, education, literacy, religious affiliations, marital status, war experiences, and employment experience before and after the war. In this information we have found several factors that will influence the quality of the adjustment of the group. First, the fact that the sample is made up of a group of multi-lingual people will have some positive

effect upon the acculturation process. It would seem to this observer that a person skilled in a number of languages should be better able to learn a new language than a person who has only spoken one language all his life. The fact that these emigres spoke a number of languages should, therefore, have some positive effect upon their employability, their ability to learn new tasks quickly, and their ability to merge with the general community.

The average age of the sample also shows a relatively young group of people. This group, then, should be easily employable and adaptable. The children, too, are in an age group which should be able to adjust to a new way of life with a minimum of emotional strain.

Another apparent strength of the group is its high standard of education. Agency records indicate that there were no illiterates and that many were as educated as the average American citizen.

It should also be noted that the sample shows a marked tendency toward flexibility in religious matters as well as a desire to become established, to become secure. Security was a need which all had been denied during the years of the war and the D.P. camps. To fill this void was one of the primary tasks. By the time they arrived in this country, many of the D.Ps. had already married. Many had found jobs outside the D.P. camps and some had even set up temporary households in Germany. Each of these facts is a manifestation of the need to become secure. This desire for security, shown even before reaching the United States, became a distinct advantage in making a quick and easy adjustment in this country.

In conclusion, the background of our sample indicates that the

emigres brought with them a number of strengths which should have helped in their adjustment. It is now the task of this thesis to describe the process of adjustment which this group underwent after arriving in this country. These are the people who came. What happened to them as they attempted to send down roots in new soil, as they sought to merge with the majority culture, as they coped with their own emotions?

CHAPTER II

Survival

Never in the course of American history has there been a group of emigres so well trained in the course of survival. One to five years in Hitler's concentration camps, years in the Polish underground, and other such experiences had weeded out the weak and left only those who were well versed in the arts of keeping alive. Now, after four to six years of being Displaced Persons and living either in D.P. camps or in other places in the Allied Zones of Europe, the homeless find themselves on a large, crowded boat crossing the Atlantic for new shores and horizons. The trip is invariably uncomfortable and the quarters are undignified, but there are few if any casualties and there is nothing to compare to the horrors which emigres of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encountered in their crossings.

Arrangements have been made for them in advance. Each family or individual has been accepted for residence in some city in the United States, where employment and housing have been guaranteed, and where some individual or agency has pledged responsibility for the emigre for a five year period. In a matter of a day or so after docking, they are on their ways to their new cities. Most of our group makes its way by night train from New York to Cincinnati, arriving singly or in family groups, between July 1949 and June 1952. Already they have had some strange experiences which cast light on the future. They have become acutely aware of their inability to communicate with Americans, who are basically a one-language people; so there is a feeling of absolute

aloneness and helplessness. They have noticed that their clothing is inadequate and distinctly different from that of the American. They are ashamed of this fact. They often cover up the buttons they have been given to identify them to those who meet them at the station, so they will not be conspicuous, so no one will stare at them, so no one will recognize them as immigrants, so they can feel more at home and a part of this strange new land.

At the station they are met by some person sent by the Jewish Family Service Bureau who takes them to their first home in the United States. Sometimes no one meets them and they are directed to the proper place by Traveler's Aid. Arrangements have been made in advance for them at a boarding house where quarters are small, crowded, and insufficient for the needs of those who came in family groups. Perhaps a family of four is tucked away in a tiny third floor room, or an individual finds that the food is not kosher, or the heat is inadequate. There are many complaints but there is also a community of newcomers at this house, people to talk to, who speak the same languages and who have undergone some of the same experiences during and after the war. So the shock of isolation is meliorated to some extent. There are also those who have been in this country a week or a month or more. They are able to help prepare the newest arrivals for some of the problems and tasks that lie before them. They hear of the difficulty in finding housing, the high cost of foods, the employment situation, and the social agency which is repsonsible for them. Most of the reports the newcomers hear are very discouraging. The trip from Europe has been very disheartening because living conditions were as bad or worse than the D.P. camp;

the boarding house is another discouraging experience, for again, there is the feeling of being herded around, being grouped as a refugee with other refugees, in a place that might not have been as comfortable as what many had secured after breaking away from the D.P. camps in Europe.

The first task, then, was to get out of the boarding house and into a place they could call home, into an apartment which would be their own. Almost nothing was as important in the minds of the newcomers as the privacy which was not found in the boarding house. This was, therefore, among the first matters discussed during the initial interview with the Jewish Family Service Bureau caseworker assigned to their case. The caseworker listened attentively as they described their complaints:

> They want to be alone; they want to live their own lives; they don't want to have to live by a bell or live by a regimen of any kind. He said they have lived with other people for ten long years; they haven't had their own home, they haven't had their own things...He doesn't care what the circumstances are, he insists on moving anyway.[6]

They told of their urgent need for more adequate living space. The worker, usually a woman, informed the newcomers that she, too, was interested in this situation and that she could offer substantial help. She told the newcomers that the primary goal of the agency was to see them on their own feet, independent, and that the agency would support them until that time when they no longer needed help. As soon as the newcomer could find an apartment that was not too expensive and would not be more than he could afford to pay for after he was employed, the agency would be happy to furnish the apartment with some furniture, linens, and utensils. The agency would also pay the rent until such

time as the breadwinner was employed and self-sufficient.

For single persons and families without children the task of finding housing was not a particularly difficult one. There were always apartments available to people who were childless. For those with children the problem was more complex. The field was narrowed down to those apartments which were livable, which were within the agency rental limits, and which permitted children. Tempers sometimes ran high in such situations and in one instance an entire family packed its belongings, left the boarding house, and came to the agency to demand other housing. They returned to the boarding house, but soon after, took an apartment with no hot water, a toilet without a bath, and poor heating; but it was an apartment of their own, nonetheless. The need to get out of the communal atmosphere was so great for some that such compromises were to be expected.

Other families solved the housing problem by setting up joint households with other emigres. From among our sampling, six families did just this. This in itself was a compromise because it did not afford the privacy which was wanted and needed. In most cases the families broke away from one another within a short time. In one instance, casework was necessary to ease the tensions between the two families and to help work out a plan for separation. Setting up joint households did, on the other hand, help to move families out of the boarding house atmosphere and did provide an opportunity to send down temporary roots into the American soil.

Another way in which the housing situation was approached was by taking in boarders. This made it possible for a family to have more

spacious quarters while at the same time it increased the monthly income. Only a few were able to work out such a plan.

In one or two cases housing was found for a family prior to its arrival in Cincinnati by friends or relatives who had come earlier. In two cases single men took rooms as boarders in the homes of other newcomers. The majority of families found their own apartments after one to three months of searching day and night. Often a husband refused to take employment until the family was properly housed. This response was both a product of reluctance to accept the responsibilities of employment as well as the sincere need to know that the family was secure in an establishment of its own.

Housing was almost always found in the Avondale area which was an old Jewish neighborhood. Many of the streets were already experiencing a shift from white to negro, so rents were fairly reasonable, running from thirty-five dollars for a single room to sixty dollars for four or five rooms on a third floor. Heat and hot water were usually included in the rent. Sometimes electricity was included. When stoves were not included, they were provided by the agency. Ice boxes were also supplied by the agency at first, but were later replaced with refrigerators when necessary. In most cases the worker assigned to a case visited the apartments before any definite arrangements were made regarding rental by a newcomer. The worker pointed out the drawbacks of the apartment if there were any, or vetoed places where the rent was beyond the agency limitations.

As soon as the family was ready to move into its new home the agency provided furniture, linens, and utensils. In the case of a

furnished apartment, the agency did not duplicate what was available but was always guided by the rule of supplying immediate necessities.

Just as the boarding house to which most families were sent upon their arrival was only a temporary arrangement, so the first housing arrangements which the newcomers made for themselves, were, in the last analysis, temporary. The trend was to set themselves up for a time, a month to a year or two, and then, when their financial position was better, or when circumstances made it necessary, to move to new quarters. During these early years the moves were usually made to other apartments in the Avondale area. After a few years, some of the group were able to purchase real estate or homes of their own. This will be dealt with in more detail in the section on personal interviews. However, the evidence gathered from the casework files shows that at least two families had purchased four-family dwellings within two to four years after arrival. Three other families had acquired homes of their own between 1955 and 1963. This means that at least five of the original twenty-two families were homeowners in 1963. There are others, as the interview records will bear out, who own homes; also, there are undoubtedly some whose case records do not extend over a long enough period of time, who have, since the last closing date, become homeowners. Taking into consideration the fact that several emigre families have left Cincinnati, as well as that several single members of the original group have married since arrival, this still shows a comparatively high percentage of married homeowners.

Employment

The second great task of the newcomers was to achieve

economic independence. They knew that the Jewish Family Service Bureau was responsible for them for a five year period, but almost every individual felt the need to stand on his own feet and be able to say, "I don't need charity."

At an initial interview one man expressed the sentiment:

> ...a man is happiest when he gets up early in the morning, washes up, and gets to work. Then, after a productive day, comes home to eat a hearty meal and rest from his labors.[7]

This statement is representative of the attitudes of most of our sampling. The group was eager to work, and anxious to make a start in the new world.

Before any newcomer was sent out for a job interview by the Jewish Vocational Service, the entire family group was referred to the Out-Patient Department at the Jewish Hospital for a physical examination. At this examination a form was filled out by a doctor regarding work limitations. In most cases there was no limitation at all. Some were limited to light work. In a few cases employment had to be postponed for a substantial period of time due to suspected syphilis or tuberculosis. Once the examination was over and the health of the newcomer determined, he was able to seek employment. An interview was held with a counsellor at the Jewish Vocational Service, and job referrals were made. While a job referral was the significant step towards self-sufficiency, it also was a great hurdle. It meant that the individual had to travel out into the community to a place he had never been and probably to speak to someone whose language he did not know. Certainly there was a great deal of fear associated with the first interviews. When the time for interviews arrived, many newcomers became more reluctant

employment between the third and fifth months.* The one man who never found permanent employment is the same man whose initial employment date is unrecorded. His case records indicate that he held at least twenty jobs in ten years.

What kinds of jobs did these people find themselves in as they began to take permanent employment (as defined previously)? Case records indicate that twelve of the nineteen men who had arrived in this country with a background in a skilled trade were able to continue in the work they knew. These included leather trades, meat-packing and butchering, fur trades, tailoring, and glazing. Of the seven who had a skill but were not able to use it in this country two were leather workers, two locksmiths, two machine knitters, and one a metal worker.

Those who were not able to use their skills or who did not have a real skill to start with were able to find employment as stock and shipping clerks, painters, cabinet makers, and factory workers.

The starting salary for emigres ranged from seventy-five cents an hour to about $1.10 an hour. Many job changes in the early months were because of the low pay scale. The researcher had the feeling that many changes were made after a short time because the emigre thought he could command a higher salary after even a short time of employment experience in this country.

The researcher has somewhat arbitrarily divided the total employed group according to quality of employment adjustment into four categories: the non-adjuster; the poor adjuster; the good adjuster;

* See page 23

and the excellent adjuster. It was found that they were distributed in the following way:

non-adjuster 1
poor-adjuster..... 5
good-adjuster.....25
excellent-adjuster.... 1
32

This appears to be an excellent record. To justify such a division, I will try to give examples of each category as well as some of the criteria used.

The non-adjuster. The one man in this group was a single man who was in his late fifties upon arrival in Cincinnati. During ten years of residence in this city he held at least twenty jobs. His case was open regarding employment and employment rehabilitation for well over five years. He was not able to learn even the most simple tasks at the sheltered workshop. He is no longer working at all and is supported by social security and a monthly indemnification payment from the German government.

The poor-adjuster. Of the five men who took from one year to fifteen months to find permanent employment two fall in the category of poor adjusters. The standard applied to this group was the need for casework or financial help due to an employment situation after the first period of permanent employment. In one of these cases there is real tragedy for both husband and wife were stricken with tuberculosis. In this instance, employment for the client was steady but below a marginal average until his affliction. After a prolonged time in the hospital, he required help in readjusting to the notion of seeking and holding a job. Even after he did obtain employment, he required supplements from

the Jewish Family Service Bureau. The other cases follow a more usual pattern of individuals who are emotionally troubled and need psychiatric or casework help to adjust to the employment situation. One man, for instance, displayed paranoid tendencies in his earliest employment situations. He also indicated that he was not anxious to work. After a year this man did obtain good employment. Even in this situation he had difficulties with his superiors, accusing them of persecuting him. After five years he had to return to the agency for financial help and placement help because he had been fired for making trouble at his job. Shortly after this he purchased a business which was a bad bargain but has been unable to undo his error.

