

1954

Some Effects of Culture on Programming for Certain Jewish Groups.

<https://hdl.handle.net/2144/8726>

"Downloaded from OpenBU. Boston University's institutional repository."

Thesis
Taft
1954
cop. 2

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

SOME EFFECTS OF CULTURE ON PROGRAMMING
FOR CERTAIN JEWISH GROUPS

A thesis

Submitted by

Rebekah Lockwood Taft

(A.B., Bryn Mawr College, 1933)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1954

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
LIBRARY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	Introduction	1
	Purpose	3
	Scope	3
	Procedure	4
	Limitations	7
II	Jewish Culture	11
III	Communities, Agencies and Groups	21
IV	Organization	27
V	Cultural Content	37
VI	Boy-Girl Relationships	44
VII	Money-Making Projects.	48
VIII	Service Projects	53
IX	Other Activities	58
X	Conclusions and Recommendations.	60
	Bibliography	65
	Appendix	69

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I	Economic Factors in the Areas Studied. Position by Rank in Comparison with the Other Areas of Greater Boston	70
II	Data on the Groups on Which This Study Was Based	71

The author wishes to express her grateful acknowledgement to those agencies who permitted the use of their records, and to those members of their staffs who gave freely of their time and thought to make this study possible.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written by authors, describing the social group work process, of the need to understand the background of the members of the group. It is clear that each person brings to a group his individual personality, conditioned by his life history; but because a group is a social phenomenon, he also brings his learned way of behaving in a social situation, his learned standards and goals of social behavior, and his learned expectations of the attitudes and behavior of others. These last are the core of what is called, in this context, culture.

As Mr. Alan Klein says:

The culture in which a person operates conditions the way he looks at things, and the way he reasons. It forms the frame of reference within which he makes his choices, and affects the way in which he seeks to satisfy his needs. It would seem apparent that the knowledge of the conditioning to which individuals have been subjected shows the functional relationships of their cultural beliefs and often explains what otherwise appear to be unreasonable actions.¹

Culture in modern United States is neither a static nor a homogeneous thing. Even those people who arrive in this country with a relatively strong and well-defined cultural pattern find this pattern modified, transformed, and sometimes even abandoned as succeeding generations come in contact with other ways of life and adapt their ideas to changing circumstances.

¹ Alan F. Klein, "The Effect of Cultural Variables in Group Work Practice," The Group, 15:13, February, 1953.

Second generation children may react so violently against their inherited customs that they are still controlled negatively by them. Members of the third generation may achieve a synthesis of old and new, or may free themselves, in certain areas, completely from the old.² This development will be affected by many factors, most importantly the socio-economic status of the people involved and their acceptance by the members of the majority culture. Some aspects of their culture may fit into and re-enforce attitudes in their new environment; others may be in opposition and so be minimized. Therefore, the culture of any ethnic group in this country can not be equated with any certainty to its culture in the country of its origin.

In addition to these considerations, different influences act upon people in different parts of the country, even in different parts of the city, or in different schools. This means that the culture of each group is as unique as the personality of each individual. However, there seem to be certain discernible similarities between groups of similar backgrounds and differences between them and groups of generally different original cultures.

It would, therefore, seem likely that a worker should approach groups from different cultures in different ways. His goals might be the same or have a somewhat different priority, but his methods of attaining them would be profoundly affected.

² For many descriptions of changing attitudes towards the original culture, see W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups.

PURPOSE.

The purpose of this study was to discover some of these cultural effects on programming for groups of third generation boys and girls of East European Jewish background, in the neighborhood centering about Dorchester, Massachusetts.

SCOPE.

This study was focussed on the effects of the total present culture of these groups, of which the dominant strand, but not the whole, is Jewish.

The area covered included the Jewish part of Dorchester, running mainly along Blue Hill Avenue, and the adjacent sections of Roxbury and Mattapan. This neighborhood was chosen because in it two agencies served a very homogeneous sub-culture, which stemmed from a clearly defined culture in Europe. The length of time in this country and, therefore, the probable influence of American ways was very similar for all groups within the age range studied. The social and economic level and educational background were very similar throughout this area.

The two agencies included were Hecht House and the YMHA of Boston. Both served roughly the same district, with groups moving back and forth between them. The clientele of the YMHA was one hundred per cent, and that of Hecht House approximately ninety per cent Jewish.

Groups were chosen from the age range of ten to eighteen years, partly because available records appeared to be best in these age brackets and partly because the effect of the local culture on programming was felt to be the strongest in them. In younger groups, the worker plays a much more important role in determining program, so his culture will probably be

the dominating factor. In those older than eighteen, contacts are much broader and outside influences begin to play an important part, so that the effects of the local culture would be more difficult to distinguish.

Program was taken to mean every activity, however informal or spontaneous, that was used purposefully in a group. Thus informal discussions before and after the formal meeting may have been used as program by the worker. Business meetings to plan other projects were also considered to be program.

Program is a tool of the worker, a method he uses to gain his goal, although it may itself be a goal for the members of the group. Since it is a tool, it must be adapted to the result which is expected of it.

It is not only the means through which members satisfy their interests and needs but also the medium through which they express interests and needs of which they are unaware or which they are incapable of expressing in words.³

Because it is so closely related to the aims and interests of the members, it is particularly sensitive to cultural patterns. The success of a new activity may depend on whether or not it is presented in a way which is suited to the culture of the group. The worker's recognition of its success or failure may depend on his knowledge of the group's manner of reacting. Culture also affects the choice of activities best suited to helping individuals express their interests and needs. For these reasons, program was chosen as a focus for this study.

PROCEDURE.

In the beginning it had been hoped to match closely comparable

³ Gertrude Wilson and Gladys Ryland, Social Group Work Practice, p. 73.

groups of different cultural backgrounds and thus to have a set of controls on the findings of this study. However, this was found to be impossible. No area of comparable homogeneity and socio-economic conditions could be found. Even in those showing the greatest similarity in these factors, it was almost impossible to find records. In some agencies only statistical records were kept, in others only students kept process records and often these were given to the students when they left the agency. In some, process records were available only in different age brackets or for mass activities. Therefore, the idea of controls had to be abandoned.

Comparison of records was still considered to be of importance as a method of reaching and of presenting conclusions. For this purpose, agencies were chosen which met as fully as possible the conditions of comparability of clientele and records were selected from those which were available.

The most nearly comparable neighborhood in ethnic homogeneity and economic level was found to be East Boston, which was preponderantly Italian with some Irish. The district was poorer economically than Dorchester. Since there were very few records available in the two agencies of the area, other groups were studied. These were all under the decentralized program of the Boston YMCA and were from several different neighborhoods. The majority of the groups were from "Outer Roxbury", a community of mixed nationalities, including many Negroes. Economically this district stood between Dorchester and East Boston. One group was from East Dorchester, which was on about the same economic level as the Jewish section, and was largely Irish, Roman Catholic. One group was made up of boys from low-income families in Allston and Brighton.

Twenty records were selected from those available in the two Jewish agencies, the chief basis for selection being the completeness of the record. It was felt that the influence of culture could best be determined by studying full process records; that it was not something which could be discovered statistically. Therefore, when possible, those were chosen which gave not only activities but also reactions, discussions, and other material which would throw light on what roles the worker and members played in the group. Since the two agencies served substantially the same clientele, the Hecht House records were chosen primarily for fullness and the YMHA records, being less comprehensive in form,⁴ were chosen to round out the representation of age and sex in the Jewish category.

Because of the emphasis placed by both agencies on clubs as opposed to interest groups, all these records were of clubs. In accordance with the prevailing agency practice, none of these clubs included both boys and girls.

There were thirteen records of non-Jewish groups, of which three clubs and four interest groups were from East Boston. The rest were clubs, one from Allston-Brighton, one from East Dorchester, and the other four from "Outer Roxbury". While the total age span covered was the same as that of the Jewish groups, there were more of the younger groups in the non-Jewish category, and the age spread in each club was somewhat wider than in the Jewish clubs. Three interest groups contained both boys and girls. The other interest group and all the clubs had only one sex. All the available records in the East Boston agencies were studied. Those from the YMCA were chosen because they were full records and helped complete the age range of

⁴ See infra, p. 8.

the non-Jewish groups.

These records were analyzed to discover what the major program activities were, which ones seemed to be most meaningful to the group, which ones by reason of general use or general neglect seemed to be related to the cultural pattern of the groups in question.⁵

Both Jewish agencies emphasized Jewish cultural content in their programs. The use of this was studied as well as the related field of program activities based on members' feelings about their minority status.

A limited number of interviews were held with directors of the agencies and staff members to clarify particular questions raised by the records, and to sharpen the analysis of them by studying their setting. Policies and practices of the agencies which might affect the findings were discussed.

LIMITATIONS.

As stated above⁶ no neighborhood could be found of identical economic and social status and of comparable ethnic homogeneity. Those chosen were poorer economically and the YMCA groups came from a district of mixed ethnic backgrounds.

The agencies were of different types. The Jewish agencies were building-centered and stressed Jewish culture. They preferred clubs to interest groups. The East Boston agencies were also building-centered and had more interest groups. All four of these agencies had physical education programs, which filled most of the athletic interests of the club

⁵ See schedule, p. 72.

⁶ See supra, p. 5.

members outside of club meetings. Only one of the YMCA groups had a regular building in which to meet, although gymnasiums were usually available to the clubs. This fact limited non-athletic activities in this agency, although its purpose was to have well-rounded programs in its clubs.

It was felt that these differences were not so great as to invalidate the use of these non-Jewish groups as a foil against which to study the Jewish clubs.

Since the findings of this study were based on an analysis of records, it is important to consider their limitations. None of the records were written for the purpose of this study, and many things were passed over lightly or may have been left out altogether.

Hecht House had a pretty complete set of records stretching back for several years. It also had had a number of students and other leaders who had kept full process records.

The YMHA had no field work students in 1952-53, the year for which the best records were available. It also had adopted a simplified form, intended to make record keeping easier for volunteers. This usually meant that records were kept and frequently contained important information, but were less full than those of Hecht House and less valuable for the purposes of this study.

