

Another matter of serious importance is that the young Sephardic Jew is being lost to Judaism. One of their young leaders has said: "Thus, the present Sephardic generation is growing up without any connection with the Jewish people. It ignores the Hebrew language and Jewish history, and is indifferent to every modern Jewish movement."

V. A COMMUNAL PROGRAMME

The considerations above outlined indicate the nature of the problem confronting the Sephardic Jewish community. There is need for the inculcation of American standards of living, for the teaching of English and citizenship, for the handling of employment and hygienic problems, for the religious education of the young, and for the creation of a cultural bond which will more nearly unite the young and the old in a common understanding. At present, no Sephardic Jewish agencies really exist for this purpose. It seems obvious that the Sephardic Jews should be working toward an integration which would tend to bring out the full potentialities of their group, and hold the loyalty of their children. What are the minimum essentials of such a programme?

It is hardly necessary for the purposes of this paper to describe such a programme in detail. The plan which has been proposed considers the spiritual, social, and community needs of New York's Sephardic Jews. Particular stress was placed on the necessity for independent action. It has been recommended that at least one,

and possibly two, community centers be created to act as focal points of the Sephardic Jewish life in New York. Here are to center all those educational spiritual and cultural influences which although essentially Jewish will at the same time help in the adjustment to the American environment. This it is hoped will help to unite the Sephardic Jewish community into a single and articulate whole.

The creation of a representative body for the whole Sephardic Jewish community has been suggested possibly through affiliation with New York Federation, since financial self-support is, for the time being, still impossible.

In brief, the spirit of the programme of the Bureau of Jewish Social Service Research is directed not to meeting a problem of dependency, but rather to aid the group to realize its independence along lines that have proved successful in the history of American Jewry. The Sephardic Jews of New York, as a group, have come of age. Materially and socially their condition is encouraging. It is along cultural and spiritual lines however, particularly in the forging of a bond between the young and their parents and in apprizing the growing generation of their Jewish heritage and their affinity of interest with New York Jewry, that much work has to be done. For this consummation the Sephardic Jews need the sympathy and cooperation of their Ashkenazic kinsmen who have already traveled the same road.

LEVINDALE

AN EXPERIMENT IN CHILD-CARE

BY SAMUEL S. SOLENDER

THE past fifteen years, since the famous White House Conference, have marked the most important and enlightened interest ever centered upon the problems of child-care. Up to that time we were filling our institutions with the destitute, the orphaned and the neglected, the objective usually being to retain these children until they had reached working age. In some communities this age was fourteen and in others the institutions were striving to retain their charges until their eighteenth year.

There was little if any attention paid to the possibility of returning such children to their respective homes, because the institution like a business, had to be kept filled in order to keep down the per capita. With the coming of mothers' pension laws and relief from other agencies, fewer children were removed from their homes because of poverty alone, though it is still being done even in enlightened communities. In some communities, the family caring agencies are today bending their efforts to keep children in their respective homes, because, besides the human element involved, it is cheaper for the community to subsidize a mother, than to place her children in an institution. This assumes that there is no institution in the community, because if such a procedure became general it would seriously affect the intake and, therefore, increase the cost of operating the institution.

Following the Roosevelt Conference which proclaimed that all normal children deprived of their natural parents are far better off under the care of foster parents, the child placing agencies, who were small in number, took a new lease on life. The foster home is the next best thing to the child's own home and a child should be placed in an institution only as a last resort. The institution, be it ever so well equipped, and may it offer a great many splendid opportunities, nevertheless cannot be compared to normal family life.

In order to approximate as nearly as possible the normal family life, the next step taken by the institutional management was to provide cottages for the children. The cottage plan was to be the panacea, but it has demonstrated many handicaps. In some instances it has meant complete isolation because the new home was removed from the city. The children went to their own school, had their own recreational facilities and made no outside contacts. Upon their discharge, their adjustment to community life was made extremely difficult, and for some time they found themselves out of harmony with life outside of the institution.

About this time, some of the institutions were outgrowing their unsanitary and inadequate quarters. They wanted to offer greater opportunities to their children, and were beginning to solicit funds for their enterprises. The World War postponed building

operations and it was not until after the Armistice that child-caring institutions again had the urge to build.