All of these cases are operating independently at the present time.

The good-adjuster. No one in this category returned to the Jewish Family Service for aid regarding unemployment after the first period of permanent employment. This does not rule out certain complications concerning employment. One example is a man who at the first interview expressed a desire to get to work but seemed at the same time anxious about it. The worker noted he seemed to have some "difficulty facing his getting a job."[8] This same man also "expressed the feeling that he could not go to work unless he had an apartment of his own and his family was pretty well settled."[9] He refused a job in his own trade because it required Saturday work but gradually moved toward accepting work in another field. Two months after his arrival in Cincinnati he found an apartment and a job in a factory doing unskilled work. He complained about this job but stayed with it until he was laid off due

to the cancellation of a contract. Two months later he found another job but quit after a short time because there was little pay and no chance for advancement. He postponed employment after this episode for so long that the agency was forced to cut his relief allowance down to bare essentials. He quickly found employment in another unskilled field and has stayed with this for about eight years.

The case described above is fairly representative of a number of the "good adjusters." There is some evidence of preferring to be dependent upon the Agency, as well as evidence of insecurity in the job situation. There is, however, also evidence of the need to become settled, to achieve more than just minimum economic independence, and to find employment with some measure of upward mobility.

Another case which indicates a good adjustment is that of Mr. Y., who found a job as a stock clerk two months after his arrival in Cincinnati. Three months later his wife found employment. Both expressed the desire to get established quickly so they could save enough to start a small business of their own. They have not been back to the agency for any reason since the first time their case was closed a short time after Mrs. Y. was employed.

The excellent-adjuster. Only one case could be called an excellent employment adjustment. In this case, the emigre found employment quickly and easily in a field in which he was qualified and in a position which proved to be highly remunerative and satisfying. Mr. X. found employment in his own skilled trade and has worked himself up from a part-time employee at fifty cents per hour to the foreman of the same organization at about $10,000 per year.

It is interesting to note that the casework files of the Jewish Family Service Bureau also indicated a trend toward self-employment. By 1956 at least four of the thirty-two cases were known to have made starts in businesses of their own. By 1961 another joined this group. There may have been others who opened businesses. Because they were not active with the agency, however, they are unrecorded. However, two who opened businesses of their own fall into the category of the poor adjusters.

In conclusion several things are apparent. First, there is a close relationship between the length of time required for first employment after arrival and the length of time before permanent employment was obtained. Those who took longer than two months to find first employment most often fell into the category of those who took the longest to find permanent work. There is also some relationship between those who took the longest to find permanent jobs and those who were categorized as poor adjusters. Two of the six persons in this category took the longest time in acquiring a permanent position.

On the other hand, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of the newcomers in the sample made a satisfactory adjustment to the employment situation which confronted them in Cincinnati. Many were employed in the field of their skill. Many showed a good deal of drive toward independence and toward finding jobs which would be satisfying and remunerative.

Health

Since all of the men, women, and children of our sampling arrived in this country with little more than the clothes on their backs,

they were certainly unable to afford medical attention. Therefore, the services of the Out-Patients Department of the Jewish Hospital were made available to care for their health needs. These services were given at a nominal charge or free, depending upon the income of the family.

Though few of the emigres came badly mutilated, there were health problems which came up and which they did not hesitate to bring to the doctors at the OPD. In fact, there seems to be a clear trend toward being overly cautious regarding health matters.

Since the OPD files were not read by the researcher and since the Jewish Family Service Bureau records are certainly not complete in the area of health, the following analysis must be viewed only as a trend based upon some evidence. What does show up will be in those cases which were active with the agency during the periods of health problems. Frequently, a case was reopened during the period of serious health difficulties.

The normal aches and pains and children's diseases were among the health problems with which the newcomers had to cope. In the beginning it must have been very difficult in each case because they could not converse with the doctors to tell them the symptoms. No count or study was made in the area of normal health problems.

There were a number of major health situations which required hospitalization. Most of these occurred within the first years after arrival. They undoubtedly set back the adjustment of the individuals and families involved, making them dependent again. Among the fifteen or so individuals who were hospitalized with major difficulties, there were three women with gynecological operations, two women with gall

bladders, two men with mononucleosis, two men with ulcers, and two men and two women with tuberculosis. In the tuberculosis cases only one lasted more than a year. The others recuperated within a year after its discovery. Two of the TB cases were diagnosed almost immediately after arrival in Cincinnati. Two were treated in Denver.

One of the ways in which some of the newcomers reacted to the pressures of employment and adjustment to the new world was psychosomatic illnesses. At least seven such cases are reported in the agency files. These almost invariably occurred during the first three years after arrival. Two of these individuals are included in the categories of non employment adjusters or poor employment adjusters. One is the wife of a poor employment adjuster. In four cases, psychiatric care was necessary. One of the four was a tuberculosis patient.

The total health picture is probably close to the norm in relation to the native American population. The majority of the hospitalizations were not traceable to war-time experiences and were common ailments. The psychosomatic illness were not acute, except in one case which ended up as a bleeding ulcer, and were to be an expected response to the pressures of the emigre's situation.

In cases which necessitated the hospitalization of a family member, the agency was able to perform several services. Homemaker service could be supplied, supportive relationships could be established with the ill person as well as with the rest of the family and financial aid could be offered. Since three of the tuberculosis cases were in two families, all of these services were offered to them.

Resources

It has already been mentioned that the majority of the newcomers did not bring much material wealth with them. In fact many were found to have brought things of no value at all. In many cases several hundred pounds of baggage contained nothing but old clothing given to them by the Joint Distribution Committee, broken sewing machines, old kitchen utensils, nick knacks, and the like. In many cases the clothing which they wore during the trip to the United States was old and foreign looking. In one case a family had given most of its belongings away in Europe before departure because they were told that the Agency here would take care of all their needs.

Some of the emigres, aware that they would be given clothing, utensils, bedding, and other necessities, were loath to disclose the extent of their belongings to agency caseworkers. They hoped that the agency would give them more articles of value and thereby to increase their net wealth. One family, for instance, declared they had nothing "except the old European clothes they were wearing and a few bed sheets and plates."[10] However, it turned out that on the next day 1190 lbs. of luggage arrived including five cases, two trunks, and three valises. Since the worker knew about this and could not give the family anything which would duplicate what they already had, she had to inspect their newly-arrived possessions. The family objected vehementaly and compared her to the Hitler SS. They asked the worker to "tear open their hearts to see if they had anything hidden there."[11]

On the other hand there were those who were able to give an itemized list of their belongings, and the majority who really had

nothing to declare.

As can be seen from the above discussion, the newcomers had brought with them few resources to draw upon as they sought to establish themselves in this country. Nor did the majority have any close relatives in the United States who could provide jobs or financial assistance. About one third of the family groups did have cousins, brothers, sisters, or uncles in Cincinnati or other cities. In almost every case, however, these relatives were in no position to help because they were just getting established themselves, or they were not interested in being of assistance to the newcomers. Only in two of the cases in this study did financial aid come from relatives in other cities. This was in the form of clothing and vacation expenses. In several cases newcomer families that were related set up joint households and in this way attempted to be of help to one another. In one instance a family received twenty dollars a month for some time from a relative in town. In several cases small amounts were borrowed from prominent Cincinnati residents.

While newcomers came with little or no resources of their own, and, for the most part, had no friends or relatives upon whom they could draw for assistance, they were not without a major source of aid. The Jewish Family Service Bureau had taken upon itself the responsibility for the welfare of the emigres. As soon after arrival as was possible, the family was sent out alone or with a shopper to purchase the clothing that it needed. In some cases only a few articles were necessary, but most required a full wardrobe. The following list is an example of the needs of a family of three which the agency supplied:

Mr. A	1 coat
	1 shirt
	2 pairs of underwear
	1 suit
	1 pair of slippers
	2 pairs of pajamas
	1 hat
	1 pair of gloves
	1 sweater
	1 pair of shoes
Mrs. A	1 coat
	1 dress
	2 pairs of hose
	2 slips
	1 purse
	1 girdle
	1 blouse
	2 pairs of underwear
	2 nightgowns
	1 pair of gloves
	2 brassieres
	1 pair of shoes
	1 pair of slippers
Child	1 pair of shoes
	1 dress
	1 pair of overalls
	1 pair of pajamas
	1 pair of slippers
	3 pairs of sox

In their choice of clothing, the newcomers tended toward bright colors as well as sizes larger than they needed. In many cases, work clothes were also supplied after work was found. In cases where a baby was born soon after arrival the layette was also supplied by the agency.

As soon as an individual found an apartment, the Jewish Family Service Bureau provided all the furniture, dishes, pots and pans, linens, cleaning equipment, and odds and ends which were necessary. Sometimes an icebox was supplied and in a few cases a stove. Most of the furniture seems to have been used furniture collected by the Council of Jewish Women. If a family took a furnished apartment, the agency did

not make any duplications.

Until a family became financially independent the Jewish Family Service Bureau assumed the expenses incurred for housing, food, carfare, personal necessities, and recreation. Below is a table indicating the average expenditure which the agency undertook per family unit during the first six months after its arrival in this city.

Number in Family	Number of Families	Average Agency Expenditure in first six months
1	12	$ 370
2	7	606
3	12	862
4	5	1144

Expenditures during the second six month period after arrival in Cincinnati were substantially less per family unit. This fact indicates significant movement toward independence. In addition, less than half of the family groups were in need of financial assistance during this period. The following table indicates the distributions:

Number in Family	Number of Families	Average Agency Expenditure in second six months
1	3	$ 281
2	1	158
3	8	318
4	4	284

The first year shows an impressive move toward independence in our sampling. In the next four years after arrival only nine family units returned to the agency for monetary assistance totaling one hundred dollars or more. The following table shows the distribution of

those who required such assistance between the second and fifth years after arrival in Cincinnati.

Number in Family	Number of Families	Average Agency Aid Between Second and Fifth years after Arrival
1	1	$ 554
2	0	000
3	7	628
4	1	560

The following description of a family of three shows how they were able to make adequate use of the material resources which were available through the Jewish Family Service Bureau. Mr. and Mrs. B. arrived in January 1949 with their three year old child. Each received a complete wardrobe from the agency within the first week of their residence in Cincinnati. For a month they lived in a boarding house. This was paid for by the agency. At the beginning of the second month, they found an apartment. Furniture was supplied for the family as well as kitchen utensils, supplies, and linens. The first month's rent was paid by the agency. During the second month, Mr. B. found a job and was able to take over the bulk of the family's expenses. At the end of the second month, the family found itself short of funds and was not able to pay the gas and electric bill. The agency took care of this after reviewing Mr. B.'s family budget. During the second month also some small clothing items were purchased for the family to make up for what was lacking in their possessions. Two years later the family returned to the agency to apply for a camp scholarship for their child. The child was given a full scholarship to the Jewish Center Day Camp. Two years

later the family returned to apply for homemaker service while Mrs. B. was in the hospital delivering her second child. Homemaker service was again provided two years later when Mrs. B. underwent surgery. The family remained patients of the Jewish Hospital Out Patient's Department for several years, paying according to Mr. B.'s income.

While there is nothing particularly significant about this family, it is representative of the majority of the families in our sample. It made full use of the financial resources available through the agency, yet the total expenditure of the Jewish Family Service Bureau for this family was less than seven hundred dollars.

ANALYSIS

Survival was the major task of every emigre family. The ways in which they approached this task proved to be successful. On every count we find that the newcomers held their ground. There is no doubt that they could have remained in the boarding houses and could have stayed unemployed for long periods of time. But the facts show that the newcomers were pressing for privacy, for better housing, and finally for homes of their own. Also, those who had survived the travails of the war period, who had had the strength to survive the demoralizing atmosphere of the D.P. camps, were also those who came to this country and strove for employment, who were not satisfied with low paying jobs, and who searched for jobs which would take them and their families off the charity rolls of the Jewish Family Service Bureau. In their struggle for survival, the health problems which arose were cared for under the auspices of the Jewish Hospital Out Patient's Department. Our group

appears to have been particularly cautious about health needs. This may have been due to concentration camp experiences in which it was learned that perfect health meant life and sickness meant the death chambers. The majority of the sampling proved to be relatively healthy, except for the tuberculosis cases.