All the records studied from the non-Jewish agencies were kept by group work students and were very full.

The interests of the leader and the skill with which he introduced activities to a group inevitably had some effect on which activities were used. By selecting groups with as great a variety of leaders as possible, it was hoped to cancel out these effects to some extent.

It would have been useful to have held extensive interviews with staff, leaders, and even group members to supplement the records as a basis for this study. However, the large turn-over in staff and leaders in most of the agencies, and the fact that this study was made at a time of year when groups had just been organized, so that both leaders and members were new, made this method impracticable. Therefore, interviews were used only to clarify doubtful points in records and to ascertain agency practices and policies.

In the whole of this thesis, it is important to bear in mind that culture is only one of many factors affecting a group or the individuals which compose it. The use that is made of program depends also on the age and sex of the members, the purpose for which the group was formed (although this may have been in part culturally determined), the personality needs of the individuals and their stage of development.

Groups are also conditioned by historical events about them. Findings which may be true now, may not have been equally true some years ago, and may not be valid some years hence. War or peace, the local climate of opinion on many matters, the rise or fall of anti-Semitism in any part of the world, prosperity or depression, all have their effects on groups, and the application of the conclusions in this study must be made in the light of these variations.

Culture itself is a complex and changing thing. It is difficult to describe without distortion. One tends easily to pick out the things which are obvious differences and to ignore similarities to other cultures, or one ignores the subtle differences which are the origin of many misunderstandings. Since culture pervades the whole of life, in discussing it one must

be selective, and may omit the very aspects which give meaning to the whole.

There is also the danger of stereotyping, of thinking that all Jews or all Italians behave in this way because a few do. There is the other danger of believing that a certain Jew will behave in this way because so many others do. There is a great danger in trying to assign reasons or causes to what we see. How can we say that this trait is Irish and not produced by any other influence? Or that this action has without any question this exact meaning for a person of this cultural group? Each individual and each group react to their culture in their own way. Therefore, the most important limitation on a study such as this is that it can be conclusive only for the groups studied. Without much more extensive investigation the findings cannot safely be extended to all Jewish groups. The most that can be said is that these should be areas of particular sensitivity for workers with Jewish groups of the same age and general socio-economic background of third generation Eastern European stock.

CHAPTER II

JEWISH CULTURE

Since the culture of the groups that were the subject of this study was predominantly Jewish, and since one of the purposes of the Jewish agencies was to advance an understanding and appreciation of the principles and ideals of Judaism, it seems appropriate to devote one chapter to Jewish culture.

No attempt is being made to cover Jewish culture completely. The purpose of this chapter is to point out certain cultural concepts which seem to be related to programming. It must be re-emphasized that no causal relation can be established, in a study of this nature, between such concepts and the interests and behavior of groups, and that no attempt whatever is being made to generalize from these groups to all Jewish groups. However, it seems important to have some impression of certain of the influences and concepts to which the members of these groups may have been exposed.

While Jewish culture is not synonymous with Jewish religion, it is largely based upon it, and seems to have been most clearly defined in those areas in which the Jewish religion bound its adherents most closely together.

The ruling element of this Jewish culture had been a religion based on the moral law that had been decreed by divine revelation. . . . The way of life which it created was uniform not only for theology and secular wisdom, but even for the minutest problems and tasks of

the day and of the hour. It affected not only the outstanding high and low points of life, such as festivity and mourning, but also the ordinary daily life, such as sickness, business, the ornamentation of the objects used in the ritual, books, writing, clothing, and dwellings . . . [After the Enlightenment] Jewish culture, which had hitherto been unified, began to break up into different groups according to the countries and civilizations of which the Jews at the time became an integral part. The religious bond was loosened and the Reform Movement went about removing from the Jewish religion those specific elements which separated it from the surrounding world. The Jews . . . took a lively share in the culture of their countries . . . There still remained in varying degrees some individual customs and a consciousness of solidarity, but this was no longer sufficient for the existence of Jewish culture. Only in Eastern Europe, where ghetto conditions continued, did the changing economics produce a new Jewish culture for that part of the world . . . Judaism is an inner disposition in which many, though not all, Jews share, a disposition which has been formed in a long history of cultural life and by the closest connection with a moral and religious law that has determined its actions and its demeanor.¹

The Jewish religion is based on two intertwining strands, the Law and the Prophets. The Law is a series of regulations planned to govern the individual's conduct at every particular moment.² It was throughout centuries the keystone of Jewish religious belief and the study of it became a sacred duty.

The other strand is the Prophets, the earliest exponents of social justice, whose deepening insight into the standards set by God for the behavior of man towards man is the basis of much of our movement towards social betterment today. This is one of the sources of the modern Jew's interest in social reform. The old belief of the coming of the Messiah has by many Jews been transformed into a belief in the coming of an era of social

¹ Hans Kohn, "Jewish Culture," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. by Isaac Landman, Vol. VI, pp. 127-128.

² See inter alia Milton Steinberg, Basic Judaism, p. 35, and Louis Finkelstein, The Beliefs and Practices of Judaism, p. 4.

justice and peace, for which all men must now labor.³

This is also a basis for the strong emphasis on philanthropy, so often noted among Jews.⁴ Tradition held that each Jew should give from a tenth to a fifth of his income to charity, and Maimonides' "Eight Degrees of Charity" have been frequently quoted.⁵

The organization of societies for charitable purposes is noted by Drs. Warner and Srole as an early development in the Jewish community in Yankee City.⁶

The Jews historically were driven from their homeland and scattered through many countries. Their religion was one of the forces which held them together, and another was the external pressure, often amounting to persecution, exerted by the Christian community. In Western Europe, where the pressure was relatively less, the Jews adopted more and more of the customs of the people about them and assimilated culturally and often religiously with these countries. In Eastern Europe both the Jewish religion and the Jewish culture were more persistent and more distinct from those of the host countries,⁷ but even here the Jews picked up certain things from their neighbors. This is most easily seen in the matter of food, where often "Jewish" dishes turn out to be Hungarian, Russian, or Polish, depending on the provenance of the cook, with perhaps some variations due to Kosher regulations.

3 Louis Finkelstein, The Beliefs and Practices of Judaism, p. 170.

4 Milton Steinberg, op.cit., p. 81.

5 Philip S. Bernstein, What the Jews Believe, pp. 30-31.

6 W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, op.cit., pp. 161 and 199.

7 Hans Kohn, op.cit., pp. 127-128.

Thus, "Jewish culture" has similarities and differences, depending on what part of the world the ancestors of these particular Jews inhabited.

One of the characteristics always mentioned in connection with Jewish culture is the emphasis on the value of education. Typical are these comments:

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of formal education in this culture. Studying itself appears to be a morally good act and to mean obedience of the first order.⁸

There is probably no nation in the world, among whom the zeal for study is greater than it is in the Jewish race.⁹

It is quite impossible to understand Judaism without an appreciation of the place which it assigns to the study of the Talmudic Law.¹⁰

This universal duty to study as a religious act broadened the base of Jewish culture and, in consequence, elevated it.¹¹

Folk songs and parables also point up this trait. Baby girls are lulled to sleep with the promise of a learned husband. Baby boys have sung to them their mother's dreams that they will become sages.¹² This is reinforced by the need to be best in school in order to get into universities within the quota, and of having a professional education in order to rise in the world.¹³

⁸ Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, A Healthy Personality for Every Child, p. 70.

⁹ W. M. Feldman, The Jewish Child, p. 275.

¹⁰ Louis Finkelstein, The Beliefs and Practices of Judaism, p. 10.

¹¹ Nathan Ausubel, A Treasury of Jewish Folklore, p. xix. (Italics original.)

¹² Ibid., pp. 683-684 and 692.

¹³ Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, A Healthy Personality for Every Child, pp. 70-72.

This interest in intellectual ability is not limited to school, but extends through the home and recreation. Riddles are or were a very popular form of amusement and are often attached to specific festivals.¹⁴ Discussion was for centuries the primary pleasure of the Jewish men - often taking the form of matching wits, encouraging quick mental processes and critical analysis. This sometimes leads to sterile arguments - "The Jewish child who is so good at debating may be indulging in an arduous feat of virtuosity rather than in creative, cooperative thinking"¹⁵ - but it also has the effect of making the Jews very much at home in the world of ideas and words.¹⁶

"According to Jewish teaching, marriage is both a duty and the highest privilege. It is regarded as the ideal state . . ."¹⁷ "The possession of a child, especially of a male child, was, and still is, considered by the Jews as the greatest blessing God could bestow upon man."¹⁸ "To the age-old question: which shall a man gratify, his flesh or his spirit, Judaism answers simply, 'both'.¹⁹ These quotations epitomize the Jewish acceptance of the body and its needs as good in their place.

The home is the place where Jewish life centers. It is almost as

¹⁴ Nathan Ausubel, op.cit., pp. 646-647.

¹⁵ Helen Leland Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, editors, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, Personality in the Making, p. 170.

¹⁶ Nathan Ausubel, op.cit., p. xix.

¹⁷ Deborah M. Melamed, The Three Pillars, p. 35.

¹⁸ W. M. Feldman, op.cit., p. 1.

¹⁹ Milton Steinberg, op.cit., p. 71.

important as the synagogue itself,²⁰ and for this reason inter-marriage is usually frowned upon. Many religious occasions are celebrated in the home—the lighting of the Sabbath candles, Succos, Chanukah, the Passover, are home rather than synagogue festivals. The synagogues and Jewish centers are trying to revive some of the old customs, which have fallen into disuse in many second generation Jewish homes.

Dietary laws are being revised and are observed with differing degrees of strictness.