Another important change, however, had come over the child-care situation. America at one time thought that it was to be swamped by the influx of war orphans and saw visions of many new asylums springing up. Instead of that, some of our own child-care leaders went to Serbia, to Palestine and to Eastern Europe, and showed those countries how to care for their orphans without building institutions.

This development was to exercise a profound influence on child-care in America. Already our institutions were examining themselves very critically. They were asking themselves "What is our function, and what is the reason for our existence?" If normal children were to be cared for in foster homes, what was to become of our institutions? The institution must therefore, assume a new role. It must accept a new philosophy. It must divorce itself from the past and look forward to a more constructive future. The new institution must become a diagnostic center where children might be studied and observed. The new institution also must serve as a Clearing House for the temporary shelter of children until a more permanent home can be secured for them.

This was the motivating and impelling force behind the new child-caring institution which Baltimore was to produce. Through it, it has made a contribution to child-care, and carried on an experiment which is both compelling and constructive. It was planned that the chief function of Levindale, the new children's institu-

tion, was to be diagnostic. It was given an appropriate name, as a tribute to the man who was largely responsible for its creation.

The new institution was to demonstrate new theories. What has been the situation and what lessons have been learned after nearly three years?

The Jewish Children's Society started out with a philosophy which was both appealing and constructive. With the amalgamation of the two orphan asylums, and the taking over of the Home Finding Department, certain principles were promulgated, the outstanding one being that normal children should be placed in foster homes and that problem children should be trained at Levindale. This decision was to have a most important effect upon the institution, and to influence the future policy of the Board beyond the limits of its expectations.

The Jewish Children's Bureau, upon which the Jewish Children's Society is greatly dependent, receives all applications for admission to the institution and for the care of all children under sixteen apart from their families. It makes the investigations of the family conditions and of the reasons leading to the application, and the removal of the child from the home. The agreement between the Jewish Children's Society and the Jewish Children's Bureau states the following:

"The child should be sent to the Diagnostic Cottage of the Society with a summary of the investigator's report, emphasizing particular problems, if there are any, and requesting any definite information that may be desired. The child then becomes a member of the Diagnostic Cottage, subject to its discipline, but not yet a ward of the Society, power of eventual disposition remaining in the Bureau.

The Society undertakes to make a careful study of the child while in the Diagnostic Cottage and will render a full medical and social report of the study of the child to the Bureau as promptly as may be. In addition, the Bureau will have the necessary mental and intelligence studies of the child made by its psychologist. After all the studies of the child are completed and presented to the Bureau, the Bureau will then decide as to the disposition of the child.

"After the first placement of the child, further work with the child by the Society in case of a reconsideration of the original disposition shall be subject to the expressed assent of the Society. Except in emergencies requiring immediate action, the Society will not transfer the child from one division of its work to another, except with the assent of the Bureau. If the child turns out to be one that the Society feels itself unable to handle to the advantage of the child, or to the work of the Society, the Society reserves the right to return the child to the Bureau for disposition elsewhere.

"In general, the Bureau shall have authority over the child until it is placed, after which it reconsiders the case only for cause."

The Jewish Children's Society after six weeks, in most cases, is obliged to report back to the Bureau the results of the study together with recommendations for the care of the child. If the child is in need of training within the possibilities of the Society, he remains at Levindale; if he is feeble-minded, or in need of correctional care, he is recommended for placement in other institutions which are specially equipped to give this specialized care. If it is found that the child is normal, that is, an individual who shows ability to make the usual adjustments to society without any unusual help, it is recommended that he go to a foster home. The Bureau, however, under the terms of the

agreement, reserves the right to determine the type of care a child is to have, and is not influenced by the financial restrictions of the Society, but must at all times consider the best interests of the child.

When Levindale was first opened, the Diagnostic Cottage attracted considerable attention because it was considered essential to have a special building for observing and studying the child. This is no longer the case. For economic reasons, the Boys' Cottage has been closed and the Diagnostic Cottage now houses all of the boys, and the girls continue to sleep in their own building. Our experience has demonstrated that in order to diagnose a child, it is not necessary to isolate him or restrict him to any limited environment. He must mingle freely with other children. Levindale in its entirety is a diagnostic undertaking. The function of the institution is in reality diagnostic and training. It is not limited to short periods, but extends over the entire stay of the child. Where the diagnostic station is conducted separately from the institution, the arrangement is more satisfactory. At Levindale those under observation and those receiving training are grouped together.