Although the general attitude was to attain personal independence, the group, as a whole, did not hesitate to draw upon the facilities of the Jewish Family Service Bureau. Some guilt and hostility were apparent in accepting agency aid, but this did not deter the requests for furniture, clothing, camp scholarships, and so on. These things which the agency was able to provide were looked upon by the newcomers as necessities which the agency owed to them. The press toward establishment justified taking the agency charity. It even justified some of the emigres taking more than was their due. It is possible that the ability to draw upon all sources which are available was another lesson of survival learned in the death camps.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

From the start of World War II the members of this group of newcomers had been displaced persons. They had been uprooted from their homes and lands and been deported to concentration camps in foreign countries. They had been detached from their families, their jobs, and their schooling, and placed in a situation where all values were meaningless beside the awesome task of survival. In the concentration camp there was no sense of permanence or belonging. As one woman said, people were your friends until they thought you were sick, and then they left you to die lest you become a burden to them.

After the war one of the primary tasks of those who survived was to re-establish old ties, to start new families, to establish homes, to love and be loved; in short, to belong to somebody and someplace. Alienated men and women needed to be integrated and wanted to feel a part of a home and a community and a land. Some had already begun the task before arriving in this country. 66% of our sampling had married after the close of the war; another 10% had married even before the end of the war. Fifteen men were single upon arrival in Cincinnati. Of these fifteen, five are known to have married after a period of residence. One of these was later divorced and has not married since.

Becoming part of the American culture and the Cincinnati community meant having American-born children. At least 38% of the known married couples (excluding the divorced couple) have had children since their arrival in the United States. It was also found that 40% of those

who had children in this country had more than one after arrival. Two couples are known to want a child but have been unable to conceive. One of these has applied for adoption.

The emigres expressed their desire to merge with the Cincinnati community in other ways, too. Their eagerness for private housing, American clothing, the desire to learn the English language, and to find steady employment may all be interpreted in this light. In addition, it was found that theemigres were extremely anxious to file their first papers for naturalization. Quite often a family spent a substantial portion of its first or second week's budget on the photographs which were necessary for the papers that would eventually make them citizens of this country. The follow-up interviews will indicate that almost every individual became a citizen after he had been in this country five years.

Within their homes, too, the emigres displayed their intention to be like the native population. Much of the furniture which was given to them through the Jewish Family Service Bureau was furniture that had been discarded by Cincinnati people. Within the first few years of their residence in Cincinnati, the newcomers began to replace the furniture they had received with new couches, new bedroom sets, and new or used dining room sets. They also began, as soon as possible, to replace the ice boxes and old refrigerators they had been given with new ones. In a number of cases, washing machines, television sets, and new clothing were also purchased. Most of the families used the installment plan, a typically American custom, to purchase the new or used furniture and appliances.

There were a few aspects of American culture which a minority of the newcomers found it difficult to adjust to in their early years

of residence in Cincinnati. Two or three men were unfamiliar with the emphasis on work and being self-supporting here in America. One of these wanted to study without giving any consideration to where his next meal was coming from. Some time later his attitude changed and he was able to remark to the caseworker:

> ...in Europe they were so used to asking for things from the Joint, so used to being "schnorrers," that they continued to ask for things and did not stop to realize that they could go out and work for what they needed and support themselves.[12]

About another man, discouraged by his first few weeks in this country, the caseworker said:

> ...when they came here so full of hope and energy and eager to get things done, they sort of had the feeling that house and a job and friends, everything, would be just waiting here for them. He had not realized that it meant getting out and having to dig for them.[13]

Several men were unable to accept the fact that they could be doing the very same job as another man but that if the other man had been doing that job longer he would be paid more for it. In one case, a man stated that he knew it took a good deal of time and money to become established in a private business, but that he had never dreamed that he would have to work for someone in this country.

In the case of Mr. and Mrs. R., who seemed to adjust to American life quite well, we find a reaction to the pace of American living. They "find the lack of leisure and the rush of American life quite hard ..." and they consider more important visits to museums and parks. They like to attend concerts and collect records. Here in America, they find the job is valued as most important; but to them the most valuable things are cultural.[14]

In another case a couple found it strange to allow the children in America to have so much freedom. At the same time, they felt that families neglected to care for aged parents.

Such responses to American culture from people who were transplanted from foreign lands were to be expected. It is only surprising that more evidence that the emigres found American life strange was not apparent in the case records. What was found, indirectly, was a general attitude of flexibility and acceptance of American customs.

The friendships of the emigres of our sampling remained almost completely within the D.P. group in the early years. A few were able to make friendships among the established Ashkenazic and Greek communities of Cincinnati and some relationships were formed at places of employment. But for the most part, due to the language handicap, the necessity of spending a great deal of energy providing food for the table, and, perhaps, due to their own reticence, the newcomers did not widen their circle of companions. A good many had close or distant relatives in this city; others were successful in bringing their relatives, who were D.Ps., to Cincinnati. These relatives and the other newcomers who had shared many of the same hardships during and after the war formed the inner circle of friends which our group made.

Antisemitism was not the cause of the failure of the emigres to make friendships within the non-Jewish population. For there are almost no such complaints in the casework files. There was one instance of a man who did not prefer to live among Jews.

> ...he didn't want to live with so many Jews (as there were in Israel), (he said) that living with Jews was very, very bad. ...and he felt perhaps that coming to the U.S. would be more like living with non-Jews and he thought he would get along better.[15]

But this was an extreme exception. For the most part these emigres identified exclusively with one another.

The emigres identified with one another and also tended to live near one another. The main area of emigre residence was in Avondale, which was an old Jewish neighborhood. This would seem to indicate a strong desire, on the part of the refugees, to be physically with and part of the total Jewish community. This is borne out in the case records which extend over a long period of time. In those records we find, that as the Jewish community moved from the Avondale area to the Bond Hill and Roselawn areas, the emigres also moved to the same neighborhoods. Talking about apartments, one man is described in the following way:

> He thought the location in Price Hill was much too far away from the total Jewish community and he didn't want to live in such a neighborhood. He would much prefer to live in Avondale or Western Hills or someplace where the other refugees are.[16]

In the casework files there is no indication that the newcomers participated in the general Cincinnati community. As a rule they did not have non-Jewish friends, as we have seen, and they did not join clubs or fraternal groups. In a case which reopened in 1963, the only instance of a man joining a fraternal order was found. This man had joined the Masons. The same man was a member of the B'nai B'rith.

The reasons the newcomers did not join organizations is explained by Mrs. Helen Glassman in the following way:

> Under the Walter-McCarran Immigration Law, to join a group in the United States which has been named by the Attorney General as being subversive would make the D.P. subject to deportation from this country. The D.P. had been warned about this while still overseas, and he is, therefore, very cautious and refuses to join any organization. This indicates a strong desire on the part of the D.P. to be a law-abiding person, but also deprives him of the means of having his life enriched culturally and socially. Another reason was the cost involved. Not only were there dues, but special clothes, entertainment, etc., and the D.P. felt that these were expenditures that could wait until he felt more secure financially. Women sometimes declined to join an organization because they were not made to feel at home with the other members.[17]

Those who worked in union shops did belong to the unions; however, we do not have any statistics for them. There must have also been a large number who joined the New American's Society, but record of this was not found in the case reports.

Affiliations within the general Jewish community were also rare among the newcomers. Only one man joined the Good Times Club. One man joined B'nai B'rith and a woman was a member of Cantor Rosen's choir. Though most of the newcomers considered themselves Orthodox Jews, only a few must have actually joined synagogues because of the high cost of membership. Some expressed their Orthodoxy by attendance at religious services. However, the case records show that even in the early years four families had already begun sending their children to Jewish parochial schools. The interviews held in 1963 and 1964 indicate that an even higher number than this had sent children to parochial schools.

SUMMARY

A review of this chapter indicates that the emigres did

express a vital need to belong to a community, to have family, and a group of friends. This need was developed during the years of the war, when families were separated and destroyed, when roots were torn up, and when friendships might even have been dependant upon physical strength. As the emigres began to arrive in the United States some of these needs to belong had already been fulfilled by the post-war marriages. These began to have children; here others started their families in this country. Once they were in this country the newcomers tried to become a part of the general community superficially by being as much like the average American as possible. They moved from boarding houses to private apartments. Some even purchased homes of their own. They discarded their old European clothing and replaced it with American clothing. They took jobs and sought to better their financial positions so they would be able to live on a scale equivalent to the average American. When they had some measure of security they replaced the old furniture which was given to them by the agency with newer furniture and appliances which were more in keeping with the standards of American living.

They did not, however, find friends outside of the Jewish emigre circle. Nor did they join many organizations or fraternal orders. Instead, they seem to have limited their friendships to newcomers and to the family that they had in Cincinnati (most of whom were also newcomers). Within the newcomer group there was one organization which they did belong to.

They did not seem to take memberships in synagogues or temples either, probably due to the cost of membership. But they did try to send their school age children to parochial schools.

We have seen, then, the emigres living among the general Jewish population, but as a separate culture which is not strongly integrated into the activities of the Jewish community or the general community. There were a number of possible reasons for this. First, though the newcomers did want to merge inconspicuously into the American life in which they found themselves, they also found that there were many strange customs which would take years to become accustomed to. There were also more important ways in which a man could spend his time than going to club meetings and participating in community activities. A family was more interested in obtaining basic necessities and a few of the luxuries which it saw other Americans had. There was the fear of joining an organization which might jeopardize their tenure in this new land. And there was always a synagogue which they could attend without paying membership fees. Children could be educated in Jewish schools even without belonging to a synagogue. There was also a ready-made community to which they belonged by virtue of their experiences, for there was a fellow feeling among the emigre group, as well as common languages and easy communication. Also, the American community probably did not go out of its way to socialize with the emigres, to invite them into their homes and organizations. The native community did not possess the ability to converse fluently with the emigres, and even may have felt a certain amount of guilt with regard to the D.Ps. and what they had suffered during the war. Taking all of these factors into consideration, it is possible to understand why the emigres could not fully integrate into the American community.

CHAPTER IV

EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENTS

Most of the group of emigres with which we have been dealing had, before their arrival in Cincinnati, suffered from ten to thirteen years of displacement. They had been plucked up from their native lands and sent away to work in labor camps and concentration camps on foreign soil. Or they had fled to foreign lands to escape the ravages of the war. After the war many individuals returned to their native villages and cities to find out who and what was left of the old order. In most cases all they found was massive destruction as well as the onslaught of new totalitarian regimes. Again, they decided to flee, to make their homes in an atmosphere of freedom. They returned to the D.P. camps and later left for the United States. Though they had been prepared for the radical changes of coming to a new continent and a new country by the many years of rootlessness which they had already experienced, the newcomers were still to experience more emotional pressures in this country. Within the processes of meeting their survival needs and social and community integration they would still have another task of coping with their emotions. In this new environment they might encounter resentment, guilt, helplessness, dependency, psychosis, or familial problems as a result of the pressures of adjustment.

One of the first feelings to make its presence manifest in the mind of the newcomer was the vast awareness of his own helplessness. He could not speak the common language and was unfamiliar with places and things which were common knowledge to the native. One man made

the mistake of getting off the train that brought him to Cincinnati and found no one waiting for him. After some time of trying to find out what he was to do and where he was to go he found himself in the wrong city. He was like a little lost child. Others often expressed this feeling of helplessness to caseworkers. They told of not being able to communicate, of feeling unable to find employment, of feeling that they would have to depend on others like the Jewish Vocational Service. Some of the refugees expressed feelings of helplessness in coping with the new community and new ways. They felt unable to perform the simplest tasks like shopping. They did not know where to start in making friends. In a few instances this sense of helplessness reached the proportions of despair. In most cases the emigres quickly took hold of themselves. They soon became adept at traveling from the boarding house to the Jewish Family Service Bureau offices. After the first trip downtown with a shopper to purchase their American clothes they were able to make their own trips to fill in on missing items. In the boarding house they found a common community and made their first friends. On the streets they met refugees whom they had known in the D.P. camps. When they found employment, helplessness was often replaced with a sense of accomplishment and self-confidence. Learning the English language at classes opened the doors of communication and also fostered self-assurance.