Eastern European Jews expect their children to obey without question. Talking back by children of this culture is considered to be the worst thing they ever do. Yet they are trained to question all intellectual authority with minute critical analysis. A parent will not praise a child to his face, but will tell everyone else how good he is. Deprivation is the most commonly used punishment, especially the "deprivation of mother," but this is chastisement, not rejection. "The Jewish people are known for the love and devotion they lavish upon their children."²¹ But whereas in America a child is protected from responsibility, an Eastern European Jewish mother gives her daughter no responsibility whatever and usually prefers to have her out of the kitchen when she is working there.²² The family is highly integrated with a rigorous discipline, and a sentimental interdependence.²³

20 Louis Finkelstein, "Jewish Religion, Its Beliefs and Practices," The Jews; Their History, Culture and Religion, Louis Finkelstein, editor, p. 1329.

21 Deborah M. Melamed, op.cit., p. 29.

22 For the source of the statements in this paragraph see Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, A Healthy Personality for Every Child, pp. 65-72.

23 Edward Byron Reuter and Jessie Ridgway Runner, The Family, p. 51.

Music and dancing have been a part of Jewish culture at least since David danced before the ark and sang to Saul. Jewish songs and dances are still taught in Hebrew schools as part of the Jewish heritage. Art, in the sense of painting, sculpture, and handicrafts of various kinds, seems to be less emphasized than in certain other cultures, such as the Italian.

Intertwined in the Jewish culture proper runs the dark thread of discrimination and persecution. It seems inseparable from anything Jewish. Religious teaching is full of it, from the escape out of Egypt to the "Suffering Servant" of the Great Prophet of the Exile. Festivals are based on it. Chanukah brings to mind the story of Hannah and her seven sons. Purim is based on the foiling of Haman's plot to destroy all the Jews, and is often linked to modern "Hamans" down to Hitler and Stalin. The period between Passover and Shavuot commemorates the Hadrianic persecutions, a plague, and the horrors of the Crusades.²⁴ Tisha B'ab commemorates the destruction of both the First and the Second Temple.

"Every generation that does not see the Temple rebuilt is as though it had witnessed its destruction," say the Rabbis. This sentiment is indicative of how closely the Jew identifies himself with his past.²⁵

This unfavorable ethnic status is often reported by clinicians to be a major or a minor factor in the maladjustment of a Jewish person.²⁶ It is present explicitly or implicitly in almost all writings by Jews about Jews.

²⁴ Deborah M. Melamed, op.cit., p. 109.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 139 (Italics added).

²⁶ S. Sargeant, Social Psychology, p. 125. (As quoted by Benjamin Wolman, "The Jewish Adolescent," Jewish Social Studies.)

Above and beyond individual conflict, the whole milieu of these children of erstwhile fugitives from ghettos and pogroms is pervaded by the problem of the Jew's special fate in the face of anger and violence. It had all started so significantly with a God who was mighty, wrathful, and vindictive, but also sadly agitated, attitudes which he had bequeathed to the successive patriarchs all the way from Moses down to this boy's grandparents. And it all had ended with the chosen but dispersed Jewish people's unarmed helplessness against the surrounding world of always potentially violent Gentiles.²⁷

Insecurity and Jewishness often seem to go hand in hand, but whether a person is insecure because he is Jewish, or emphasizes his Jewishness because he is insecure, is beyond the scope of this study to determine.

It probably does not add to the security of such people that there is no clear answer to the question, What is a Jew? Does he belong to a race, a nation, or a religion? After twenty pages discussing this question Mr. Herskovits comes to the conclusion that there is no least common denominator other than the designation "Jew" that can be found to denote the "historical fait accompli" which we mean when we say "Jew".²⁸

A trait so much explained in such various ways that it is evidently considered to be a part of the Jewish cultural values by many people, whether rightly or wrongly, is the importance placed on the value of money. It is laid to the fact that Jews were allowed to be only money-lenders in many societies, that they used it to buy their way out of prison and service in the Tsar's army, that they have used it as a weapon to do away with discrimination, and in many other ways. This exemplifies the complexity of describing a culture, particularly any cultural trait, for in reading the

27 Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 27.

28 Melville J. Herskovits, "Who are the Jews?", The Jews; Their History, Culture, and Religion, Louis Finkelstein, editor, p. 1168.

story of other immigrants, one is struck with the emphasis on money - in the first generation as a basis for capital investment, in the second as a means of buying those goods and services which mark one's rise in the social scale.²⁹

When one talks with old-stock Americans, this is one of the salient points brought up in discussing newcomers. When one talks with the economically well-established, foolish and conspicuous spending is almost always laid at the door of the poorer members of society. When one speaks to a European, it is the money standard by which the American judges life, that is immediately brought to the fore. Is it, then, a Jewish, an immigrant, or an American trait? Or a trait of people rising in the world? Or is it a part of the culture of all these groups, reinforcing each other in particular Jewish groups? It is impossible to say; one can only look to see if it is there in a particular situation and adjust one's course accordingly.

A further word of caution in closing this chapter. Every individual reacts to his culture in his individual way. Even if one could say with complete and absolute certainty, "Such and such are the characteristics of Jewish culture," yet it would be impossible to say with any certainty that, "So-and-so is a Jew and therefore he will have all these traits." So-and-so is an individual. He may be reacting violently against these traits and have them largely in reverse. He will certainly have chosen sub-consciously among them those best adapted to his personality, emphasizing some, underplaying others. Only with the greatest caution can one reason from the general to the particular. The most one can do is to sensitize oneself to the

²⁹ See W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, op.cit., pp. 77-90.

probable traits as a basis for the study of each individual.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITIES, AGENCIES AND GROUPS

The use of census tracts in comparing communities can be somewhat misleading, for they do not coincide exactly with the areas served by specific agencies. However, they give the best basis available for analyzing the economic conditions of an area, and the 1950 United States census is the basis for almost all the statements about communities in the following chapter.

Dorchester, which is the center of the district covered by this study, is divided into two parts: a Jewish neighborhood running mainly along Blue Hill Avenue, and a section which is predominantly Irish, Roman Catholic, lying east of the railroad track. The Jewish part is a community which is on the move, at least psychologically. People move in from Roxbury and out to Mattapan, Brookline, and Newton as they go up the social scale. Those who have not moved are often looking forward to the day when they will be able to do so.

In this whole area the foreign-born are predominantly from Russia, Lithuania and Poland, the Russians numbering almost five to seven times the total of the other two. All together they compose about one-fourth of the total population.

In general, the economic level is lower middle class. Managers, clerical employees, salespeople, and operatives are the predominant occupations. The median income per family and per individual runs from \$3,143 to

\$3,292 in Dorchester and Mattapan and from \$2,691 to \$3,391 in that part of Roxbury served by the YMHA.

The most nearly comparable neighborhood in ethnic homogeneity and economic level is East Boston, which is predominantly Italian with some Irish (mainly Nova Scotian fishermen). Here the people tend to remain in the community even when they rise economically. There is apparently a stronger feeling for their community, due both to this greater permanence and to a sense of isolation from the rest of Boston.

This district is poorer economically;¹ the median income ranges from \$2,307 to \$2,871. This statement is substantiated by the median monthly rent which runs from \$19.42 to \$26.54² as compared to the \$35.61 to \$46.50 of Dorchester. Buildings are more dilapidated and more crowded. It is a younger district with fewer people over sixty-five and more under nineteen.

Four non-Jewish groups were from "Outer Roxbury", a community of mixed nationalities, including many Negroes. Here the median income is \$2,600 and the median rent \$32.18. There are rather more dependents, both old and young, than in Dorchester and fewer than in East Boston. One group was in East Dorchester, which is on about the same economic level as the Jewish section and is largely Irish, Roman Catholic. One group was made up of low income boys from Allston and Brighton.

The Jewish groups studied were chosen from two agencies. Hecht House was a Jewish Community Center with one of its aims to advance an

1 See Table I, p. 70, for comparison of the economic levels of the different neighborhoods.

2 Omitting the \$37.59 caused by a housing project.

understanding and appreciation of the principles and ideals of Judaism and to foster and implement those ideals and principles. Its membership was open to all faiths, but in practice it is estimated that at the time of the study it served about ninety per cent Jews. The YMHA had a policy of admitting only Jews to its membership.

Both agencies emphasized Jewish culture, but not religious training. The YMHA put greater stress on association and fellowship than on cultural indoctrination.

Both agencies had physical education programs outside of club meeting time. Both emphasized clubs rather than interest groups as better media for group work. For this age group the clubs were not co-educational, although there were many opportunities for co-educational social activities and occasionally there were interest groups of mixed sexes.

The two agencies in East Boston served a mixed Italian and Irish clientele, in which the Italians predominated. They based their program on the interests and talents of the Italians and had as one of their aims the fostering of pride in their members' Italian heritage. They used Italian motifs in much of their program and encouraged creative art of different kinds; such as singing, dancing, wood-carving and painting.

One of these agencies was endeavoring to introduce clubs after a long history of nothing but interest groups. The other fostered co-educational activities. Both had a physical education program.

All the other records were from the YMCA, mainly from its decentralized program. In this, clubs were organized among boys on street corners, usually built around an athletic team, with the intention of expanding the program after the club was going. A gymnasium was available to

groups and sometimes a small meeting room. Otherwise meetings had to be held in the homes of the members or on the street. Parties and other activities were often limited for this reason. A place for week-end camping was also available. One group was in a building-centered program and so was able to have a greater variety of activities.

All groups from this agency were boys only. The YMCA being open to all boys, the composition of the groups racially, nationally, and religiously was quite varied.³

As can be seen from the above description, the areas and neighborhoods were only roughly comparable. They were, however, the best which could be found. In the comparison between the groups of the different agencies, therefore, various factors entered: ethnic, religious, and also economic and social.

Since program in groups depends both on the group and on the worker, it is important to know something about them.⁴ The Jewish groups were all clubs, of which eleven were girls' and nine were boys'. The non-Jewish consisted of three co-educational interest groups, one girls' interest group, two girls' clubs and seven boys'. No other records of girls' clubs were available in the agencies.

The Jewish groups were larger than the others. Two-thirds of the Jewish clubs had fourteen to twenty-four members, while only one-third of the non-Jewish clubs were so big. Half of the Jewish clubs, but only one of the non-Jewish groups, had eighteen or more members.