In order clearly to understand the nature of the care which Levindale has been called upon to give, it is well to look at some of the outstanding facts. The population as of June 1, 1926, showed forty boys and seventeen girls, a total of fifty-seven. It appears that the girls form a smaller proportion of social problems than the boys. The following table shows the chronological age of the total population:

Age	Boys	Girls	Total
From 5 up to 7 . . .	4	2	6
" 7 up to 10 . . .	12	3	15
" 10 up to 12 . . .	13	7	20
Over 12 and under 16 . . .	11	5	16
Total			57

It is of interest to note that the predominant ages tend to correspond to two vital age periods, namely, the beginning of puberty at which time a child becomes conscious of and a part of community life, and the beginning of adolescence.

An analysis of the reasons for removing the child from his home based largely on the reports from the case-working agencies is as follows:

Incorrigibility	11
Parental irresponsibility	22
Health	8
Training (character and habit)	12
Under study	4
Total	57

Of this number, seven boys have had contact with the Juvenile Court.

Nearly 75 per cent of the children are suffering from health problems. Their elimination is of primary importance because physical handicaps are often related to mental defect. Malnutrition, diseased tonsils and adenoids, carious teeth, tuberculosis, venereal disease, defective hearing and sight, do not give the child a fair chance to grow and should be corrected whenever possible.

The fundamental problem is to build up their physical condition so that the children may develop strong and vigorous bodies. Children react to environment and treatment quite readily and it is often interesting to observe the improvement produced by wholesome food, an abundance of fresh air, ample sleep and a regulated daily program.

The group has been analyzed according to such accepted intelligence standards as tend to demonstrate ability to adjust oneself to society. Dr. Francis L. Dunham, psychiatrist to the Jewish Children's Society, divides man into the following types:

- (1.) Dependent, distinctly feeble-minded, some of whom require segregation.
- (2.) Semi-dependents, who have the ability to become law-abiding citizens and honest workers.
- (3.) Backward or dull, who become self-supporting, yet unskilled and incapable of liberal culture. Unchaste girls and pilfering boys come largely from this group, because they are poorly endowed with a capacity to organize and control their natural reproductive and acquisitive tendencies.
- (4.) Normal, able to meet community responsibility intelligently.
- (5.) Creative, the ones responsible for progress, the unusual.

The following table is a summary of the mental examinations of the group at Levindale:

Social Class	I. Q.	No.	Pct.
Dependent	40 or less	—	—
Semi-dependent	41 - 50	1	1
Dull or Backward	51 - 90	28	49
Usual or Bright	91 - 110	22	39
Creative	111 upward	6	11
Total		57	100

It is evident that the population is composed of a large number of bright children. The remainder are backward and have improved and are ex-

pected to continue to improve under further institutional care. The length of time necessary for a cure depends upon the degree of disorganization or instability of the child. In some cases it may take one or more years. Many children have advanced materially because of the individual and intensive attention which they have received.

The group studied according to scholastic achievement is as follows:

	Number	Per Cent
Numer up to grade	17	30
Advanced 1 year	1	1
Retarded 1 year	13	23
" 2 years	15	26
" 3 "	5	9
" 4 "	2	4
Not attending school	4	7
Total	57	100

It must be borne in mind that in nearly every case, the child comes to us in a highly disorganized condition which has seriously affected his standing at school. In the institution, it has been one of our chief functions to concentrate on his school life, to aid him to the extent to which he can possibly absorb school studies.

In connection with this, it is interesting to note some of the family tendencies which in many cases affect the child's free development.

Social irresponsibility	14
Insanity	6
Alcoholism	3
Tuberculosis	10
Epilepsy	2
Feeble-minded	3
Normal families	22
Total	60

In a majority of instances, the children are of poor character-building material with qualities poorly balanced, neurotic, unstable and difficult of social assimilation. This group is composed largely of unstable children who come from homes handicapped

by parental irresponsibility or unfitness.

It becomes plain, therefore, that Levindale is a type of institution different from the accepted child-caring institutions, for it deals almost exclusively with the pre-delinquent, the pilferer, the truant and the gangster; with the youngster who shows some disability, some handicap either in health, in character, in intelligence, or in one or more of these. Many of these children in the past were refused admission to the "orphan asylum" because of their demoralizing effect upon the normal group, and consequently many of them became social misfits.