Loneliness was also one of the emotional responses which was experienced among our sampling. While only four instances of it are noted in the case reports, there is little doubt that it was far more prevalent. Loneliness was a particularly significant factor in the lives of the unmarried men who arrived alone in this strange land. The

following excerpt from a case record typifies the blending of loneliness and helplessness:

> He emphasized to me the need for having somebody to consult with, to encourage him, and I could sense that he was appealing to me. I tried to be especially calm and sympathetic to him and he responded to it by expressing his loneliness and need for help. [18]

At the very first interview, another single man is described by the worker:

> He brought out quite easily difficulties he was facing in regard to being lonely, not understanding the language and his desire to speak English. [19]

Though loneliness was less apparent and less of a problem among the married couples, it must have been experienced by a large percentage of emigres. They overcame loneliness by forming a common community of newcomers, by attending meetings sponsored by the Jewish Family Service Bureau in which common problems were discussed, and by re-establishing family contacts. Those who could, while they were processing for admittance to the United States, designated the community they wanted to go to with the intention of joining a friend or a relative who had already been sent there. In many cases the newcomers in our sampling contacted their relatives still in Europe and helped them to come to Cincinnati. Thus, brothers, sisters, cousins, and friends united in this community and overcame the isolation which bred loneliness.

One of the most emotionally charged experiences of the newcomers was to have to be dependent upon the Jewish Family Service Bureau. Every emigre was in need of some kind of support from the agency. Even the single man who arrived with sufficient clothing had to rely upon the agency to pay for his room and board until he was able to find employ-

ment which would pay enough to support him. Every time he received his weekly check he was aware of his own inadequacy. How much more did the man who had a family of three or four, suffer from feelings of guilt and inadequacy as he accepted money for clothing, food, rent, entertainment, carfare, and so on. Commenting on earlier periods of immigration, Handlin has stated:

> The man who had dealings with social workers was often sullen and unco-operative; he disliked the necessity of becoming a case, of revealing his dependence to strangers. He was also suspicious, feared there would be no understanding of his own way of life or of his problems; and he was resentful, because the powerful outsiders were judging him by superficial standards of their own. [20]

The same held true for the group of emigres with which this study is concerned.

Being in a state of dependence was, in any case, a fact of the emigres' lives. Their need to be dependent probably developed from the D.P. camps where they could easily depend upon free housing and food, as well as clothing. In the D.P. camp the essentials for life were provided without any return on the part of the refugees. The trip to America was another thing which was provided without cost to the refugees. In addition, they were often under the impression that once they arrived here in the United States, the agency was under contract to support them until the end of five years. They often felt that "golden America" owed them a living, that housing, clothing, and food should be provided free, until they were ready to go out and work.

The range of reactions toward receiving help from the Jewish Family Service Bureau was very wide, ranging from violent to hostile to

accepting. Within every range there was a range of demanding too. Some would accept as much as they could possibly extort from the agency, from friends, from prominent members of the community. Others would be less demanding but would not be accepting of the limitations of the agency. Still others would accept only what was offered to them and were content. Those who were the most demanding were also those who were the most hostile or violent. Those who were the least demanding were the same as those who were accepting of the help of the agency.

A typical situation in which a demanding woman displayed her hostility is described by a caseworker in a case report:

> I felt that since she did not fulfill her responsibility and since she did not apparently give me the correct information about the financial situation that we could no longer extend the scholarship to her (a camp scholarship for her child). Mrs. Y. became very excited and began to shout and kept telling me how much we were doing for others and how she never got anything from the agency and never received any help from us. [21]

This in itself was a totally unrealistic outburst since the agency had been forced to deny long lists of requests from this family due to the adequate and steady income of Mr. Y.

In another case, one of a kind, a man reacted to the refusal of the agency to supply his demands by coming into the caseworker's office and crushing a chair over the top of the desk.

In the majority of cases, however, the response to the dependency situation was one of hostility toward the agency, coupled with a generally demanding attitude. In a large number of cases this situation ended with the acceptance of employment, but then resumed when first employment was lost for one reason or another. Such was the case with

Mr. L., who showed little antagonism toward the agency during the first few weeks after his arrival and dependence.
However, when he later became sick and was forced to apply for agency supplementation, he was very hostile, priding himself on not having taken much from the agency and being extremely defensive about how he had spent his money that he had earned while working.[22]

There were those, on the other hand, who were neither demanding nor hostile towards the relief-giving agency. They accepted the aid of the agency graciously and were able to make the best of these resources. These individuals did not have to cope with the guilt and hostilities which the others, who were more demanding, harbored. The lack of hostility or demands did not necessarily mean a quick and easy adjustment. A few of the cases studied showed individuals who were most gracious and accepting of the agency but who also lacked the ability to maintain themselves independently, or who regressed from independence to dependence upon the agency without any hostility whatsoever. When the agency cut their relief checks to force them to work they willingly complied without hostility or demanding that the relief be extended.

The need to be dependent upon the aid of the agency revealed itself in two basic patterns. There were a few individuals who wanted and needed to be dependent upon someone as a permanent arrangement. This is exemplified by the case of Mr. X., who never was able to hold a job, who was always dependent upon the agency or the Department of Public Welfare, and who lives today supported by Social Security and German indemnity payments. There were also many individuals and families who needed to be dependent upon the agency for as long a period as they

could, because they looked to the agency to supplement their own efforts toward independence. Some only temporarily regressed to dependence, during unemployment periods; others continued to come for financial support when they did not really need it; some asked for articles of clothing or furniture when what they had would have been sufficient. In this group a great deal of hostility was expressed toward the agency because their demands could not be met. They could not understand that the Jewish Family Service Bureau was not in a position to help them beyond providing them with basic necessities.

Excluded from these two basic categories are those few who could not, because of extreme physical or emotional disorders, achieve complete independence of the agency. Also, there were a few who did not demand anything beyond the initial help which the agency provided upon arrival. These people were able to see themselves as the source from which all further advancement would come and, therefore, were independent of the agency. This last group probably suffered least in its emotional adjustment to the United States.

The basic task of those who found themselves in a dependent position was to become independent of the social agency and, thus, end their feelings of hostility. The vast majority of the cases studied did do this. Sometimes there was a period of dependency after months of independence in this country. This regression was often accompanied by strong hostility. Within the first six months after arrival, however, we found that 55% of the families in the sampling were free of financial dependency upon the agency; also, only 25% were in need of financial aid of over $100 between the second and fifth years after arrival.

In their isolation during the first few months in this country there was frequently a sense of being rejected. The newcomers could not understand that the agency was bound to dispense financial aid according to specific standards of need. Therefore, when they made a request that the Jewish Family Service Bureau was not able to fulfill, the newcomers felt that they were being personally rejected and discriminated against by the workers. At their jobs, too, since they were frequently unable to socialize with fellow workers, the newcomers often felt that things were being said behind their backs to mock them. In searching for apartments there was sometimes the feeling that landlords did not want to rent to emigres. In a few cases the emigres felt that employers discriminated against them because they were Jews. It was the general feeling of the case workers that this sense of being discriminated against or mocked was mostly unrealistic and that it was a manifestation of their being unable to communicate fully with the native American.

We have seen that there was a great need to get established financially on the part of the newcomers. They sought employment quickly, wanted to be on a secure foundation, and used the resources of the Jewish Family Service Bureau to attain these ends. After so many years of insecurity it is no wonder that the emigres wanted to have the highest measure of stability. In the vast majority of cases this need was expressed in a healthy striving for employment and for material things. In a case report one worker records a conversation in which a relatively healthy attitude is expressed:

> (We had a) full discussion of Mr.Q's philosophy of life as well as some of his feelings about being in a land in which there is so much opportunity and his wanting to provide the best possible environment for his family. He said that as a result it has been his practice to spend all of his money as he made it buying furniture and other appliances to make the housework and cleaning easier for his wife. During the past year he has bought a new gas range, a washing machine, a vacuum cleaner, and a TV set, in addition to the other furniture such as kitchen set, bedroom, living-room set, etc.[23]

On the other hand there were three extreme cases in which money and material possessions became the sole obsession of the emigre. The following case record is an example of how far this obsession was capable of being carried:

> Mr. A. feels he has to have more money because otherwise he is considered as absolutely no good by his wife; pathetically he stated one day that as long as he did not have money he could not be a man in his own home. This feeling is absolutely verified by his wife who refers to him as "an idiot" and "not worthwhile because he doesn't earn enough money." [24]

In another case, Mrs. C. was obsessed with the need for money and refused to spend anything for medical care.

In three cases individuals with masochistic tendencies are described by caseworkers. Each of these cases occurs within a married family. One case is described as follows:

> As I see it, this is a situation in which Mr. Y. is the more passive member of the family; there must be a masochistic factor in him, that he is able to tolerate the tearing down that his wife administers to him. [25]

In another case, Mrs. L. is described as a "neurotic," "masochistic" person; and in a third case both members of the family are consistently described as "sado-masochistic" personalities. This last case is one

in which a man and wife do no more than share the same roof and share the responsibilities. Neither wanted to work the problems out. This is the same case described above in which the wife was not able to be satisfied with the amount of money her husband earned. In each of these cases counselling aid was attempted by the Jewish Family Service Bureau; however, only in one instance was it successful to some extent. The others were not able to accept the role of the agency in working out this problem.

In four cases emotional strains encountered in this country were severe enough to warrant hospitalization and psychiatric care. One of these cases was traceable to a terrible war-time experience encountered while still a teen-ager. Another case revolved around a person with a long-term, serious illness. Three of the four were men.

In eight cases, the family unit also seems to have suffered. Some of the problems may have been due to a hasty marriage following the liberation in 1945. There is no doubt, however, that the emotional strains which were encountered after arrival in this country worsened marital situations which were already tenuous and even had serious impact upon families which had a firm foundation.

One of the eight poor marital situations involved a man who arrived in this country single and was divorced after a short marriage in this country. No counselling service was requested in this case. Other poor marital situations revolved around long-term illnesses, obsessions with money and material things, mental problems, and the inability to have children. In these cases counselling was offered by the Jewish Family Service Bureau; however, it was either of slight help or refused

in all but the one case in which counselling services were requested and were fruitful.

Children seem also to have suffered from the tensions of family conflict and adjustment to a new land and environment. Many cases were reported in which feeding problems were encountered. At least two cases in which parents had overprotected their children to the point of infantilization were reported by caseworkers. In two cases parents admitted to beating their children as a result of anxiety and tension. In one case in which there is a serious marital problem, a worker wrote:

> The children have been caught in a web of conflict between their parents, and as each child is growing older they are finding it more difficult to grow and identify themselves as wholesome young (people)...[26]

In three of these cases children are known to have applied for Big Brothers and in another case extensive work was done with a Big Sister. In one case a child needed to be taken to the psychiatric clinic at Children's Hospital. In four cases the children involved came from families with marital problems. A total of nine families had children who had suffered in various ways from the anxieties of resettlement.

With all of the anxieties and tensions which the newcomers encountered, one might expect that they would have been very interested in the counselling services of the Jewish Family Service Bureau. This, however, was not the case. To the vast majority of the families for whom counselling services would have been beneficial, the whole idea of revealing their problems, their emotions, and their marital distress, was totally foreign. The emigres looked upon the Jewish Family Service Bureau almost completely as a charity organization through which they

might be able to bolster their own financial security. The newcomers did not, for the most part, understand the concept of a casework relationship. This also holds true for those who were referred for psychiatric interviews. If they did appear for such interviews they were resistant to the questions of the psychiatrist and were rarely able to accept any kind of insight. A psychiatric referral was often received with hostility and with the charge that the caseworker was trying to accuse the emigre of being "crazy."

On the other hand, there are a few cases in which one or more members of a family were able to accept the counselling services of the agency. There is the case of Mrs. W., who

> feels that a continued relationship with a caseworker to whom she can pour out her troubles and with whom she can share her anxieties will be helpful to her. [27]

There is Mr. Y., who was able to use the agency constructively from the start. He has come to the agency on a number of occasions regarding his marital situation and has a good understanding of the nature of casework.