³ It is realized that full justice has not been done to the aims, programs and accomplishments of these agencies. The intent was merely to point out those policies and practices which affected the value of the study.

⁴ See Table II, p. 71.

The non-Jewish groups tended to have a wider age span within each group. They also tended to be younger. More than half the Jewish clubs had members fourteen years old or more. Five out of the thirteen non-Jewish groups were that old, although two more had members of that age.

Three of the Jewish clubs and one non-Jewish had records covering more than one year. Eleven of the Jewish groups were in their first year as clubs. Five were in their second year under the same worker. One had had a year associated with Habonym but was in its first year as an unaffiliated club. Two had met in members' homes for one or two years before the record studied. One had a history of five years as a Young Judean group, of which three were covered more or less completely by records.

Of the seven East Boston groups, all were in their first year, although one club had met as a sewing group the year before.

The six YMCA clubs had a much longer history. Only one was in its first year, one was in its second, three were in their fourth, and one group had records for its third and fourth years.

The Jewish groups were led by a total of twenty workers. Three of the records extended over more than one year, and two groups had more than one worker during the year. Seven workers led two clubs each. All but three were Jews.

The non-Jewish groups had eleven workers. Three led two groups each. One club had records for two years with a different worker each year. Only one worker had a cultural background similar to that of the members of the group.

Of the workers in the Jewish agencies, one was a group work student, five were case workers, and the rest had had no social work training.

Nine had had experience leading groups before. In the non-Jewish agencies all the workers were group work students.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION

Most groups have some form of organization. It may be that of a Quaker meeting in which all are officially equal, or that of a dictatorship with a leader and followers, or one with elected officers and committees. It may be very informal or elaborately formal.

The amount of organization of groups such as were studied for this thesis depends on many things. One is the propensities of the members. This is very important in determining the use of the organization. Another is the climate of the agency, which includes its policy, the practices encouraged by the staff and also the example set by other groups. If it becomes "the thing" to have officers and business meetings, the group will probably initiate them of its own accord, in whatever way they may use them afterwards. Another factor is the worker. Some feel the importance of organizational forms more than others. Some even take refuge from their own sense of inadequacy in parliamentary procedure. Some feel that it is the only way to ensure democratic participation and self-direction on the part of the group.

In the light of these various considerations one must consider carefully the evidence to determine whether it is the group or the worker who is responsible for the organizational scheme and its use in a group.

According to our definition of culture which includes most external forces acting on a group, it is not necessary to distinguish between the

pressures of the agency, the influence of other groups and the effect of community beliefs, but where possible the direction of such pressures will be pointed out.

The best criteria of the place of organization in a group's life are the time and manner of elections, the type and use of officers, the prominence and formality of business meetings, the use of club rules to decide questions of import, the amount of time spent on constitutions and the subsequent use of them. The manner of deciding on and carrying through projects and the terms in which major problems, such as the rights of a member as opposed to those of the club, are worked out, the importance of such questions as member qualifications, and quotas are also of significance.

The two agencies in the predominantly Italian Roman Catholic district had a history of interest groups. One emphasized clubs and was trying to increase their use, but met difficulties both because of a lack of tradition along these lines and because of a considerable turn-over in leadership, possibly also because of a cultural lack of interest in clubs per se. The other agency endeavored to use interest groups more flexibly, bringing in other interests and allowing a group to change its direction after a project was completed. Interest groups are not ordinarily organized in the same way as a club, although they may have officers under different names and can often plan special projects through committees.

The YMCA clubs were centered about athletics. They always had a captain of the team, even if they had no other officers. An important factor in the slight development of their organization was the lack of meeting facilities.

The Jewish agencies strongly emphasized clubs in preference to interest groups. The most obvious feature about a club is that it has officers, and so even new clubs in these agencies heard about this from others and presumably expected this form of organization.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS:

The seven groups in East Boston were very little interested in organizational forms, although they could learn to use them. One group had no organization of any kind. Four developed some form of business meeting and officers under pressure from the worker, but only one of them used this organization to any real purpose. In the others, chief officers were often absent and, in one case, resigned without being replaced. Votes were usually taken only at the instigation of the worker.

One club used its organization, officers and committees to plan and carry out a rich and varied program. Frequent and serious business meetings were held, but they were not held every week, and almost never took the entire meeting. They were never held for their own sake.

Only one club of younger boys showed interest in business meetings for themselves. These were held every time and, if convened away from the agency, decisions were ratified in the club room. It seemed as if they were considered by the boys as a ritual.

In all these clubs, greater emphasis was placed on activities than on organizational machinery.

Of the six YMCA groups, three had a very loose organization and almost no business meetings. A fourth, which met for two years, had formal meetings during the first year, but the members used their organization primarily to enforce better standards of behavior. Their "most important"

officer was the judge who imposed fines and punishments. The next year, interest waned and although the club had officers, three months passed without a business meeting.

One club had a lot of organization at the instigation of the worker. Somewhat typical was his statement to the group that, "the quicker we get the business over with, the quicker we can get out to play ball." Since the worker seems to have made almost all the suggestions along organizational lines, it is hard to determine whether or not there was any real interest on the part of the boys. Only one club learned to use officers and committees by the end of the year. Meetings were never for their own sake, but because something needed to be planned.

JEWISH GROUPS:

In the YMHA, as previously explained,¹ records were adapted to volunteer workers so that actual activities were emphasized rather than who initiated them and what they meant to the group. Therefore, the evidence was less clear than it otherwise might have been.

Eleven groups were led by a total of eight workers. Of these, one woman was non-Jewish and was not described as emphasizing parliamentary procedure and organization. All other leaders were Jewish. The other woman focussed primarily on program as opposed to organization. She was experienced and well-qualified. Of the six men, all but one emphasized parliamentary procedure to a greater or less extent. All but the same one were inexperienced in group work.

There is no way of telling from these records how formal the busi-

¹ See supra, p. 8.

ness procedure was in every meeting, although from certain comments of the workers, one suspects that the boys, at any rate, were fairly disorderly and inattentive. However, it is interesting to note that the greatest number of meetings devoted to activities, other than discussing organization or plans, was seven out of sixteen in a group led by a worker who was supposed to focus on program. Of these, two were partially business, and nine others of the sixteen were entirely devoted to business. It is true that several other clubs had their activities - mainly athletic or social - outside of club meetings, and used the meetings to plan them, but it is indicative that at least three clubs had business every time they met, and in most of the clubs business meetings exceeded any activity meeting by a ratio of approximately six to one.

Furthermore, organization in some form (e.g., membership quotas, qualifications and methods of voting in, duties of officers, constitutions, dues) were discussed at length in every group. The fewest such discussions were held in the youngest club, the same one with the most activities, but even here there were three elections and two discussions on organization out of sixteen meetings. The highest ratio was in a very difficult group of thirteen to fourteen-year-old boys in which, out of eleven meetings, ten were devoted, at least in part, to organization and four elections were held. In the other clubs, a third to a half of the meetings included such discussions.

Attendance seemed to be quite independent of program activities. It apparently did not rise for special activity meetings nor did those clubs with many activities seem to have a better attendance than those without.

This leads one to wonder whether the mere fact of belonging to a club and going through the motions of a meeting is of importance to these youngsters. It does not prove it, for there are other factors in this situation. Some of them are: parental approval of the "Y" as the one place outside the home where youngsters may spend an evening, companionship in the lounge outside the club itself, participation in the club team.

Some of the things discussed may give a clue to the interests of the groups. Almost every club was greatly interested in members and much time was devoted to discussing membership qualifications, quotas, how many votes were needed to bring a member in on probation, how many to bring him in permanently, under what circumstances might a member be voted out. One club of fourteen-year-old boys argued about whether the planning of social affairs should be done by the group or delegated to committees. The decision was that the committees would carry out proposals initiated and decided on at full meetings. The same club voted that new members should be given half the regular club subsidy for their uniforms. This is interesting in the light of many similar discussions at Hecht House.² Several clubs voted on giving a leave of absence to a member. Eight of the eleven clubs discussed and most adopted a constitution. Sometimes this was at the worker's suggestion, sometimes at the members'. Often this was of apparent importance to the club, as was shown when one group refused to let a committee draft it but wished to discuss its provisions in full meeting, in spite of the worker's suggestion to the contrary. In one club interest was waning, and on discussing it the boys came up with four suggestions: worker

2 For the importance of club treasuries see pp. 50-51.

to outline a tentative constitution, strengthen the treasury, strengthen the program, improve attendance - in that order. Later in the same group the worker asked the purpose of meeting week after week without accomplishing anything or even having fun. There was no record of the answer, but later at the same meeting, the group asked to start on a constitution.

Organization was very important to all but one of the Hecht House groups (a club of twelve-year-old girls). Five of the nine clubs had constitutions which they took seriously and discussed at length. In one, the girls did not understand the words of the constitution they themselves had proposed and the worker had to point out that the club was more democratic than its constitution. Another club had a constitution and standing committees, though many of the girls were vague as to which committee they were on, seeming to show that these were more for show than for use. When the worker suggested a committee should meet, the girls could not understand why. In a third group, a girl said the constitution was too short and should be lengthened (evidently a short one wasn't important enough). At another time it was used as an excuse not to join another club ("against the constitution").

In almost every group the officers took their position very seriously. In the two youngest groups being an officer was of such importance that in one case care was taken that everyone be nominated; and in the other elections were held every month to ensure an equal chance for all to be elected. It was understood after the second election that holding an office disqualified one for subsequent election to any office.

Even in the Jacquelines, who showed relatively little interest in organization, the president learned to use an agenda and to keep order

without yelling.

Organizational procedure took up much of the time in meetings. A large part of it was spent in discussing how to vote members in or out. One worker helped a club become more democratic through discussions of methods of voting members in.