Levindale's measures are preventative. An effort is made to stimulate the child toward intellectual achievements; his play is carefully organized, and an opportunity is given for the development of initiative, responsibility and individuality. The recreational program is attractive and is used constantly to spur on the youngsters. The educational facilities both public and private have been most co-operative. The group life makes possible certain socializing forces, which tend to quicken community responsibility. The spaciousness of the institutional grounds and the abundance of facilities make possible a wide variation of opportunities in meeting individual problems.

FOSTER HOME CARE

It is no longer necessary for the advocates of foster home care to be on the defensive in Baltimore. The placing of children in this manner has been recognized as a *sina qua non* in modern child-care and in Baltimore it has already passed the experimental

stage. Levindale has served a distinct purpose in furnishing information concerning the personality and character of the child which has simplified his placement. There is no longer any haphazard placement, and the transferring of children from home to home indiscriminately. A better technique has been developed.

The following figures represent the present condition of twenty-three children transferred from Levindale to foster homes in the past year, June 1, 1925 to May 30, 1926:

Living in original foster homes . . .	18
Changed to a second home	2
Changed to a third home	2
Later returned to parents	1
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Total	23

The figures prove the value of diagnostic and observation periods. In the case of the two children who had to be removed three times, it was first due to a sister conflict and second to a desire to place the children in the same home with the father, which later proved unfeasible.

The Jewish Children's Society has more than three times as many children in foster homes than in the institution. These children are living in 90 different homes. For nearly all, board is being paid; some are in free homes. The Society has been remarkably fortunate in securing satisfactory homes, many in highly desirable neighborhoods. During the past two years, great strides have been made in foster home care. The people who are now accepting our children are of superior type.

While foster homes are intended primarily for normal children, quite a few problem and health cases have been placed in such homes. In the case of the former, many have been

in the institution, and have progressed. They were placed in private homes in order to assure their adjustment to community life under more normal conditions.

In all cases, it was only after careful deliberation that it was decided which branch of the service could best give the child the kind of care it needs. At all times do we reserve the right to recommend the transfer of a child from one department to another. Among the fifty-seven at Levindale, there are fourteen children who had been previously placed in foster homes and whose admission or re-admission to the institution was found necessary.

AFTER CARE

The responsibility of the Society does not end with the discharge of a child, but it continues to exercise supervision in the child's own home and in foster homes. Through the efforts of the After Care Department, it aims to evaluate the results of the institutional training and at the same time tends to tide over the child at a critical transition period. This care continues until it becomes reasonably assured that the child is vocationally adjusted and that his social adjustment seems more secure.

During the twelve months just passed (June 1st, 1925—May 30th, 1926,) Levindale has discharged twenty-seven children as follows:

To own home corrected	17
To own home not corrected due to parental interference	1
To own home not corrected due to boy running away	5
Sent to correctional institution	2
Sent to working boys' boarding home	1
Sent to working girls' boarding home	1
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Total	27

It is still too soon to hazard any speculations as to the stability of this group. In some instances it may be several years before they can be considered stabilized.

Of the fifty-seven at present in Levindale, thirty-six problem children have been in the institution for six months or longer and the following deductions are made. It is still too early to give any accurate statistics, for time alone will determine the effectiveness of our efforts. The effect at present, is as follows:

Improved social responsibility (stealing, running away, truancy, fighting)	9
Improved behavior (enuresis, sex episodes, etc.)	4
Improved health and attitude toward society	6
Very unstable—results problematic	3
Very unstable—results hopeful	13
Placement in more restricted institutions	1
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Total	36

CONCLUSIONS

Levindale has been in existence for nearly three years. It is now possible to consider its limitations. The population has at no time been large enough to fill the institution to capacity. The Directors have been considerably concerned with the financial burden imposed upon them by such a situation. At the same time, in line with the more scientific approach to the work, the family case work agency has been developing its work in the homes by installing housekeepers and by calling upon relatives to step into the home during the temporary incapacity of the mother. This, together with a re-enforced effort to keep as many children in their own

homes as is possible, has resulted in a decided reduction in the intake. As the family case work agencies become more proficient in caring for the children in their own homes, the need for the eventual removal of many children will be largely eliminated.