Though many of the emigres were able to ventilate their disappointments and their hostilities to the workers at the agency, and most were able to make constructive use of the financial resources which were offered to them, most of the emigres were unable to enter into casework relationships. Very often the relationship which did exist between the emigre and the caseworker was on the most superficial level and could be strained by the worker's refusing to give even a small item to the emigre. The newcomers did not understand the agency as more than a relief-giving institution and were, for the most part, anxious to be able

to tell the agency that they were no longer in need of any of its services. They seem to have felt that the sooner they were released from the need to go to the agency they were also released from a stigma upon their characters. To bring marital or anxiety problems to the caseworkers would have meant revealing themselves more than they understood how to do, as well as prolonging the need to apply for help.

SUMMARY

This chapter has shown that the emigres and their families faced enormous emotional strains in their years of adjustment to a new land, new values, and new people. They could not escape the realities of being foreigners superimposed upon a culture which was not immediately conducive to their growth. They found themselves helpless, alone, and dependent. They could not help feeling great surges of hostility towards those to whom they knew they could turn for help. The emigres often suffered from feelings of being rejected by American citizens. They felt Americans mocked them behind their backs. They also felt the caseworkers were depriving them of their just portions of relief. As newcomers, they were unable to recognize that the agency worked under a definite system of relief according to need, and no relief when a person is capable but unwilling to help himself.

In their great drive to become established and secure some of the emigres suffered from exaggerated emphases on money or material things. This reflected in some of the marital problems which arose. All of the pressures upon the emigres affected the marital situations. Children,

too, suffered from the anxieties of family life. Under the pressures of starting over in a new land, a few individuals suffered from mental disease and required hospitalization. In spite of all of these problems, anxieties, and pressures, the majority of the newcomers were unwilling or unable to come for counselling services. They preferred to approach these problems alone, as they had with the task of survival during the war. They did not, for the most part, hold back from coming to the social agency for financial help because they saw this as the ultimate means of getting on their own feet. Nor did they mind ventilating their feelings of hostility or their frustrations and complaints. But the emigres would not discuss marital difficulties, or accept insight into their dependency needs. They felt, instead, that these were private things, matters which they had to overcome themselves.

The basic way in which the pressures of the new life could be overcome was to become secure and to become Americanized. This was how the emigres attempted to solve their problems. As they were able to get jobs which put them on a firm financial basis, as they were better able to understand the English language, as they developed a circle of friends and relatives to widen their scope of experience and to fill out their emotional requirements, the emigres began to relax in the family situation. They also began to suffer less from feelings of resentment, loneliness, dependency, and so on. As they became more sure of themselves the anxieties of resettlement relaxed. They could more easily enjoy a child who had been a financial burden. They could satisfy their needs for material goods. They could enjoy an evening in a comfortably furnished apartment or home. Life could take on new and more pleasing aspects, with even a little time for recreation.

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL AGENCY

Just as the primary task in the case of the newcomer was to become established as an independent American citizen, so the main task of the Jewish Family Service Bureau was to see that the newcomer was successful in this endeavor.

The agency began its part in this venture before the arrival of the emigre family. Temporary housing was arranged at a boarding house and meals were arranged at the same place. Someone was sent to accompany the emigre from the train station to the boarding house when possible, thus making the transition into the new city one in which the consideration of the agency was apparent from the very first moments after arrival. As soon as possible an interview with the entire family was arranged by a caseworker. At this interview the worker expressed her interest in the well-being of the family, as well as her desire to see the family happy and financially independent in the United States. The family was given an opportunity to express its feelings about the trip from Europe as well as to give some background information on its experiences before, during, and after the war. At this first interview the family was referred to the Jewish Hospital Out-Patients Department, for an examination to determine what health needs the emigres had, as well as to determine work qualifications. This examination proved helpful in some cases where physical ailments would have been worsened by certain kinds of working conditions and in cases in which physical ailments such as tuberculosis and syphilis were discovered and treated immediately.

The referral to the Out-Patients Department also made it possible for the newcomers to have inexpensive medical care for as long as they were unable to pay the cost of private medical care.

As soon as medical examinations were finished and a work report was received from the Out-Patients Department, the agency referred the emigre to the Jewish Vocational Service with a summary of his work experience as well as the work limitations, if any, suggested by the Out-Patients Department. From this point, until the emigre was able to achieve complete financial independence, the Jewish Vocational Service and the Jewish Family Service Bureau worked in close contact regarding the emigre's employment situation. If the emigre displayed s strong dependency need and did not accept employment, the Jewish Family Service was notified. In several cases it was necessary for the agency to suspend some portion of financial aid in order to move an emigre into employment and financial independence. In a few cases employment rehabilitation was provided.

While the employment problems were being worked out the housing problems were also being considered. The agency workers did not go out with the emigres to search for housing. But they were able to guide them in their selection of an apartment which would be adequate for their needs. In many cases the emigre family was interested in an apartment which would have been a financial drain. The worker was usually able to discourage the final selection of such an apartment. If the working member of the household was still unemployed and the family was still dependent upon relief given by the agency, the worker was able to veto an apartment which was too expensive. In many cases the newcomers were anxious to have the worker point out the drawbacks of housing which they had found,

for they were uncertain of their future financial position and were aware of their inexperience in evaluating American apartments. Workers, therefore, visited most of the apartments before the emigres took them.

When housing was found the agency, in cooperation with the Council of Jewish Women, was able to supply all of the furniture and utensils and linens which were necessary for the entire family.

Necessary clothing was furnished by the agency soon after arrival.

Essential in helping the family to become financially independent was to discuss and plan out a budget to cover every expense which the family should encounter in its weekly living. If a family was living on an income less than its budgetary requirements, the agency was able to supply the deficit. When a family was operating independently for a period of time without contact with the agency the case was closed until re-application. In most cases there was a re-application for relief within the first few months after the first closing. This followed the pattern of accepting a job and then moving, after a period of unemployment, to a better position. It was at this point of the first re-application for financial aid that the Jewish Family Service Bureau was most likely to encounter a severe problem. Very often the emigre regressed after he lost his first job and entered a period of dependency. In such cases relief was withheld to force the emigre back into employment and into independence. Usually, no amount of clarification or insight had the same quick effect as withholding relief.

The agency was also able to help families in other ways. A good many families came to workers to discuss plans for the maintenance

of the home during childbirth or during hospitalization. The Jewish Family Service Bureau was able to provide, with the cooperation of the Family Service of Cincinnati, homemaker service when warranted. In some cases the family was able to pay for the homemaker service but had come to the agency because this was the way in which they were accustomed to treating such problems. At times individuals came to the agency for relief during the hospitalization of a wage-earner. Depending upon the family income, such aid was given during the actual hospitalization.

In the cases in which tuberculosis struck a family the agency was called upon to do a great deal of family planning, from budgeting to homemaker service. Keeping a family together in the absence of a mother or a father over a prolonged period of time was a momentous task.

Often the Jewish Family Service Bureau was called upon to locate and unify families. An emigre might come to the agency and tell of a friend or relative, either in a specific place in Europe, or in an unknown place in Europe or the United States. They would ask the agency to locate the other party and bring him to Cincinnati so that the family or friends might be united. This was an important service in the eyes of the emigre because family groups and friendships meant a great deal in a strange land.

Other family planning which the agency was able to do with the emigres included helping to get children into nursery school, sometimes with scholarships, as well as providing families with day camp scholarships at the Jewish Community Center day camps. In these cases the emigre families paid according to their ability.

The fact that caseworkers were usually unable to form casework relationships with the emigres has already been noted in the last chapter. Insight and clarification were usually rejected by the emigres for

a variety of reasons. However, the caseworkers did provide an opportunity for the emigres to ventilate their feelings. Most of those who were involved in financial or marital difficulties, and actually almost all those who did use the agency services for any length of time, were reported to have poured out their frustrations and their anxieties to the workers. They told of their disappointments, their goals, and their feelings. Frequently the worker was viewed by the emigre as an official from whom they could try to cajole financial support. In some cases, when the worker had to withhold financial aid or could not go along with demands which were made, the emigres responded with hostility, comparing workers to Nazi Storm Troopers. One person asked if the worker wanted to cut his wrists for a punishment as they did in Germany. All of the newcomers' hostilities were accepted by the workers without hostile response. This was a great service; for the emigre could vent his hostilities and frustrations without incurring reprisals.

The agency workers were also frequently able to play a supportive role in the adjustment of the emigres to the new world. They were able to compliment the newcomers on their improvement with the English language, as well as on their ability to work and be self-supporting. In many instances where an emigre had regressed from an independent status to a state of dependency, the workers were able to point up the abilities of the emigres and thus help them seek work again. A great deal of supportive work was done with tuberculosis patients and their families. In the case of Mr. G. during eight months in the hospital, letters went out from the worker bi-weekly on a supportive level, enquiring about his daily life, his English lessons, praising his command of English and his

truly fine letters, enquiring about his vocational rehabilitation, talking about the weather, the worker's heavy caseload, expressing the agency's interest in him when he returns, encouraging him in his physical improvement, and encouraging him to remain in the hospital as long as the doctors say he should.

Supportive help was also given those who were well, but who found the struggle to attain financial independence overpowering. The following is an excerpt from one case record:

> Generally Mr. O. has a tendency to feel sorry for himself, and has a rather weak ego. Tried to help him out a little, pointing out that he is lucky to have a fine wife and child, since he is stressing material values. Praised his wife and said that without her he would not be living now. However (he) still felt that it was terrible to be poor and to have to ask for help. I stressed the positives, his wife, family, better living arrangements, etc., and the fact that they are young and he will have possibilities of greater earnings. [28]

Although a great deal of help was given to the emigres on the financial level as well as in planning, ventilation, and support, little direct help was offered to socially integrate the newcomers into the community. They were directed to English classes and the Gate Club; but the agency did not engage in helping the emigres to understand the organizational structure of the Jewish community or to become a part of that community. In this area of community integration the emigres were left on their own. It is entirely possible that little could have been done which was not done; or that the emigres would have rejected any attempts to have them become more a part of the total community, and that they would have preferred to remain among themselves.

SUMMARY

An overall view of the role of the Jewish Family Service Bureau shows that the primary task of the agency in the resettlement of the emigres was to help them to economic independence so they would not be a continued burden upon the resources of the agency or the community. Ancillary to this role, the agency was able to offer many other services to the emigres. The total contribution of the agency must be judged on the basis of the primary role of the agency. As we have already seen the emigres moved toward economic adjustments with great speed. This is the measure by which one must, therefore, judge that the agency fulfilled its primary role and task.

As the agency sought to perform its task of helping the emigres to economic independence it found that it was unable to enter into casework relationships. Workers were unable to help the newcomers to insight into their anxieties, their marital problems, their dependency needs. This situation stems from the primary role which the agency was performing--that of a relief-giving institution. In this role the workers were comparable to the authority figure of a parent. As the emigres found themselves in dependent situations, relying heavily upon the help of the parent figure, the agency, they responded with strong feelings of hostility. When the demands of the emigres went beyond the limitations of the agency and the workers were forced to deny these demands, the hostility, evoked by the dependent situation, was reenforced. The growth of hostility was further stimulated by the natural anxieties and disappointments which the emigres experienced. The hostility which the emigres harbored then became a barrier between themselves

and the agency social workers. The workers were, therefore, unable to enter into casework relationships in the majority of the cases in which the need for such help was indicated.

PART II

THE EMIGRES IN 1964

AS SEEN DURING HOME INTERVIEWS

CHAPTER I

PRESENT ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The follow-up interviews, from which the information in this and the next three chapters was drawn, were held in the homes of thirteen emigre families. These families were selected from the original sampling of thirty-six in the following way: all of the original families were researched in the Cincinnati telephone book and in the Cincinnati census book; those families who could not be located in either of those two ways were then sought in the Cincinnati City Hall records to see if they had changed their names; no name changes were recorded; to each of the seventeen families which could be located in the Cincinnati area a letter was sent, which is included in the appendix, introducing the researcher and asking the family to participate in an interview at home; the letter was followed by a telephone call from the researcher requesting an appointment for the interview; thirteen families complied with the request, two families refused outright, and two families put the interviewer off until he was sure they were not willing to participate. The thirteen interviews, therefore, represent a 100% sampling of the available emigres.

It was originally hoped to be able to give some account of the actual incomes of the emigre families. To do this a card was prepared upon which the family could anonymously write down its income and return it to the researcher in a stamped and addressed envelope. However, it was soon found that too many cards were not being returned to make the effort worthwhile. In addition, the normally sociable interviews became rather cold and hostile at the point at which the significance of the

cards was explained. Therefore, the researcher gave up the attempt to acquire specific information regarding income. In this chapter, then, the concern will mainly focus about external evidences of financial security, independence, and achievement, as of 1964.