Two of the youngest groups, the Clowns and the Telavivs, had the most active program and best functioning organization. In the case of the Telavivs, many ideas came from a program committee, which was suggested by the girls, and used for a time but later dropped. They had business meetings of some sort at every session, including one on a trip to the hospital to make final plans for the Carnival.

The Bowlers' program was primarily athletic and social and so took place outside the regular meeting time, although the fact that athletics were not the primary interest is shown by the abandonment of the baseball team, because too few members turned out. The boys discussed constitutions and regulations frequently. According to the worker's final evaluation, they changed the constitution whenever they wished to do anything which was contrary to its provisions. The second year, much time was spent discussing whether or not decisions were valid when a quorum was not present. However, they also used their organization to plan and carry out projects.

The Sweethearts used committees and when two cliques developed, the president and worker tried to see that the other clique was represented on them. At the end of the first year, they were so successful that both factions were represented among the newly elected officers. It is interesting to see the way this problem was handled and the standards used to judge its success.

Occasionally, business meetings were merely an excuse to meet. One extreme case was that of the Arctics who met regularly, and while the officers went through the business of the meeting, the other girls would talk or yell. In sixteen out of thirty-two meetings, the confusion and noise were spoken of as very bad, and several times the meeting disintegrated or was adjourned as hopeless. Yet attendance remained good. The girls said that activity was unimportant. They came to get recognition as members, and to let off disorganized steam (according to the worker). (The same comment was made about a YMHA group.)

Other groups were troubled at the amount of talking and the little that was accomplished. The Telavivs spoke of this frequently, but when a president tried to introduce activities there was a great deal of objection because she had not allowed the group to discuss them first. When the same group decided to divide its meetings into business and some activity, it also decided to have the business first in spite of the comment by one member, amply borne out by their experience, that they would never finish the business in time for games.

In group after group, the worker struggled to introduce interesting activities, but almost always the main activity was discussing what the club might do. One president even told the worker that there was no time for program in the meetings.

In assessing what organization meant to the Jewish groups, one must distinguish between officers and constitutions used as a club symbol, a little like jackets and a name, and the same things used to govern the club. One must also realize that all these groups are extremely vocal and business gives endless opportunities to talk.

SUMMARY:

One may conclude that to almost all these groups officers, constitutions, and by-laws served a dual purpose as symbol of the group and as an excuse to meet and talk. Activities were not necessary for continued attendance at meetings. The comments that there "was no time for program at the meetings," that "activities were unimportant," and the overwhelming amount of time spent in business meetings support this conclusion. This does not necessarily mean that better and more varied programs are not valuable or would not be appreciated.

The frequent use noted of organizational forms in which problems were worked out may denote the importance of organization in the eyes of the members or it may mean that, because of the sterility of the program, there was no other way in which it could be done.

In some clubs there was a third purpose served by organization, that of governing fairly. This was clearly true in the cases of six groups. But the constant complaint about the amount of talking seems to indicate that the business meetings tended to bog down in discussions which did not end in clear-cut decisions.

A worker coming from a culture which is less organizationally minded might be misled into thinking that the immediate use of officers and committees denotes a very advanced stage in democratic self-government. The evidence did not bear this out. In some cases the organization was only for show. The clubs had to learn to use their organization for a purpose and needed as much guidance in democracy, although in different ways, as a group more obviously unused to group planning.

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL CONTENT

Cultural content in program is any activity specifically related to the ethnic culture of that group. Such activities include folk songs and dances, plays and stories based on folk tales, traditional holidays and customs. The use of cultural content in the program of a group is closely related to the members' feelings about being members of that culture. Therefore, in this chapter the two things are taken up together.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS:

In the East Boston groups there was nothing in the records to indicate any cultural emphasis in the program. This may have been due to the type of groups, or it may have been that the cultural slant was seen primarily in programs of the total agency. Both agencies spoke of using Italian themes for many of their agency projects, and of a set purpose to foster pride and interest in Italian things. Italian songs and dances were used along with those of other nations. Italian costumes were worn on occasion. Food, of course, was often Italian.

In only one record was there evidence of concern about being Italian. This was in the club of girls, thirteen to fifteen years old. In a conversation outside the meeting, the girls said they felt that being Italian was a handicap and they would prefer to be French or Irish. This was not picked up either then or later by the worker.

It is possible that an incident reported in one of the groups, of some girls calling other girls outside the agency "nigger", although they apparently were not, may reflect a concern about dark pigmentation, which has been noted in Italians in other sections.

Staff members of both agencies were of the opinion that these were isolated instances and that East Bostonians, at least up to late adolescence, had no concern about their culture. They might develop a concern when they started mixing with other groups at that age.

The YMCA clubs were of such different cultural backgrounds that specific cultural content would have been difficult to introduce. The only thing which might fall into this category was the use of prayer to start the games and meetings by the two Negro, Protestant groups. Both workers remarked on the prevalence of religious symbols in the homes of the members.

There is nothing in the records to reveal any of the feelings of the Negro boys about their race, although one can be reasonably certain that they had them. One worker, a Jew, tried to show the boys that he, a white, accepted them as they were. He brought white friends in to help with the program, read the Robert Gould Shaw memorial inscription with them on a trip.

In the older Negro group there is nothing about the boys' feelings, but quite a lot about the worker's, as he tested with growing conviction his acceptance of them, climaxed by his dancing with one of their girls. The worker's opinion was that the boys found it difficult to express their feelings verbally, especially to a white man, even if well-accepted. He also brought up their difficulty in talking in connection with conflicts, saying that he believed that they just stayed away from the group instead

of talking it out.

He said in his evaluation that, "Discussions have been conducted at club meetings concerning the individual Negro's feelings of participating in a program designed to meet their [sic] needs in a democratic setting," but there is no evidence in the records.

JEWISH GROUPS:

The Jewish groups at Hecht House showed no trouble at all in expressing their feelings verbally, although it was sometimes by indirection.

The youngest club had a program notably rich in Jewish content for the first half-year recorded, and was the only group in which no concern about Jewishness was expressed.

The older girls showed more concern over differences and stronger feelings both for and against allying themselves with Judaism.

One club had a program which included Jewish songs and dances. One girl was particularly interested in cultural content and belonged to other Jewish groups. Late in the year some non-Jews were admitted to the club and this girl told the worker that she supposed they would not be able to dance the hora any more since the new members would not wish to. The worker pointed out that she herself enjoyed dances from other countries and helped her see that one did not have to be Jewish to like the hora.¹

Other girls of the same age (twelve to thirteen) made informal comments about being Jewish. One was glad to belong to a Jewish club. She had always been among Gentiles and felt more comfortable with Jews. Another

¹ In discussing the enjoyment of Jewish dances, it is important to note that many have a strong rhythm and are, therefore, particularly good fun to dance.

felt a lack of Christian friends. She had also lived among them, but in a better neighborhood and her feelings may have been related to her family's thought that they had come down in the world. A third told of her family's change from Orthodox to Conservative Judaism, as they moved out to Mattapan and of the adjustments which had to take place among the three generations in the family. Her grandfather wished her to go to Hebrew Teachers College and she was rebelling against it. Yet a fourth said that one could enjoy all sorts of different friends but that one should not marry a Christian.

This club had a number of Jewish activities, including attending the Bas Mitvah of the president.

The next older groups were increasingly ambivalent about their Jewishness.

One club had a number of social contacts with Jewish groups of boys and many belonged to the Daughters of Zion. But this same club objected to Jewish dances in the House because, "They would make too much noise." This was obviously an excuse. The House is never quiet, and the club was a particularly noisy one. Also, they danced Jewish dances and sang Jewish songs with great enjoyment at a party in a private home. Evidently they feared to be identified in other people's minds with Jewish things.

Another club gave a positive response to the leader's suggestion of an evening of Palestinian songs and dances, but found many excuses to put it off, and when it finally took place many of the members faded out of the room.

Other girls of fourteen showed great ambivalence toward Jewish dances and songs. Some liked them but were embarrassed at being seen or heard taking part in them. They rationalized their embarrassment by saying

that there was no use learning the dances because they were of no use outside the club meetings.

The members of one club, which had been strongly oriented to Jewish culture the year before, were very ambivalent toward their Jewishness. In a spontaneous skit on happenings along Blue Hill Avenue the girls took great delight in taking off pronounced Jewish accents. Their former worker endeavored to re-establish their connection with a Jewish national organization. They were polite but strongly opposed to returning to it.

There was a heated discussion on admitting non-Jews into a club. One member said it was "against the constitution". Another, "They would not understand what we mean when we speak Jewish." There was a general feeling that Gentiles would not understand their thinking and culture. (An interesting point, since this club did nothing specifically Jewish in the two years recorded.) The worker asked if perhaps they were a little uncomfortable themselves about being Jewish. This was discussed. Some members recalled some nice Gentiles. Others thought the club would be over-run with them and would lose a feeling of closeness among the members. The worker said this might not be so and that Jews had a lot to share from their culture and perhaps they could learn something. The girls then decided by a close vote to exclude Gentiles. This incident was almost the only occasion when a worker attempted to discuss the members' feelings about being Jewish in a group, although there were other opportunities.

One club of older girls had a Protestant worker and there was some feeling about it. This was worked through at one of the meetings and the worker was well accepted thereafter. The same club showed evidence of the growth of a feeling of distinction based on prejudice against outsiders,

particularly Negroes. Mixed marriages were discussed and there seemed to be a tendency to look down on Gentiles, not coupled with a sense of pride in their own culture.

Another club continued strongly identified with Jewish things throughout its long life, and had many specifically Jewish activities. The records do not make clear how much was due to the desire of the girls, and how much to the pressure from the workers. There was some evidence of ambivalence about their Jewishness when they discussed admitting a Roman Catholic and said that if she wanted to join a Jewish group, she might.

The boys' club spent some time discussing "uprisings in Dorchester". The comments were: "Find them and fight them," "Not the right way to do it," "Wars don't solve anything." But the record does not elaborate.