Experience at Levindale has demonstrated that it is hazardous to group together so intimately children of pre-delinquent tendencies. It has been the practice to group all types together and some children have been seriously harmed as a result. They readily acquired knowledge and went through certain experiences which were unknown to them previously. Some of these children may be quite innocent of sex matters, and can be thoroughly informed by the sophisticated youngster who has lived in the same home with her prostitute mother. Likewise, the child who has successfully led the life of a gangster, truant, etc., who for a long time had evaded the authorities, can have a serious effect upon a child whose trouble is perhaps of a minor nature.

It is unwise to send manifestly normal children to Levindale for observation and study. These children are distinctly harmed in their contacts with the others. Such diagnostic work can be developed in foster homes. Such a child is harmed by even a short stay because the population is composed exclusively of problem children and it would prove unwise and unsafe to place such a child in Levindale.

It is perhaps too soon to expect communities to give up their institutions and any attempt to force upon a people the complete abandonment of an institutional program will result in the building of another orphan asy-

lum by the group that is always prepared to make its appeal to the masses. Boards of Directors and Auxiliaries, even though convinced of the value of foster home care, who are in complete harmony with a modern and scientific child-care program, are nevertheless strongly influenced by that which makes the strongest appeal to the community—the institution. Not until, not only the community, but more particularly the governing boards, are willing to approach this problem in a spirit of scientific inquiry, will progress be possible.

Our experience thus far, has demonstrated that an institution for diagnostic purposes and the training of certain types is necessary. It is necessary also as a temporary shelter for children over a period until suitable disposition of the child can be made. The solution, insofar as Baltimore is

concerned, is a smaller institution. Levindale will always be too large and too costly to operate. The community does not have an abundance of such children to send to Levindale, and in order that the community might continue what it has begun, the Jewish Children's Society must be relieved of the unwieldy and over-built institution. The present plant can accommodate one hundred. Facilities for fifty, at the most, is all that is necessary.

We are not seeking to perpetuate any particular type of child-care, whether it be the institution or the foster home or both. Our true concern is the child who is presented to us with certain potentialities and endowments. It is our responsibility as child-care specialists to provide each child with the chance to express the best that is in him.

JEWISH COMMUNAL PROGRESS

THE RISE OF THE LOS ANGELES FEDERATION

THE Jewish community of Los Angeles has had a most interesting life. Its birth was due to the pioneers who, few in numbers, realized that in addition to providing material things for themselves and their families, there was need of creating a communal existence. The early period was a difficult one, not only because of the paucity of numbers, but also because the task of obtaining an economic existence for themselves and those who were dependent upon them was one which consumed all the energy which these pioneers could marshal.

As elsewhere, the number grew, but this growth was slow, even though steady. As far back as half a century ago, provision was made for giving help to the poor; it is a matter of much local pride that the secretary of the original "Charity Society" is still the honorary secretary of its successor, the Jewish Aid Society.

A Jewish Orphans' Home was established within the past twenty years. Its first subscription list contains the name of a great many, who even at this time are among the most active and zealous workers for the institution as well as for every Jewish cause and movement. In 1909, the Home had 398 members, which included almost every available Jew or Jewess. The annual subscriptions totaled \$8,010. Compared with the present requirements which are considerably in excess of \$100,000, this appears to be a small amount. The number of Jews was at that time still quite small, and of course, the re-

sponsibilities were few and not heavy as compared to those of today.

About fifteen years ago, the various organizations decided to pool their money-raising efforts, and the Federation was formed, patterned after other fiscal organizations then existing in San Francisco and in middle-western and Eastern cities.

The late Rabbi S. Hecht was among those who took an active part in the founding of the Federation. Though a rabbi is not presumed to be adept in matters of finance and affairs of a business nature, he seemed to have grasped the idea that collective effort was sound and economical.

A few years later, Los Angeles profited by the loss experienced by one of its "neighboring" communities. One of Oakland's leading citizens came South to take up his residence in Los Angeles. Hardly had he had time to make his personal adjustments, which are not easy for a man over sixty, than George Mosbacher began to be concerned with the affairs of the Jewry in his new home. It was not long before the older residents sensed the fact that into their midst had come a man of vision, a person of indefatigable energy. He was soon hailed as "Uncle George" and placed at the helm of Federation affairs, where he has remained ever since. I do not know whether the phrase, "Let George do it" originated in Los Angeles, but I do feel that some of the people of that city did begin to believe in the adage and practice it religiously.

"Ten years ago when the Board of