One of the most significant evidences of financial security and stability, in the estimation of the writer, is the ability to own and maintain real estate. Eleven of the families interviewed consisted of married couples with or without children. Only two were single men. Of the eleven married couples, eight owned the homes they were living in at the time of the interview. This is the relatively high percentage of 72% of the married couples. Three of those who owned their own homes were living in one-family dwellings, three were two-family dwellings, and two were four-family dwellings. For each of those who were living in one-family dwellings this was the second home which they had owned. They had originally purchased homes in Bond Hill or Avondale and had moved to the Roselawn area, to newer and more adequate quarters. Two of the two-family homes were in Roselawn and one in Bond Hill. One four-family home was in Roselawn and the other in Bond Hill.

Two and four-family dwellings were chosen by emigres probably because they provided an income which would help to pay the mortgage. In one case a two-family dwelling was a shared ownership with the other tenant who was not a member of our sample. It is possible that many of these homes were bought with a down payment from restitution money which the emigres received from the German government.

It is interesting that most of those who owned their own homes, regardless of the number of families in the building, have owned these

buildings for seven to eight years. This indicates that one of the first things which these emigres did after achieving independence from the resources of the Jewish Family Service Bureau, was to consolidate their financial gains into permanent, stable real estate.

Generally speaking, the owner-occupied homes which the interviewer visited were modestly, but comfortably, furnished. Most of them had wall-to-wall carpeting on the living-room floors. Little or none of the furniture had the appearance of being old or second hand furniture which had been given through the agency. In many homes it was apparent that the furniture had been purchased recently. Usually the furniture which the emigres chose was not modern styling or of any period, but was in the traditional forms. Ceiling to floor draperies were not uncommon in living rooms and dining rooms. Kitchens were equipped with the ordinary appliances and utensils which would be found in any American home. The homes were always meticulously kept. Frequently, new furniture, or furniture which had the appearance of being hardly used, was covered with a sheet of some kind for protection against soiling and wear. High fidelity equipment could be seen in some homes and television sets were apparent everywhere. In only one owner-occupied dwelling, a two-family house, was it apparent that the family was lacking in furnishings for its home. In this home there was no rug, only a few chairs, an old couch, a television, and bare walls. This family complained bitterly about its financial position, despite their ability to own such property.

There were three married couples still living as tenants in apartments. One of these apartments was very beautifully furnished and was adequate for the childless couple. This couple had, for many years,

owned a home of its own. They had, however, made a move to another city and then moved back to Cincinnati a few years ago, and had not established themselves well enough to purchase a home again. Another of the apartments showed, at first glance, very few comforts. But upon a more careful inspection it was found that a good deal of the furniture was relatively new, but covered up. There were also all new appliances in the kitchen. This family was already making plans to move within a year or two to a home of its own. The third apartment indicated a very low level of economic achievement. All of the sparse furniture was dilapidated. There were no rugs. There was a television, but the two children were not very well dressed.

The two bachelor apartments were furnished adequately for their needs. One had recently purchased new furniture for his entire living room, as well as a television. The other enjoyed a modern apartment on the fourth floor of a Price Hill apartment building. He had adequate furniture and a beautiful console housing a high fidelity record changer and F.M. tuner. Floor coverings and wall decorations in both apartments were sparse.

Nine of the emigre families demonstrated their financial progress by their ownership of automobiles. Several of these were making payments on new medium-priced cars, and one had bought a new car outright in the past year. Neither of the single men and the two families which are described as owning little furniture owned an automobile at any time. All but one of the married families carried some form of life insurance policy. Neither of the single men carried any sort of life insurance.

The employment picture for these emigres shows a relatively stable group. All but one man were employed at the time of the interview.

The one man who was not employed had been retired for the past three years and was living on social security and his monthly indemnification. Another man, who had been steadily employed for the past two years told the interviewer that he was to be laid off his present factory job in a short time. Four men were self-employed, having entered into self-employment anywhere from five to eleven years ago. Two of these were owners of grocery stores, a third was the owner of a used car and car parts business. The fourth was the owner of a shoe-repair shop. Only the last mentioned appears to have been unsuccessful in his business as was indicated by the appearance of his home as well as information given during the interview.

Among those who were working, but were not self-employed there was one man who had been employed as an insurance salesman, successfully, for the past eleven years. The rest of the sample was employed in semi-skilled and unskilled positions for lengths of time varying from two years to thirteen years.

In addition to the income which the emigres had from their jobs or businesses and the real estate which they possessed, six of the wives were presently working full time and one was working part-time. This additional income seems to have provided some of the luxuries, such as real-estate, furniture, and recreation which the emigres are now enjoying. It is also looked upon as the only way in which some of the emigres will be able to build up a reserve of capital in order to send their children to college.

Another measure by which we might be able to have some idea of the present financial situation of the emigres is the way in which they spend their leisure time, if they have any. Trips away, either by plane or by automobile, are costly affairs and can only be afforded by people

with a good deal of financial security. There is evidence that we have such people among our sample. One family told the interviewer of vacations, family style, to Florida and Atlantic City. The latter trip they took by automobile a few years ago. In another case, a family reported that the husband had not been able to take vacations due to the nature of his business but that the mother and child have taken several two week trips to Florida. In the third case, a man and wife have taken trips to Canada, Florida, and Minnesota, sometimes by air and others by car. In a fourth case, the wife took an airplane trip to California. The rest of the sampling reported that they were not able to take vacations away from Cincinnati due to the high cost of such trips. Instead, they spent their leisure time doing work around their homes or just relaxing. One man and wife, with their own business, reported that they have not had a vacation, at all, in years.

The children too, for the most part, have spent their summer vacations in Cincinnati. Many attended the Jewish Community Center day camps. When they were older some attended Camp Livingston. Many of these same children are now attending the less structured programs of the Jewish Community Center during the summers, as well as during their leisure hours in the school year.

The emigre families do not, as a rule, eat at restaurants or go to bowling alleys, theatres, or other such recreational facilities. They attend a movie only infrequently. The money which they might have spent on such things is instead, put to more material uses, such as savings accounts, furniture, clothing, kitchen appliances, and automobiles.

Taking all the factors described in this chapter into consideration one must conclude that the emigres have made a satisfactory economic adjustment. They have been able to achieve a high degree of financial security, as evidenced by ownership of homes, automobiles, appliances, furniture, and businesses as well as by the vacations which a few have been able to take. The emigres interviewed are not dependent upon the financial resources of the Jewish Family Service Bureau; nor are they charges of the Department of Public Welfare. Only one man was not working and retired. Excluding this last case, which was a problem since the day of arrival, the interviewer was able to divide the group into two groups of successful and unsuccessful economic adjustments. Only two families fell into the latter category. In neither of these cases was the wife employed. In neither case was the family income sufficient to provide the comforts of sufficient furniture or appliances or automobile transportation. Both these families were, however, operating independently at the time of the interview. In all the other cases there seemed to be a good deal of employment security, as well as strong evidence of financial stability and material achievement.

CHAPTER II

CURRENT ASPIRATIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS

In addition to knowing what the emigres had accomplished in their years of residence in Cincinnati, the researcher was also interested in knowing how the emigres felt about what they had done. Were they satisfied with their homes and jobs? Did they expect to make greater economic strides than they had thus far? Could they still expect to go further? What hopes did they have for their children? With such questions in mind the writer hoped to gain a picture of the frustrations and aspirations of the emigre group.

In response to the direct question asking whether or not the family considered its present home adequate, nine of thirteen responses were affirmative. Nine families thought, without qualification, that the homes in which they were living were large enough, as well as in appropriate neighborhoods for them. In fact, they were quite pleased with their homes. One man insisted upon taking the interviewer on a complete tour of his home, pointing out the improvements he had made with his own hands, showing off his workbench and tools, the furnace, and the rooms he had built in the attic. Another couple told the interviewer that the apartment they now had was good for them, though not elaborate, and that they intended soon to purchase new wall-to-wall carpeting and do some more decorating. Nine of the thirteen were satisfied with the apartments and homes that they had and had no plans or need to move to other quarters.

Four families were not satisfied with their homes. One of these families complained bitterly that the half an apartment building which

they owned and occupied was not a home. It was too small, unfurnished, and uncomfortable. Another family recognized the inadequacy of their apartment, but did not complain about their lot. The two other families knew their apartments were not sufficient for them and had plans to move, one to a home of their own, in a year or so, and the other eventually.

Generally speaking, those who were satisfied with their present homes had a strong feeling of accomplishment and pride. Half of those who were dissatisfied had hopes of one day being able to better their housing situation.

The prevailing attitude toward the jobs which the emigres held was one of acceptance. Most of those who were interviewed neither liked nor disliked the work they were doing. They considered a job, not in terms of the pleasure they had in doing it, but in terms of the living it brought them. If the job was one which made possible the food on the table, the little luxuries which they enjoyed, or the shoes on their feet, then it was satisfactory. Only one man said he didn't like the work he was doing. He is the same man who complained about the inadequacy of his home and he is the same man who will say that he will always be poor.

Not only do the emigres seem to be satisfied with the jobs which they are now holding, but they consider them to be far better than what they expected to find in this country. It is not that the work is pleasant to them. As we have seen, it is not. But, for the most part the emigres have found their labors enable them to live a far more luxurious life than they would have ever expected in Europe. One man related that in Greece his children would not even have had shoes for their feet and would have had to "walk to school <u>barefoot</u>." Another family

related that in Europe they had been considered rather rich people. In the United States, however, they are poor but live in luxury far beyond the wildest dreams they might have had in the old country.

One family did complain bitterly of its poverty. They maintained that they expected to have done a "thousand times" better than they have. Another man stated that he, too, expected to have been earning a better living in the United States, but he did not complain.

The future is not a big question for the majority of emigre families. Their hopes for economic advancement are severely limited. Most of the men are now in their middle or late forties. They feel, almost universally, that they have gone about as far as they can go. Yes, one hopes to re-enter the manufacturing field, and two others have hopes of someday expanding their businesses, but these are far-off dreams. All they can really expect is a raise in salary, a few dollars more each week from the store, but not a better position. They do not see themselves as foremen, as industrialists, or as owners of supermarkets. Instead, they are realistic about the prospects for the future. They see their jobs as permanent and their income as relatively stable. The wives who are working do not expect to be able to return to being housewives. But with their income they are being cautious. They are frugal and with their savings they are working toward building homes with the luxuries and comforts that they want and need.

For those with children the future has a little lighter hue. The children will go to college. The parents have lived for that dream. As one parent said, "What else is there," than for the children to go to college? At least two families have been paying insurance policies

for just this purpose. The children who have given college some thought are thinking in terms of medicine, teaching, social work, business, law, and engineering. One girl told me she thought of a career in social work because it would give her a chance to contribute to the welfare of our country. The children will probably go to the University of Cincinnati. They may have to work part time to help pay the expenses. One family even thinks their child might go to an out of town college. Poor or rich, the emigres have considered sending their children to college, they have wondered where the money is going to come from, and they may even have made some provisions to see that it will be possible. And the children themselves consider college as their ultimate educational goal.

One might ask why the emigres seem to be such a well adjusted and adaptable group, without prevailing feelings of frustration, and without false and unrealistic hopes for the future? Perhaps the answer lies in the wartime experience which they all share. That experience of tragedy left them with no possessions, no families, and little reason to hope. When they came to this country a new incentive to live was already developing and continued to grow. The incentive was in the possibilities which this land had to offer. Although the emigres soon found they would never be rich they also realized the American working population shared in the luxuries of the affluent. It was toward this goal, then, that they pointed their sights. Well within their reach they found comfortable living, work that was not slavery which still allowed good food, shoes for the family, and a nice home. As they obtained these things, which they had lacked for so long, a feeling of satisfaction with life, with America, with themselves, replaced the hunger and frustration of the war, the D.P. camps, and their early years in the United States.