The YMHA records were not of the type to give any evidence of such feelings. Two clubs discussed and turned down proposals to affiliate with National Jewish organizations, but there is no evidence as to whether this was because of feelings about being Jewish, or because of the people who backed the idea, or presented it to the club. The impression of a staff member was that the latter reason was dominant.

Only one YMHA club had Israeli dances. The same club took a trip to a library to see the Jewish Book Month exhibit and had a Chanukah party. Another club took charge of the Chanukah ceremony for the agency. These were the only Jewish activities in clubs, except for the Purim Carnival, which six out of nine clubs entered. Jewish Book Month was brought up by the leaders in seven groups, but only one expressed any interest.

In the two Jewish agencies, five out of the seven youngest groups had Jewish content to their program other than the Purim Carnival. Of the

older groups, only the Young Judaeans had any such activities.

SUMMARY:

It is clear that program with Jewish content was used commonly in the younger groups and only occasionally in those of fourteen years and over.

In Hecht House, being Jewish was a problem to almost every club and was discussed in some form during meetings. This concern appeared to increase with the age of the club members. Interest and pride in Jewish things did not necessarily go together. There were several instances of individuals and groups, who were most active in Jewish organizations, expressing the feeling that non-Jews looked down on them.

CHAPTER VI

BOY-GIRL RELATIONSHIPS

In most adolescent groups, social relations with the other sex are the basis for much programming. The extent to which sex is considered an appropriate subject for group discussion and the way in which programming in this whole area is handled often has a close connection with cultural patterns. Therefore, this was made an area for study.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS:

In the East Boston agencies, normal social activities of both sexes were stressed. In one agency, as many groups as possible of this age range included both boys and girls in the belief that healthy relations are more easily built up between them if they do many different things together. In the other agency, there were agency dances and club parties, as well as other ways for the two to meet and mingle. The clubs in this agency were all boys or all girls, but the one interest group recorded had both sexes in its membership.

There were several indications of a concern of these adolescents about their body, finding it both interesting and shameful. This was expressed by drawings of women with breasts as a daring thing, some discussions on the subject of nude bodies, occasional sly jokes. There was also evidence of great modesty on the part of both boys and girls. The boys objected to swimming nude, the girls hesitated to take off shoes and stockings to try on bootees, or jumpers to try on slips.

Sex education was handled entirely by the family and the Church. Kissing games were against the policy of the agencies and the only discussion of them was in interpretation of that ruling.

The records showed the usual difficulties of early adolescents in establishing social relations, expressed by teasing, restlessness, general fooling, and the reluctance of boys to dance at parties.

The younger boys of the YMCA groups were not sufficiently mature to be interested in girls, although one club was in the process of changing its ideas.

The members of the older Negro group were beginning to be much interested in girls. They asked for dim lights at dances, and at the first dance the worker reported much kissing. There was evidence that, at least in the mind of one family, dim lights and sexual immorality were connected. A boy from the same family said many boys needed a good sex education. There was some slight indication of a changing code of behavior in this field, which may have led to more conflict than usual on the part of the youngsters. Nothing was done as program in this area, except the two dances.

Of the three other older boys' groups, one had no social relations of any sort with girls. One went to a party to which they had been invited as a club. Although most of the boys were fifteen and sixteen, they gave evidence of having had very little experience in such affairs. The oldest club of all had three parties with girls. They made considerable progress in their social behavior at each one, but at the end of the year still had a long way to go. There was no other evidence of programming or the need for it in this field.

JEWISH GROUPS:

In the Jewish clubs, there was an effort to accept interest in the body as a natural thing in adolescents. The youngest group on a trip to the Museum of Fine Arts "discovered anatomy". They had a session of telling dirty stories on the bus, which disturbed the people about them. The worker treated it casually, suggesting that the girls save the stories till later, and the subject dropped naturally.

One club had a hen party, and after the leader left they discussed lesbians and fairies, as they told her somewhat shamefacedly at the next meeting. The same club wished to have a discussion of going steady, but because of other conditions in the group never did so.

At the YMHA one group of young girls had a discussion on sex, since the worker discovered they had many false ideas about it. "Their education is completely gutteral [sic]."

Other groups discussed such topics as posture, grooming, how to have a good time at a party, mixed marriages, what to tell small children about sex. One club had a speaker on sex and another had a debate on going steady.

A boys' club had a discussion on, "Should sex be taught in the schools?" This club spent its first three meetings trying to join forces with a girls' club for co-ed activities. The venture broke down over the rules of co-ed organization.

Socials were a key factor in determining the status of a group, as was mentioned several times. Most of the clubs had socials, dances, or record hops, and in several of them this was made the basis of discussions on how to behave at a dance and social responsibility. One girls' club, which

had had the devastating experience of being looked over by a group of boys and turned down, discussed "How to behave when boys come, to prove that they would be nice to have at a party." The next time they were invited, and the party was a huge success.

A debate was planned by one club on "How should a girl and boy act on a date?" It was never carried out because the girls couldn't find a club of whom they liked all the boys with whom to debate.

SUMMARY:

One may conclude that members of these Jewish groups were normally interested in the other sex and were trying to learn their way about in the adult social world. Both behavior and talk are much freer than in some other groups, although the members were not always sure how far they could go. This was shown by the uncertainty of some girls as to whether the worker would approve their discussion about homosexuals.

A great deal of program was centered about social relations and sex. The place of debates, discussions and talks in this field again points up the vocal tendencies of these groups.

CHAPTER VII

MONEY-MAKING PROJECTS

Money-making projects are closely related to the place held by the treasury in the minds of the group. This is evident from the reasons advanced for raising money and the way in which these projects are introduced.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS:

In the Italian and Irish agencies, the treasury was of little importance to the groups. In several groups there were dues, but the prevailing custom was to have dues only if necessary to cover such activities as were desired, and if the treasury were inadequate or non-existent, members chipped in as required. One agency discouraged money raising by clubs. The other had the policy of asking that alternate functions be for the benefit of the House. The first affair was said to be often so much fun that the group would immediately have a second. In none of the records of these agencies studied was any mention made of money-raising.

In the other non-Jewish agency, jackets and uniforms played a more important part since the groups studied were primarily athletic. Therefore, the treasury, raising money, and discussions about jackets and uniforms were all intertwined in the records.

Of the six groups studied, three had no money-raising activities, although two discussed them and one started a raffle which was dropped from lack of interest. One of these three clubs did not even have dues.

The other three groups raised money in various ways, but such projects occupied a subordinate place in their thinking. One raised money at the worker's suggestion, but no mention was made of its use. The following year the club again raised money but the original suggestion of a quintet developed into a variety show for parents and the activity itself took precedence over money-raising as the objective of the evening.

In the second club two projects were undertaken at the initiative of the staff. One was proposed because the boys wanted uniforms and their dues were inadequate. In this club the boys used non-payment of dues as a source of complaint against one of the fringe members. This was unusual in the non-Jewish groups and probably was not an expression of concern about the treasury, since the announcement of a considerable balance was greeted with indifference.

The third club had two activities for the purpose of buying uniforms.

In these three clubs jackets were primary and the treasury secondary. In one, members bought their jackets individually. In the other two the general question of the rights of a clique versus the group as a whole was raised in terms of jackets. Should just the team get them or those who sold sufficient raffle tickets or the whole club? The decision was in favor of the team.

JEWISH GROUPS:

In startling contrast were the Jewish groups, to whom the treasury was of the greatest importance. It was not entirely clear just what it meant to them, whether it was a symbol of the club, a subject for discussion, or a means of buying jackets. It was only certain that money was

basic in the members' thinking about their club.

Of the twenty clubs studied, only four had no money-raising event of any kind, and one of these was sufficiently interested in the treasury to spend the better part of two meetings discussing how much the club should pay towards uniforms. They also discussed suspending a member for non-payment of dues.

The most usual method of raising money was having a booth in the Purim Carnival. This was conceived as a cultural merry-making day, plus an acceptable way of earning money with Jewish program possibilities. Groups in both agencies were strongly encouraged to go into it as a Jewish activity. So the fact that fifteen had booths is not a conclusive proof of their desire to make money. The absence of Jewish slant to any booths mentioned might indicate that that aspect was of less importance than the prospective profit to the clubs. In only one of the clubs, a younger one, did the activity clearly outweigh the money in importance.

Nine clubs discussed raising money by raffles and six actually did so. Two had record hops, one a book review, one a dance, and one made dolls for sale. One club had no activities at all during the year except two money-raising affairs. Some of these affairs had the additional advantage of being fun or of bringing prestige to the club. However, this was never put forward as the reason and the number of raffles whose only purpose was raising money substantiates the conclusion that this was the primary objective.

Dues were discussed frequently. One club changed their dues twice and also decided to deny a jacket to any member who did not pay his dues.

One club raised money to bolster the treasury with no particular plan for spending the money. Another club of twenty girls said that one hundred dollars in the treasury was "basic", anything beyond that could go for jackets. Although jackets figured largely in club thinking as with the YMCA groups, the order of priority appeared to be first the treasury, then the jackets, rather than vice versa as in the more athletic groups.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of the importance of a treasury to these groups was the form in which a standard problem facing clubs was presented to them. In almost every club comes a moment when the borderline between the rights of a member and the rights of the club must be defined. In an Italian club this question arose in the sphere of activities. Were a few girls to be allowed to plan a "surprise" and keep it a "secret" from the others, or was the club as a whole to plan all activities? This problem appeared in somewhat similar form in two Jewish groups: 1) Should all participate in all activities or refuse to join in? and 2) (with what seems to be a typical twist for these groups¹) Should committees be given power to initiate plans or only to execute club decisions?

The non-Jewish athletic groups worked this out in athletic terms. Do all members play in every game at the risk of losing, or do the first team players monopolize every game? If all sell raffle tickets, who gets a subsidy on a uniform, club members in good standing or team members only?

In three Jewish groups, on the other hand, the point was discussed in terms of the treasury. Is it a club treasury or the sum of individual banking accounts? Specifically, if members sell unequal numbers of raffle

¹ See supra, p. 36.

tickets, do they or do they not draw out equal amounts towards their jackets? And what about new members?

SUMMARY:

One may conclude that for some reason a treasury means something special to these Jewish groups and money-making projects of various kinds play an important part in their program.

CHAPTER VIII

SERVICE PROJECTS

Because of the Jews' strong emphasis on social justice and community service, it might be expected that service projects would play an important part in the program of their clubs. This aspect of programming was, therefore, given particular attention.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS:

In the records of groups in the predominantly Italian, Roman Catholic centers, there was no suggestion of any service project of any kind. This may have been partly because of the youth of their members, partly because they were primarily interest groups, but even in the three clubs there was no mention of any interest along these lines. The staff of the agencies confirmed this in general, although they stated that some groups made things which they subsequently gave to others, and some groups did things to raise money for the agency.¹

The other non-Jewish boys' groups were primarily athletic and it is, perhaps, not surprising that few service projects were mentioned. One older group sponsored a younger one, and in one club a contribution was made, at the suggestion of the worker, to the World Service Fund of the YMCA. The only major service project undertaken was the hard work of one group

¹ Lest the author be accused of saying that Italians have no sense of generosity, it may be noted that much of their giving is individual or through the Church.

of boys to arouse interest in a public meeting concerned with better housing for their neighborhood. The worker thought they learned a great deal about community responsibility in the process.

It is, of course, important to remember that in these groups, a sense of responsibility to the community as manifested in improved standards of behavior was being inculcated and that all these groups had been more often on the receiving than on the giving end of life. Perhaps service projects represented a more advanced stage of development than they had yet attained.

JEWISH GROUPS:

In Jewish groups the evidence is conflicting. Both agencies had Keren Amis - a sort of House community chest used also as an educational device in collecting money and distributing it by the vote of the members to recognized charities.

In the YMHA, one boys' group voted to contribute to Keren Ami. Another sent a plant to a sick mother, but did not mention any other form of service. The six other boys' clubs did not do even that much. Of the three girls' clubs, two contributed to the Keren Ami and one discussed making a poster for it; there is no record as to whether this was actually done.²

In Hecht House in the one boys' group studied there was no interest shown in any service project. The same was true of two clubs of girls, one of ten-year-olds and the other twelve.

In the other six groups the record was very different. In the

² It is important to remember that the form of the records does not lead to the recording of suggestions which were not acted on.

Telaviv the girls suggested making scrapbooks for the hospital. When they took them to the hospital, they were interested in the possibility of volunteering there and two telephoned the Volunteer Bureau in an attempt to carry through on this. The worker failed to capitalize on this interest and it dropped. At the suggestion of the members, the club voted to contribute the balance of its treasury, when it broke up for the summer, to a charity, and finally decided on the American Cancer Society. At other times service projects were mentioned by various members as possible activities for the club but were not pressed.

The Planets, a club in the process of dissolution, discussed contributing to the CJA (there was no record of the final action), and when they were deciding what to do if they should continue through the year one girl suggested a service project every month. The club broke up, so no action was taken.

The Robertas and Sweethearts brought up service projects of different kinds, such as making things for children in a hospital and putting on a play in the hospital. They all fell through.

The Annettes were a young Judaeen group and as such had as one of their purposes "to develop a willingness to render service to the American Jewish community." The first year of the record this was accomplished by holding a weekly raffle for the benefit of the Jewish National Fund. Two years later, when the girls were fourteen and fifteen, they suggested a service project of collecting toys for a children's home, but there was no record of what was done. The following fall several girls volunteered at the Boston Dispensary, but whether as individuals or as a club was not stated. In the final year, it is not easy to distinguish between the

worker's ideas and those of the girls. However, they collected money for the Heart Fund at Boston Garden and gave time and effort to help the Young Judaeon scholarship drive.

The Arctics, for the first two years, showed little or no interest in service, but in their third year the worker suggested going to the Home for Little Wanderers to hold a party for the children. The group took this up and when it was found to be impossible, suggested the B'nai B'rith or a veterans' hospital. They finally decided they were not qualified to put on a program at the hospital and the B'nai B'rith fell through. At the end of the year they unanimously volunteered to help in the Cerebral Palsy Drive, but there was no record of whether they followed through.

From these examples it would appear that most of the girls' clubs accepted service as a socially approved pattern which should be given at least lip service and which might bring in extra dividends such as the excitement of joining a big show at Boston Garden or of working in a hospital or of receiving the applause of an audience at their play. This trend increased as the girls grew older.

How serious their interest was is not quite clear. In most instances the matter was suggested and dropped, either for lack of interest or for lack of encouragement by the worker.

The fact that the agencies made some attempt to encourage such service and that parents apparently allowed their children to take part in such activities in Boston may also indicate a cultural pattern.

SUMMARY:

One may conclude that service is recognized by the girls as an approved activity and, in at least some cases, represents a genuine interest

on their part which might be built upon by the worker.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The rather startling inclusion of all other activities in one chapter reflects their relative importance in these Jewish groups.

NON-JEWISH GROUPS:

In East Boston there was a wealth of program activities - plays, painting, modelling, sewing, puppets, airplanes, kites, sports, trips - to mention only a few. Even interest groups had outside activities. Arts and crafts were especially emphasized, but discussions and debates were rarely mentioned, except for the informal talk which was the chief purpose of one club of girls. (Perhaps this was the gentler Italian version of "letting off disorganized steam" described in Jewish groups.) The three newspaper groups represented an intellectual activity.

The YMCA clubs were athletic and social, with camping trips, health examinations, vocational counselling, and trips making up the balance of the program. Arts and crafts were almost impossible because of meeting arrangements. In the one club which had a room, these activities were included. Music, especially with the Negro groups, was also encouraged.

JEWISH GROUPS:

The older Jewish groups divided their attention between the activities described in previous chapters and one or two more types each year. The additional ones were usually athletics, games, and debates for the

boys; dramatics, bowling and debates or discussions for the girls. There was an occasional book review. In contrast to the Italian groups, the clubs seldom made anything. The youngest ones did and it was suggested by one staff member that some few groups with scanty records had more creative activities than those studied, but in general such program was conspicuous by its absence.

Movies and club parties were usual and a few clubs took trips or had suppers.

Talks, book reviews, debates and discussions on set topics took place in at least nineteen meetings of five clubs. Many of the debates were on boy-girl relationships, but two were on topics of current interest: "Should Germany be Re-armed to Fight Communism?" and "Should Boys be in Korea?" The talks were on varied subjects including one on vocational counselling.

There was some singing and dancing and in Hecht House some dramatics inspired by the Drama Festivals. Several clubs rehearsed plays (in only two cases created by the group), but only three were performed.

SUMMARY:

In comparison to the East Boston groups, the program in the Jewish clubs seems relatively thin. This undoubtedly reflects the attitudes of the youth in the two districts. Those in East Boston come to do things. If the program is dull, they go elsewhere. The Jews come for some other reason. They will complain about the lack of activities but will continue to come.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to discover some of the cultural effects on programming for groups of third generation boys and girls of East European Jewish background, living in the neighborhood of Dorchester, Massachusetts. The study was limited to groups in the age range of ten to eighteen years. Although the dominant strand of their culture was Jewish, no attempt was made to distinguish between the effects of Jewish culture and those of the culture of middle class Americans. Nor was it intended to limit the discussion to differences between these groups and others. The conclusions are limited to the groups studied and are not intended to apply to Jewish groups in other areas.

From the evidence it is clear that there are individual differences between these Jewish groups, but that there are also a number of striking similarities. These similarities are in the area of learned social behavior and may, therefore, be ascribed to the groups' culture.

The most obvious similarity is the importance placed by the groups on organization, officers, committees and business meetings. The amount of time spent discussing constitutions, rules of procedure and membership qualifications was striking. The concern that any action of the club be in accordance with rules, even if the rules must be changed, was specifically stated in one case and implicit in the preoccupation with rules in the others. Problems of intra- and inter-group relations were often

presented and resolved in organizational terms.

Organization appears to be important as a symbol of the club, as was shown by the desire to have a "long" constitution, or to appoint committees, even if they never met. It is clear that there is a tendency to use forms without meaning. The number of groups which had business meetings week after week without accomplishing anything supports this conclusion. On the other hand, the groups can learn to use officers and organization effectively, as a number of clubs did.

The second great similarity between groups is the conflict about being Jewish. This problem was brought up in every club but one in Hecht House. It was not mentioned in the records of the YMHA, but these were not in such a form that questions like this would have been recorded. They did not, therefore, prove that this was not a problem in these groups.

Jewish songs, dances, and traditional festivities are commonly used in the younger groups, but as the members grow older they become increasingly ambivalent about such activities. A number of older groups enjoyed Jewish dances and songs provided they were not observed to take part in them. There was some evidence that interest in Jewish culture does not necessarily mean pride in being a Jew.

Another characteristic of these groups is that they are vocal. In all areas of programming a large proportion of time was spent in discussion or debate. Business meetings were necessarily verbal, but discussions were also held in such areas as sex, social responsibility and Jewishness. Talk of one form or another filled the larger part of most meetings for every group.

Boy-girl relationships and sex are used often as bases for program material. The groups talked freely about problems in both areas. Socials and dances are of great importance to the clubs and are an expected part of the program. Almost every club had one or more such affairs during the year.

There is clear evidence that the complex of jackets, club treasury, and money-raising projects holds an important place in the goals of these groups. There is little evidence to show which of the three is their main focus. Although some clubs suggested raising money before they had plans for spending it, they may have had jackets in the back of their minds. Unlike groups in other cultures, where jackets certainly took precedence, there was never any question of individuals buying them entirely on their own. The only instance in which money seemed to be of primary importance was in the case of one club which wished to have one hundred dollars as a "basic" sum in the treasury, the surplus being available for jackets.

The Jewish girls think of service as an approved activity for a club. This sometimes represents a genuine interest on the part of the members and could probably be used effectively for program. Nine out of eleven girls' groups suggested or actually took part in some service project. There seems to be more interest in doing than in making things, and this might be an important consideration in the choice of service projects.