CHAPTER III

PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY

As it was noted in Part I, Chapter IV, the newcomers expressed their need and desire to become part of the community in which they now live. It was also found, however, that the level of participation and integration into that community was relatively low. Superficially, the emigres were able to look like native Americans, but socially and emotionally they were a culture apart. During the years which have passed since this information was recorded by the caseworkers at the Jewish Family Service Bureau until 1964 when interviews were conducted by this researcher in the homes of the emigres, they have had a chance to participate more fully in American life. They have had opportunity to merge more completely with the social and organizational structure of the Cincinnati community. This chapter aims to show the extent to which the emigres have been able to do this and the extent to which they still retain feelings of marginality.

At the time of the interviews all but one of the emigres were American citizens. The one man who had not attained this status suffered from a serious hearing disability which will probably prevent his ever becoming a citizen. All of the other emigres displayed a tremendous drive to become citizens by going to classes and by finally passing their examinations. They did not put the matter off at all, but became citizens as soon as the American government would allow them, five years after their arrival in this country. This indicates a good deal of drive and ambition as well as some mastery of English language and American affairs.

Since the researcher was not fluent in the native languages of the newcomers all the interviews were held in English. It seemed remarkable how well the majority of emigres had attained fluency and accuracy in the English language. Only two men, one with the hearing disability, were unable to express themselves adequately and relied upon their wives to interpret for them. In the other cases, the newcomers had a wide vocabulary and were able to express their thoughts and feelings with ease. Only rarely did they grasp for an English word or slip into a foreign tongue. All, however, spoke with varying degrees of accent.

Not only do the newcomers speak the English language, but they also read a substantial number of popular newspapers and magazines published in English. The average newcomer reads either or both of the daily Cincinnati newspapers. They subscribe to such magazines as the Post, Life, Look, Readers Digest, and Home and Garden. Two families reported that they read nothing but the Jewish Daily Forward which is a Yiddish daily, and a single man indicated that his only reading is in German language magazines. One family reported it reads only the Jewish Daily Forward and the Israelite. Those families which do not read English papers and magazines are generally the group which has not made a successful financial adjustment and are, for the most part, those who have not made any great strides in community participation.

The average newcomer has still not become as organization conscious as the native American. He belongs to the New Americans Society and participates in its social programs. Two adults indicated that they were formerly members and one had been an officer of Pioneer Women, a Zionist organization. Two women also indicated that they were, or had

been members of the PTA of the Chofetz Chaim School, but none were members of public school parents associations. There were two adults who were members of study groups and social clubs sponsored by an orthodox synagogue, and one family which indicated they had been members of B'nai B'rith. The average newcomer family maintains a membership at the Jewish Community Center, but this is for the benefit of the children and is virtually unused by the adults.

Even though the parents are relatively reticent about joining organizations, the children are not. Though this study is not primarily involved with the children of the emigre families it was brought out that some of the children are members of high school sororities, one is a member of the B'nai B'rith Girls, and another a member of the United Synagogue Youth organization.

As far as the adults of our sample are concerned, the amount of participation in community organizations is far greater today than it was during the years when the newcomers were active with the Jewish Family Service Bureau. This indicates a higher degree of integration which has been attained after years of residence in the community.

The newcomers have made religious identifications too. Seven of thirteen families, or 53%, reported that they were affiliated with a synagogue. One of these indicated membership in two synagogues. For the most part, however, the emigres do not identify with the strictly orthodox community. Four families are members of the Conservative synagogue and another family stated they intend to rejoin the Conservative synagogue so their son may be Bar Mitzvah. Another two families reported that although they have memberships at Orthodox synagogues they are not strictly

observant, and they consider themselves Conservative Jews. Neither of the single men interviewed maintains a synagogue membership; however, both reported that they are not Orthodox and that they attend Reform or Conservative services on the Holy Days. Only one family seems to have made a definite commitment to the Orthodox way of life, by keeping a strictly observant home, sending all the children to parochial school, and maintaining membership in a strictly Orthodox synagogue.

Most of the children were reported to have spent some time in Jewish parochial schools. However, the families now send their children to public schools and allow them to continue their religious education either after public school or during the week-ends. Most of the children have continued their religious education through Bar Mitzvah. Those who are members of the Conservative synagogue all plan to send their children through Confirmation.

One man, who married a Catholic newcomer, is raising his child in the Catholic faith. The child attends Catholic school.

Except for a very few, the newcomers have still not widened their circle of friends outside their own ranks. Their social life is basically made up of Jewish, post-war emigres. These same people are the friends they invite into their home, whom they meet at the New Americans Society functions, and whom they invite to the Bar Mitzvah and Confirmation receptions which they give for their children. The three men of the interview sample who married after their arrival in this country all married emigres. Two of these were pre-war emigres and one arrived after the war. Those who married pre-war emigres have had the most contact with native Americans and other pre-war emigres. The man who married a

Catholic newcomer seems to have drifted away from the Jewish community entirely and now makes his social life with his wife's gentile relatives and friends.

At least part of the reason why the newcomers have not become completely integrated into the general community lies in their own feelings of marginality. They feel strongly that they are not able to express themselves adequately in the company of native Americans. They feel that they can communicate much more completely with other newcomers who have shared the same experiences as they, and who share a common native language. For this reason the newcomers feel that their "special friends" must be among "their own kind."

They also feel very intensely that there is anti-semitism in the United States. A few recount incidents with fellow workers in which hostility was voiced toward them as Jews, and one tells a story of a mildly anti-semitic policeman. For the most part, this anti-semitism which the newcomers feel is something which they "read between the lines," as one person told me. It is not overt at all. They feel that the government itself has no feelings toward Jews, but what happened in Germany could happen in America. No matter how secure they now feel, the tables may turn as they did for one person's relative who was a member of the Nazi Youth. This experience of anti-semitism promotes the feeling of marginality among the newcomers.

Another evidence of the emigres' feeling of marginality is their general attitude toward the State of Israel. They feel, almost unanimously, that Israel makes them "feel like somebody." Israel gives them such a sense of permanence and stability that one man could say that because of

Israel "I'm not a gypsy." Israel has a government and a president, so that, like any other people in the world, the emigres can look to the Jewish State for security, for protection, and as a source of status, pride, and strength. These are their own expressions and feelings. They undoubtedly testify, because of their intensity, to the emigres' sense of being on the fringe of American society, being marginal.

In the terms of this chapter, family A. is fairly representative. Both Mr. and Mrs. A. became citizens of the United States just five years after their arrival here. Their ability to express themselves in the English language is very good, although they still speak with a marked accent. They subscribe to a daily Cincinnati newspaper as well as to a popular magazine. The family has a membership in the Jewish Community Center, basically for the childrens' recreation. Mr. and Mrs. A. are members of the New Americans Society and Mrs. A. has been active in the Pioneer Women. All of their close friends are Jewish post-war emigres like themselves. They feel they would prefer their friendships to be within the Jewish emigre group because there is a common background of experience and language. They certainly believe that there is anti-semitism in the United States. They feel that if there were no colored people here the Jews would be the first to suffer. They also feel that the existence of the State of Israel makes them feel like"a somebody." It fills them with a sense of pride and gives them a sense of nationality "like the Poles." They belonged to a Conservative synagogue but have since dropped their membership. They intend to rejoin in time for their son to begin his studies for Bar Mitzvah. They will have a modestly-priced catered reception for the Bar Mitzvah boy to which they will invite their emigre friends.

They have, as we can see, become somewhat more integrated into the general community by their affiliation with the Conservative synagogue, their organizational work, their citizenship, their language and reading ability. However, they have not made friends outside their own emigre group and retain a strong feeling of marginality.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGENCY IN RETROSPECT

One of the goals of the follow-up interviews was to test out the emigres' feelings and attitudes regarding the help they received from the Jewish Family Service Bureau. The interviews indicated that the emigres no longer recall clearly the role of the Jewish Family Service Bureau during their early years in this country. They are unable to acknowledge their former dependency upon the agency but still retain some hostility toward it.

In response to the question: "What was the greatest help you had in becoming established in the United States?" only three emigre families could unequivocably answer they thought the Jewish Family Service Bureau was the greatest help. Three families were unable to distinguish the aid they received from the Jewish agencies in Europe from the aid they received from the Jewish Family Service Bureau, the Jewish Vocational Service, and the Jewish Hospital Out-Patients Department. The four agencies were indistinguishable in function and in identity and were, as a unity, given the credit for making possible a successful establishment in the U.S. Three families did not give the Jewish Family Service Bureau any credit as being the "greatest help." They preferred to look upon themselves as the sole resource in their success. They saw their success as a result of their own drive and energy, or as one man put it, "my own determination." One man thought the Jewish Family Service Bureau played a leading role in his successful establishment, but he did not think the agency was the greatest help. One family thought the greatest help in their becoming

established here was the continual encouragement they received from the American people. "Americans," they said, "will always encourage a person in hard times. They even cheer a losing football team." One family thought their greatest help was the restitution they received from the German government. Without that they felt they would be "dead old people."

When asked specifically how the Jewish Family Service Bureau helped them to get established in this country the emigres generally failed to recall how deeply involved in their lives the agency actually was. They could hardly recall, in any detail, how long the agency gave them financial or other kinds of support. They could only reply, at the very most, that the agency gave them shelter, clothing, and food for a short time until they "got on their feet." No one recalled having to return to the agency for help after a short period of employment, and no emigre mentioned the encouragement which they receive from the caseworkers. Only one family could recall that the agency had provided everything which made their present success possible.

The case records, however, indicate that the agency was far more involved in the lives of the emigres than they now recall. Financial support often ranged over several months. Frequently emigres took employment which lasted only a few days or weeks and then returned to the agency for relief. As we have seen in previous chapters supportive relationships were established with the newcomers from which they also received encouragement.

The emigres generally felt that the two greatest difficulties which they encountered in getting established in the United States were language and employment. Only one individual was ready to acknowledge

that the Jewish Family Service Bureau was any help at all in overcoming these difficulties. In general, the newcomers felt that no one helped them with these problems and that they overcame them themselves. The facts, however, indicate that the agency was involved in these areas of adjustment. Every family was referred to English language classes and was encouraged to attend. Workers constantly complimented the emigres on their mastery of the language. One of the emigres who was interviewed was given private English lessons by a tutor supplied through the agency, but he did not acknowledge this to the interviewer. The case records also indicate that the agency was deeply involved in helping the emigres with employment. The agency was responsible for referrals to the Jewish Vocational Service. Workers were often in close contact with employers and were involved in helping emigres work out their dependency problems.

In some interviews hostility was expressed while discussing the effectiveness of the work of the Jewish Family Service Bureau. Four families felt that the agency could have done more for them. They were critical of the agency for not being more generous, for giving more to some families than to others, and for being impersonal in their relationships with the emigres. Two families were critical of the agency because they felt it forced them to take employment which barely paid enough to support the family on a subsistence level. They thought the agency could have supported them until they found better jobs. These feelings of hostility toward the helping agency are remnants of the more severe hostilities which the emigres harbored during their years of dependence upon the agency. The facts are that the agency dispensed aid according to the needs of the individual families. The emigres did not understand this rule and expected favors from the caseworkers as well as an equal share

of agency aid, regardless of need. Moreover, it was not the workers who were impersonal in their relations with the emigres, but the emigres who related to the caseworkers as officials, as charity agents; it was the emigres who in response to being dependent, were hostile to the workers. Nor did the emigres understand that the reason they were urged to take employment as soon as possible was to avoid the demoralizing experience of dependency.

On the other hand, three of the emigre families thought that the agency could not have done more or less than it had done for them. They seemed to feel that if the agency had done more to help them that they would have had less incentive to work and support their families themselves. These families, and the others who had no clear-cut opinion of the effectiveness of the agency, did not express any hostility. They seemed to be satisfied with the help they received during their first years after arrival in the United States.

It is not surprising that the emigres recall little about the help they received in their first years in the United States. The help of the agency came during times of anxiety and tension when the emigres were confronted with countless adjustments. One of the sources of this tension was the state of dependence in which the emigres found themselves. Since the emigres were able to make the adjustments of acculturation and have achieved the financial security which was their goal, they now prefer to forget the years of dependence and anxiety. Although the help of the agency has largely been forgotten, some of the hostility which the emigres felt still remains. This hostility is based upon their subjective experience of the role of the agency as well as their inability to understand the nature of casework.

CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this thesis has been to explore the basic tasks which the post-war emigres encountered in this country and to indicate the ways in which they approached these tasks. The two sources of data were the case records of the Jewish Family Service Bureau of Cincinnati and personal interviews held by the researcher in the homes of the emigres. The primary source was the case records. These records varied in length and content according to the nature of the contact between the agency and the family. Certain patterns of adjustment, however, were obvious and could be abstracted from the case records. The home interviews were held after a period of twelve to fifteen years of residence in this country.

The data collected from the case records indicated that the emigres possessed certain strengths which were valuable in coping with the tasks of adjustment. They were young, fairly well educated, literate, flexible in religious matters, multi-lingual, and they had had previous employment experience. In addition, having survived the war, they were anxious to establish themselves securely in the new land which would be their home.

It was found that the emigres used these strengths, as well as the resources which they found available to them in this country, to their best advantage. This held true especially in meeting the tasks of survival. Taking advantage of every opportunity, the emigres quickly found adequate housing for their families. They moved from job to job until they found employment which would support their families independently. They made many demands upon the social agency for material

things that would contribute to their security. They also took advantage of the facilities of the Jewish Hospital Out-Patient Department. Using these resources, the emigres were able to survive; they moved quickly to complete financial independence.

The evidence of the case records indicated that the emigres approached the task of social and community integration on two levels. On the superficial level they began to appear much like the native American. Their dress, speech, and living standards became progressively Americanized. However, the emigres did not display a great need or ability to become integrated into the community on a social and organizational level. Their friendships remained among their own group and for the most part they did not participate in the organizational life of the community. This limitation upon the integration of the emigres resulted, at least in part, from their strong motivation toward material security. The desire to acquire things, a result of years of deprivation, prohibited the expense of organization and synagogue membership. In addition, there were language, cultural, and social barriers between the emigres and the native community. Because of these hindrances to social integration and because the emigres shared a common background, an emigre in-group feeling developed. The development of the emigre community as a separate structure within the community life of the city further prevented the newcomers from social integration.

Our study showed that the processes of resettlement and acculturation had a severe impact upon the emotional lives of the newcomers. The pressure to become independent in conflict with dependency needs sometimes resulted in a pattern of psychosomatic illnesses, and in some

cases mental illness. Some emigre families suffered from marital discord. Most families felt a great deal of frustration which was expressed as hostility toward the helping agency.

Although the Jewish Family Service Bureau was prepared to offer the emigres counselling service to deal with the emotional strains encountered in this country, the emigres were not able to accept the agency in this role. The newcomers were unfamiliar with the concept of casework and did not allow the development of casework relationships. They viewed the agency purely as a welfare agency and the caseworkers as officials of that organization. Moreover, the emigres had established financial security as their ultimate goal. They preferred to approach the task of emotional adjustments through the attainment of that goal. To a certain extent it was apparent in the case records that, as financial security was attained, the emigres' tensions and marital difficulties became less important and their hostilities toward the helping agency subsided.

Throughout the resettlement process the Jewish Family Service Bureau was limited to two primary roles. First, food, clothing, and shelter had to be provided for the emigres upon arrival. This service was carried out with the cooperation of community volunteer organizations. Second, the most important role of the agency was to help the emigres to become financially independent. In each instance the caseworkers cooperated closely with the Jewish Vocational Service and the Jewish Hospital Out-Patient Department. The success of the combined efforts of the emigres and the social agencies is manifest in the rapidity with which the majority of emigres became independent of all welfare services. Casework was generally limited to a supportive level since the emigres

did not accept insight into their anxieties, their marital situations, or their dependency needs.

The follow-up interviews held in 1964, after twelve to fifteen years of residence in the United States, indicate that the emigres have continued to make a satisfactory economic and emotional adjustment and that they have begun to participate more fully in the larger community. The economic security which was the primary goal of the refugees has now been attained and the families are able to afford many of the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by the native population. As a result of the attainment of security the emotional strains which were apparent in the case records have now disappeared. For most of the emigres, these have been replaced by a feeling of satisfaction and achievement. Another result of the emigres' security is that it has freed them to participate more fully in the larger community life. Though the emigres were found to still retain a strong sense of marginality, they do belong to some organizations and have synagogue memberships.

The interviews also indicated that the emigres have repressed the memory of much of the past. The concentration camps, the D.P. camps, the dependency upon the social agency, the frustrations and anxieties are now only faint recollections. They are not forgotten, however, their place of importance has been taken by the satisfactions of the present. The emigres may feel, with confidence, a sense of personal achievement and success in the United States.

This study indicates that the emigres, with their own strengths and with the support of the helping agencies, have made a satisfactory adjustment to the United States. This holds true especially with regard

to financial and emotional adjustments. Social and community integration, however, have not yet been fully attained by the majority of emigres.

It is possible that further exploration of the dynamics of social and community integration, the role of the social agency in the process of community integration, and, the education of emigres to the concept of casework would help future emigres to a fuller adjustment to American life.

We have seen in this study that the emigres have made an impressive adjustment. There is no doubt that the responsibility for their success lies both within the emigres themselves, for they were endowed with great courage and inner strength, and the Jewish Family Service Bureau, which provided materials, guidance, and support in the time of greatest need.

APPENDIX #I

GENERAL OUTLINE USED FOR RESEARCH IN CASE RECORDS

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR EACH UNIT OF THE SAMPLING:

1. country of origin of each member
2. age of each member on entry and birth date
3. education
4. occupation
5. religious affiliation before and after
6. length and intensity of suffering prior to entry to U.S. with some detail when available
7. family relatives in Cincinnati and elsewhere in U.S.
8. reason for termination of agency contact and date.
9. reason for reapplication for assistance after termination and dates.
10. prior marital status.

II. SITUATIONAL REALITY PROBLEMS IN RESETTLEMENT AND READJUSTMENT

1. Housing-the housing situation of that time, the economic limitations of agency and clients, the types of housing available.
2. Health-past health history (when appropriate), health limitations on employment, patterns of health problems subsequently encountered.
3. Employment-trades known to clients, employment status during D.P. camp, attitudes towards work, types of work found, the language and other employment barriers.
4. Ritual requirements, religious interference with adjustment.
5. Schooling, English lessons, employment rehabilitation and retraining.
6. Resources from local relatives and friends. Personal property.
7. Nature and duration of direct financial assistance, OPD., subsidies.

III. SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION PROBLEMS

1. Initial and subsequent attitudes towards American middle class culture.
2. Social status before and after displacement--levels of expectation and aspiration.
3. Economic status before and after displacement, etc.
4. Types of religious affiliations, changes in.
5. Indications of participation in Jewish Community.
6. Friendships within and without D.P. community.
7. Attitudes to non-Jews.
8. Indications of desire to affiliate, assimilate.
   a. Fraternal and group affiliations.

(continued)

(III continued)

9. Remaining links, sense of guilt with those still in Europe or those settled in Israel. Attempts to be reunited and aid in emigration extended to family and friends.
10. Conceptions of the ways American Jews have greeted them.

IV. PERSONAL AND INTER-FAMILY PROBLEMS IN ADJUSTMENT

1. Expressions of resentment, guilt, helplessness, loneliness.
2. Attitudes towards getting help, relationship to concentration camp and D.P. experience.
3. Cohesiveness and antagonism between husband and wife, possible relationship to prior marital status, and to circumstances of marriage.
4. Cohesiveness and antagonism between parents and children.
5. Rejection of green-horn parents by assimilating children.
6. Desire for security of housing, employment, income, family.
7. Sense of confusion and alienation in adjusting to new social customs, values.
8. Regressive attitudes, especially regarding Americanization and independence of agency aid.
9. Attitudes toward authority.
10. Relative movement towards independence.
    a. The dependency needs that have developed in CC and DPC.
    b. The dependency needs developed in U.S.
    c. Attitude toward agency limits.
    d. Achievement of economic independence.
    e. Achievement of emotional independence.
11. Rejection of others and sense of others rejecting them.
12. The use of projection.
13. Masochistic patterns
14. Psychological problems encountered before and after entry.
15. (really part of 10) Attitudes toward relief cutoff.
16. Ability to use services of social service agencies constructively.
17. Attitudes toward money and material things.
18. The need to re-establish a family life.

V. SERVICES AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE AGENCY AND THE WORKER

1. Differential attitudes towards agency and worker.
    a. ability to form personal and casework relationships.
2. Relative use of a. ventilation, b. supportive role, c. insignt, d. referral, e. agency authority.
3. Expressions of hostility.
    a. agency--worker differential
    b. normal hostility
    c. excessive hostility
    d. What the worker and agency symbolize.

APPENDIX #II

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

	When did you become U.S. citizens?
Neighborhood Type of home Ownership appearance	How long have you owned this building? How long have you lived in this apartment? Where did you live before?
Aspiration Indication of Middle Class	Do you feel that this home is adequate for your family? Do you think you will be moving from here?
Attitudes to Jews and non Jews	Is this a Jewish neighborhood? Are your close friends Jewish? Do you have any non-Jewish friends?
Associations	Do you feel you have been able to make friends other than among the emigre group?
Occupation	Where do you work now? How long? Where were you employed before this? What type of work are you doing? Is this something you like?
Aspiration Frustration	Is this a job which meets the expectations you had when you came to the United States? Do you expect to continue at this work?
Income and Middle Class Indications	Does Mrs. work? How long has she been working? kind of job? How long do you expect she might continue?
Mobility and Frustrations Indications of Middle Class	Do you feel that you have opportunity for economic advancement? When you make purchases do you use time payments? What kinds of things have you bought this way? Do you own an automobile? Do you carry auto and life insurance? How much, what kind? How do you spend your leisure time? Vacations? How do the children spend their vacations?
Frustrations and Indication of Middle Class	Do you feel that your income allows you to give your family everything it should have?
Aspirations	Are your children intending to go to college? Where do they hope to attend? What types of occupations are they interested in? How will you manage education for your children?

Affiliations and Participation in Jewish Community	Do you have the time to belong to any organizations? Bnai Brith Shrine ACLU Hadassah Zionists Sisterhood **check list** J.C.C. Unions C. of J.W. husband and wife P.T.A. others separately Have you held any offices in these organizations? Have you participated actively? Are you a member of any social clubs? H-W Separately - children separately What magazines and newspapers do you read? Do the children take (have taken) piano, dancing, ballet lessons?
Changes in Religious Affiliation	To what synagogue or temple do you belong? Where did the children get their religious education? Do the children go to religious school readily? How does their religious education compare to the way you were brought up? Do you intend to have the children Bar (Bas) Mitzvah? Confirmed?
Middle Class and Social contacts	Will there be a reception? Who will be there?
Marginality	What is your attitude toward Israel? Do you feel there is anti-semitism in the U.S.? Why?
Cohesiveness of Family unit	What has being in the U.S. meant to the way you have brought up your children?
Role of Agency in eyes of Client	What was the greatest help to your becoming established in the U.S.? How did the Family Service help you? Should the Family Service have done more? Less? Why? What was the greatest difficulty in becoming established? Was anyone able to help with this?
	Note language ability.

APPENDIX #III

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

(Copy)

JEWISH FAMILY
SERVICE BUREAU

2905 Vernon Place
Cincinnati 19, Ohio
Phone 751 - 5800

December 20, 1963

Dear

This is to introduce Mr. Donald Gluckman who is a rabbinical student at the Hebrew Union College. He is particularly interested in learning about some of the experiences which emigres have had in this country. Through your help and cooperation, we hope to be able to be of greater service to future newcomers.

Mr. Gluckman will be contacting you by telephone in the very near future to make an appointment with you. We hope that you will allow him to visit you and that you will share with him your experiences in this country.

We thank you very much for your cooperation in this matter.

Very cordially yours,

/s/ Miriam H. Dettelbach

Miriam H. Dettelbach
Executive Director

MHD:rmn

FOOTNOTES

1- Webster's New World Dictionary (Cleveland and New York, The World Publishing Company, 1955), p. 422.

2- Helen L. Glassman, Adjustment in Freedom (New York, United Hias Service, and Cleveland, Ohio, Jewish Family Service Association, (1956), pp. 13-14.

3- Ibid., p. 14.

4- Ibid., pp. 14-15.

17- Glassman, pp. 66-67.

20- Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p.

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2. Crystal, David, The Displaced Person and the Social Agency, New York, United Hias Service, and Rochester, New York, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Inc., 1958.

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5. Gordon, Albert, Jews in Transition, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949.

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7. _____, The Uprooted, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1951.

8. Stoessinger, John, Refugees and the World Community, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1956.

9. Webster's New World Dictionary, Cleveland and New York, The World Publishing Company, 1955.