The program in these groups tends to be thin with little variety. In addition to the types of activities just discussed, most clubs had some athletic activities, a few had dramatics, only one or two went on trips or had arts or crafts. Not one went camping, only one or two went on picnics,

only a few did any cooking.

Certain recommendations seem to follow from the above conclusions.

Workers with these groups should have as one of their goals intelligent and effective use of organization. Groups should learn to use committees and business meetings in order to accomplish something. This would probably mean that they must learn to use discussion purposefully to reach a decision.

Workers should have as a major objective the enriching of the program. The interest in service projects of the girls' groups might be used to introduce new types of activities, as well as to increase community interest.

The Jewish agencies might consider whether their strong emphasis on clubs as opposed to interest groups is the policy best suited to the development of their members.

Since being Jewish seems to be a problem to so many groups, the workers should be alert to seize every opportunity to enhance the members' pride in their Jewish heritage and their acceptance of difference as a valuable enrichment of life.

Another important goal of the workers might be to help the members evaluate the proper place of money in their lives and to understand its value and limitations.

This study has shown the need for other investigations in this area.

A study could usefully be made to find out what belonging to a group means to these Jews. Why do they come to meetings when nothing happens? Is it habit? a desire to leave home? the opportunity to run the

club their own way? or the prestige of membership?

Another study might be made of the relationship of members to the worker. There were some indications that the members would not accept suggestions and used the club as an approved way of expressing their rebellion against adults. This might help explain the difficulties the workers encountered in enriching the program.

The use of program including the use of limitations in building up group standards would be a fruitful area of research. The Jewish agencies appeared to be a little more permissive than those of other cultures.

Another study of interest could be made on ways of handling conflict in a group. From the records there would appear to be a great deal of open conflict in the Jewish groups, which is handled in open discussion, often intensely personal, at meetings. The Italian groups showed almost no conflict, but whether this was because there was none, or because it took place outside of meetings was not apparent.

It is interesting to speculate how far the conclusions of this study may be valid for Jewish groups in other settings. The only sure conclusion, however, which may be drawn, is that a worker with any Jewish group should be sensitive to these points, especially those involving organization, verbalization, cultural content, and minority feelings, knowing that these areas may need special attention.

Approved:

Richard K. Conant
Richard K. Conant
lean

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ausubel, Nathan, editor, A Treasury of Jewish Folklore. New York: Crown Publishers, 1948.
- Bernstein, Philip S., What the Jews Believe. New York: Farrar Straus and Young, 1950.
- Erikson, Erik H., Childhood and Society. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1950.
- Feldman, W. M., The Jewish Child. London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, 1917.
- Finkelstein, Louis, The Beliefs and Practices of Judaism. New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1952.
- _____, "Jewish Religion, Its Belief and Practices," The Jews; Their History, Culture, and Religion. Louis Finkelstein, editor. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. Pp. 1327-1389.
- Gillin, John, "Personality from the Comparative Culture Point of View," Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, editors. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. 164-176.
- Green, Helen, "Cultural Factors in Social Group Work," Toward Professional Standards. New York: American Association of Group Workers, 1947. Pp. 69-77.
- Greenberg, Simon, "Jewish Educational Institutions," The Jews; Their History, Culture, and Religion. Louis Finkelstein, editor. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. Pp. 916-949.
- Herskovits, Melville J., "Who are the Jews?" The Jews; Their History, Culture and Religion. Louis Finkelstein, editor. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. Pp. 1151-1171.
- Kluckhohn, Clyde and Henry A. Murray, "Personality Formation: the Determinants," Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, editors. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. 53-67.
- Kohn, Samuel C., "The Jewish Community," The Jews; Their History, Culture, and Religion. Louis Finkelstein, editor. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. Pp. 1267-1324.
- Konvitz, Milton R., "Judaism and the Democratic Ideal," The Jews; Their History, Culture, and Religion. Louis Finkelstein, editor. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. Pp. 1092-1113.

- Maller, Julius B., "Role of Education in Jewish History," The Jews; Their History, Culture, and Religion. Louis Finkelstein, editor. New York: Harper and Bros., 1949. Pp. 896-913.
- Melamed, Deborah M., The Three Pillars, Thought, Worship and Practice for the Jewish Woman. New York: The Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, 1949.
- Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, A Healthy Personality for Every Child. Health Publications Institute, Inc., 1951.
- The New York Cultural Project, Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework. Introduction by Katherine Spencer. New York: Council on Social Work Education, n.d.
- Solender, Sanford, "Comments on Helen Green's Paper," Toward Professional Standards. New York: American Association of Group Workers, 1947. Pp. 78-85.
- Steinberg, Milton, Basic Judaism. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1947.
- Warner, W. Lloyd and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. Yankee City Series, Vol. III. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Wilson, Gertrude and Gladys Ryland, Social Group Work Practice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1949.
- Witmer, Helen Leland and Ruth Kotinsky, editors, Personality in the Making. Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. New York: Harper and Bros., 1952.

Periodicals

- Cahnman, Werner J., "Cultural Consciousness of Jewish Youth," Jewish Social Studies, 14:195-208, July, 1952.
- Cohen, Simon, "Social Legislation," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia. Isaac Landman, editor. New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1943. Vol. IX, pp. 579-580.
- Klein, Alan F., "The Effect of Cultural Variables in Group Work," The Group, 15:13-14, 23-26, February, 1953.
- Kohn, Hans, "Jewish Culture," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia. Isaac Landman, editor. New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1942. Vol. VI, pp. 126-128.

- Lee, Dorothy, "Some Implications of Culture for Interpersonal Relations," Social Casework, 31:350-360, November, 1950.
- Parks, Robert E., "Education and the Cultural Crisis," American Journal of Sociology, 43:728-736, May, 1943.
- Salomon, Max, "Education," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia. Isaac Landman, editor. New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1941. Vol. III, pp. 629-640.
- Wolman, Benjamin, "The Jewish Adolescent, A Bibliographical Review of Current Psychological and Educational Literature in the United States and in Israel," Jewish Social Studies, 13:333-344, 1951.

APPENDIX

TABLE I
ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE AREAS STUDIED
POSITION BY RANK
IN COMPARISON WITH THE OTHER AREAS OF GREATER BOSTON^a

Factor	Dorchester			Outer Roxbury	East Boston		
	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D	Area E	Area F	Area ^b G
Median income	29	21	27	39	43	41	35
Median monthly rent	7	10	24	42	60	56	52
1.01 or more persons in one room	26	5	21	42	50	57	47.5
% dwelling units dilapidated or without private bath	24	18.5	6.5	43	57	53	44

^a Greater Boston was divided into sixty-four areas and arranged in a series according to the size of a given economic factor. The best economic position was given the lowest rank, which thus denotes the relative favorability of conditions in that area as compared to other parts of Greater Boston.

Figures compiled by the Research Division of the United Community Services of Greater Boston, from the United States Census of 1950.

^b Areas are combined census tracts as follows:

- A: Grove Hall West, census tracts: U5, U6A, U6B.
- B: Franklin Park, census tracts: T7B, T8A.
- C: Franklin Field, census tracts: X5A, X5B.
- D: Warren Street, census tracts: U1, U2.
- E: Jeffries Point, census tracts: B4, B5B.
- F: Central-Maverick, census tracts: A6, B1, B2, B3.
- G: Eagle Hill, census tracts: A4, A5.

TABLE II
DATA ON THE GROUPS ON WHICH THIS STUDY WAS BASED

Group*	Age	No. in Club	Sex	Type	Number of Years Covered by Records
<u>Jewish</u>					
Clowns	10	8	Girls	Club	1
Jacquelines	12	19	Girls	Club	1
Princesses	12	10	Girls	Club	1
Telavivs	12-13	18	Girls	Club	1
Pristeens	12-13	19	Girls	Club	1
Kings	12-13	18	Boys	Club	1
Pintos	13	16	Boys	Club	1
Sioux	13-14	20	Boys	Club	1
Annettes	(13-14 14-15 15-16)	12-15	Girls	(Club (Young (Judaea)	3
Trojans	14	13	Boys	Club	1
Bees	14	24	Boys	Club	1
Arctics	(14 15 16)	12	Girls	Club	3
Planets	14-15	18	Girls	Club	1 and 1 month
Robertas	14-15	20	Girls	Club	1
Jewels	14-15	20	Girls	Club	1
Soldiers	14-15	24	Boys	Club	1
Sweethearts	14-15	14	Girls	Club	1
Washingtons	14-15	12	Boys	Club	1
Warriors	15-16	14	Boys	Club	1
Bowlers	15-17	12	Boys	Club	2
<u>Non-Jewish</u>					
Club A	10-11	10	Boys	Club	1
Club B	11-12	12	Girls	Club	1
Judges	10-12	16	Boys	Club	1
Jr. Roxies	(9-14 10-15)	23	Boys	Club	2
Drama Group	10-13	8	Girls	Interest	1
Newspaper 1	12-13	11	Co-ed	Interest	1
Newspaper 2	13	10	Co-ed	Interest	1
Newspaper 3	13	9	Co-ed	Interest	1
Club C	13-15	13	Girls	Club	1
Knights	12-16	11	Boys	Club	1
Roxies	14	14	Boys	Club	1
Pioneers	14-16	17	Boys	Club	1
Pirates	16	14	Boys	Club	1

* Names have been altered.

ANALYSIS OF GROUP RECORDS

Culture:
Name of Group:
Age of members:
Number in group:
Type of group:

Name of Agency:
Leader:
Sex of members:
Year of record:

Pertinent background:

What were the program activities for the year?

What evidence is there of the use of organization by the group?

What place did rules of procedure and constitutions have?

What cultural content was there in the program?

What evidence is there of interest in their culture?

What evidence is there of concern about being members of a minority group and what was done about it?

Was there any interest in service projects?

Were any undertaken?

What importance seems to have been attached to money-making projects and club treasury?

How were adolescent needs for heterosexual relationships and sex education handled in program?